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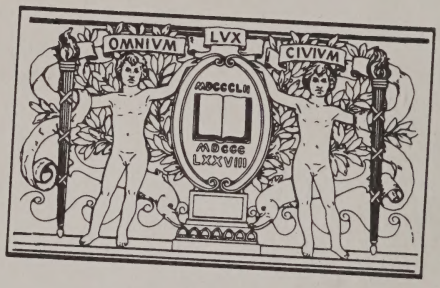

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LXII.

NEW SERIES, NO. XXXVII.

JANUARY, 1829.

ART. I.—*Lord Byron and his Contemporaries; with Recollections of the Author's Life, and of his Visit to Italy.* By LEIGH HUNT. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey. 8vo. pp. 440.

WE remember Mr Hunt as the author of the *Feast of the Poets*, a gay and pleasing little poem; of *Foliage*, which faded with considerably more expedition, than if it had been natural; and of *Rimini*, a work not deficient in talent, but written expressly to recommend a remarkable dialect, which he chose to denominate the poetical language, because, as it appeared, it was such as never had been heard of in the intercourse of men. In the Dedication of the last of these works to Lord Byron, the author spoke much of his *fellow-dignity*, a phrase which we do not profess to comprehend, but which seems to have given umbrage to his lordship; whose dissatisfaction was expressed in a manner, which evidently had its influence in changing this fellow-dignity into indignation. Nothing we had known of Mr Hunt inspired us with any enthusiastic desire to meet him again, though we could not have expected from his good-natured absurdity, a work like the one before us.

The most pleasing trait in human nature, is that which leads us to forget the frailties of the dead; which makes the grave a retreat even from just indignation, and considers them as gone where no human praise can follow, and no human judg-

ment reach. Nothing but the sternest sense of duty can justify the man who disinters them; and in most instances he will bring upon himself the condemnation he was preparing for them. We take it that Byron's character was sufficiently known; no one worshipped him as a saint, or a martyr; and we think it was no offence to morality or religion to lament him as a great, though misguided genius, who, with better education and under more auspicious circumstances, might have shone magnificently among the lights of the world. The critics in this case certainly had not been unmindful of their duty; and if any one was called upon to publish a new edition of his frailties, it was not Mr Hunt, who was treated by him with a respect and intimacy, which was not the least of the follies, with which the world upbraided him. Moreover, Mr Hunt is deficient in the proper qualifications of a judge, and decides on principles with which we are unacquainted; manfully disregarding the common prejudice, which requires men to be at least merciful to their benefactors. His wrath against Byron turns upon his lordship's avarice, a vice sufficiently contemptible; but we think the charge is not well sustained by the evidence he offers. He received from Byron two hundred pounds to enable him to visit Italy; and his friend Shelley, who was very jealous of Byron, gave a bond for the money, but there is not the least reason to believe that this was required. He tells us that, after this, he received at different times one hundred pounds more, and this, with the payment of his expenses at various places, is all that Byron ever gave him. Quite as much, one would think, as he could expect from an avaricious man. We pass over the rest of these complaints, excepting one in which the world at large has an interest. Mr Hunt represents Lord Byron's aid to Greece as a mere parade of good will, and says that Byron remarked to him, that he should not get off for less than four thousand pounds. We had the impression that Byron, weary of his associates and his degradation, had resolved to do something in Greece to redeem his character; and we are happy to hear from one of the most enlightened friends of that country, whose long residence in it has made him familiar with its affairs, that Byron was by far the most judicious and practical adviser it had, in its most disastrous times; and that he advanced for its relief about twenty thousand pounds. Mr Hunt gives us to understand that what he did advance was afterwards demanded and repaid; but omits a circumstance which he well

knew, and which changes the whole character of the statement, that the money was claimed, not by Byron, but by his executors after his death. On the whole, there is no reason to believe that his lordship was not liberal. It seems clear that he expected some little gratitude in return; but this, though possibly an error in judgment, considering who his associates were, cannot well be tortured into a crime.

Mr Hunt's name and writings, by a very easy and natural association, remind us of the decline of poetry in public estimation; and we intend to take advantage of this opportunity to account for it, as well as to give our opinion of the poets and poetry of the present age; a subject amply discussed by Mr Hunt in his 'Recollections.' We take it that the parade of Lord Byron's name, in the titlepage, was intended to gain a sale for the work; though we would by no means charge such an unworthy artifice on the author, who evidently regards himself, as the most delightful source of interest in his book. The other characters are made to revolve round himself, in a system like that of Ptolemy, representing the most lack-lustre body as the centre of the whole.

There can be no doubt that poetry has been losing the public favor. The new poem is welcomed, it is true; but poetry is less read than formerly, and a taste for it is not regarded as so important to the character of the mind. There have been times, and those not unenlightened, when men regarded it as one of the highest pursuits of the mind; not a mere luxury in which they might innocently indulge at times, but a high intellectual exertion, which, both in reading and writing it, inspired the best feelings and called out the most exalted powers. But now, intelligent men have ceased in a great measure to regard poetry in this light;—not because the art is less exalted and inspiring, for the treasures it has gathered from Homer downward must remain the same, although nothing be added to them in our own day; but because various circumstances have called forth tastes of a different kind, and pleasure is sought for in new directions. The world is grown bustling and consequential, and seems disposed to give over the whole department of imagination to those, who have nothing else to do. This, however, is far from being an evidence of real improvement; for poetry, understood and pursued in its purity, has the same tendency with religion; to lift the mind above its every-day cares; to prevent a complete surrender of the soul to business and gain; and to keep up

those insatiable desires of excellence and knowledge, which, though they may be treated as romance and delusion, have always gone before, if they have not produced all advances in improvement, as the Western world was seen in the visions of poets, ages before it was discovered.

We should be more at a loss to explain this neglect of poetry, if it were not plain, that other strictly intellectual pursuits were laboring under the same depression. The philosophy of the mind, for example, excites no general interest,—we may say, no interest at all. At times, a writer like Brown comes forward, and like the last new poem, makes an impression on the public mind. But he finds no strong party waiting to receive him; on the contrary, he is obliged to create for himself whatever interest his work inspires. We speak of the English public; but the boundaries of nations are so broken down, that the intellect of different lands has begun to 'flow together,' and we may assume that what is true of one country is in substance true of the rest of the world. The truth is, that everything now tends to the practical. Instead of metaphysics, we find political economy; and in the department of eloquence, the most relentless proser that counts the fractions of a proposed retrenchment, is sure of more attention, than the scientific wisdom of Burke. We are well content, therefore, to find, that the fate of poetry is no worse; and that if slighted in its own province, it still finds a welcome, when it inspires Irving or Scott to restore that freshness and charm to the events of history, which the lapse of ages is wearing away. We would say nothing against the practical taste of the day; it is a happy one, if it is not attended with the vulgar prejudice, that intellectual improvement unfits men for the business of the world. It may give them a taste for higher things; but this no more disqualifies them for other duties and cares, than the feeling that there is another life to provide for, unfits us to take a part in the concerns of this.

The writer of a foreign review of Milton, more remarkable for brilliancy than correctness of sentiment or taste, seemed to intimate the opinion that poetical genius implied some unsoundness of mind; of which, Milton, to be sure, was an illustrious example. There were doubtless those, to whom his prophetic hopes and prayers for the welfare of his race, seemed like insanity; and his character was not generally understood, till justice was lately done to him, in our own country, by a most powerful and enlightened mind. But perhaps, as in many other pointed

remarks, more meets the ear than is meant in this proposition; and the writer simply intended to say, that a poet is less fitted for the practical business of life than less gifted men. This is not necessarily true; a poet, as well as a practical man, can predict foul weather, when the sky is red and lowering; and we see no reason why his discerning some moral resemblances in the grand and beautiful aspect of nature, should make him less likely to secure himself or his vessel from the storm. If it be said his fancy is not controled by the judgment, this may be the case with one who has little imagination, as well as one who has much, and it implies a deficiency for which poetry is not answerable. The imaginations of the poet may not be true as to fact, but they may, nevertheless, be true to nature. The reason of the poet can be as much cultivated as that of the philosopher, and his excellence in his art will increase in the same proportion. It is true that practical men are apt to grow indifferent to poetry; but at the same time they grow equally indifferent to all the pursuits and pleasures of the mind.

But while there is nothing in the practical turn of the times really inconsistent with a taste for poetry, there are circumstances discouraging to the art. The interests of the mind seemed to suffer for the time, when men, not long ago, arrived at the notable conclusion, that each one was a fraction of the human race, and with the form possessed the rights of a man. The disclosure of this mystery occasioned a feverish interest in all questions, whether of intellect, government, or religion; and matters of every description were debated with an enthusiasm approaching to wildness. The province of taste was invaded with as little ceremony as any other; and we were edified upon these subjects as well as others, by teachers resembling the Cornish miners in South America, who never doubted that they were fitted for the management of gold, by their acquaintance with the mysteries of tin. But this excitement died away,—there was a general disposition to sit down again under the shadow of old maxims and institutions; it became necessary for the trumpets of reform to sound louder and louder as men's interest in the subject abated; writers thought themselves obliged to resort to excess where the simple statement of truth failed to move the public mind, and thus they have given an exaggerated character to all the literature of the day. This exaggeration (the word, says Edie, is 'a lang ane') seems to be wholly owing to despair of gaining the general attention; and we regret that

authors and poets have felt so much of this unnatural excitement, which leaves a weakness in the whole system. This we take to have been Southey's main inducement for attempting to give a rational interest to monstrous oriental fiction; and the same wish to excite the flagging interest of the reading world led Byron to put on the masquerade dress of a philosophic libertine. Excitement was their object. They evidently thought such was the insensibility of the times, that extraordinary means must be resorted to, to affect the mind or heart.

There is one real improvement in the age, which has had its effect in lessening the influence of the art. Poetry, to be just to itself, ought always to precede and be the herald of improvement; but long after the world had begun to grow weary of greatness, poetry kept on celebrating the old glories instead of imagining new. It has done far too much to consecrate the fame of destroyers; it has chanted its inspiration in exalting those, who after they have enjoyed the poor glory of an hour, deserve to live for ever in the execrations of men. It has also taken its pathetic scenes from the high places of life, and seems to have adopted the faith of the Syrians, 'The Lord is God of the hills, but he is not God of the valleys.' There are very few, who, like Wordsworth, have taken their readers to cottages, to show them that there are hearts and souls in those neglected places; still fewer, who, like Byron, have had the boldness to unmask the brazen front of war. Besides, as men grow more enlightened, material things become less important; men care less to pile the rocks for monuments, except as a matter of taste, because intellectual memorials are found to be more enduring; castles and cathedrals disappear from the world, because violence no longer requires the one, nor erring piety the other;—men are ambitious of leaving their names graven, not in brass or marble, but in the minds and memories of men; and are now able to discover that sublimity in human character, in its unwearied love, stern endurance, and lofty self-devotion, which they formerly sought for in the visible world alone. But all this while poetry has been too much enslaved to material things; the eye of taste has wept over melancholy ruins, and it has seemed as if there could be no inspiration in a land like ours, destitute of these vestiges of barbarous times that have happily passed away. Poetry should have kept the van in this great reform; it should have gone on opening new views of duty and improvement, giving healthier sentiments of greatness, in-

spiring a sounder admiration, and kindling better feelings in the heart, than those which commonly govern human action; and if it had done this, it might, at this moment, have stood higher than ever, with the thinking part of the world.

The poets of the present century have contributed to the disrespect into which their art has fallen. They have done much to unsettle the public taste;—by setting up new and exclusive creeds; by insisting on invariable principles in an art, which must adapt itself to the circumstances and feelings of men; by a desire to strike out new paths, and ridiculing the good old way of Milton, Dryden, and Pope, they have given the impression that it is impossible to tell what poetry is, and as happens in all such cases, have succeeded in producing a general indifference to the art. They seem also to have succeeded in producing the same indifference in themselves; and seeing the channels to wealth crowded with adventurers, the poets have determined to share the spirit of the age, in which the organ of gain is developed in a remarkable degree. We will not, in this connexion, take liberties with living names entitled to respect; but even Mr Hunt has discovered that there are things more substantial than fame, and openly declares his purpose to consult his interest more; to which, even if it implies that he will cease to sing, the world will offer no objection. We cannot help regarding this change as rather profitable than glorious; but this belongs to a later period, than that of which we intended to speak.

Before the poets retired from the field, however, we are willing to believe, that their loss of influence may be attributed in part to want of high and pure morality; for though a great proportion of readers may be indifferent to such a defect, this can never be the case with those who direct the public opinion; they must always be compelled, for their reputations' sake, if no better reason, to sink their private taste in their public duty. Campbell, Rogers, and Southey, were unexceptionable in point of morality; but mere innocence is not virtue; we have a right to expect gifted minds to sound the trumpet and set up the standard in advance of that moral improvement, which we trust, though unseen and unheard, is for ever going on. We can hardly say they have done this, though, compared with some of their associates, they appear like children of light. Byron, considering what he ought to have been, is the most guilty in this matter, setting aside his last and worst productions. With

equal defect of good taste and morality, he employed himself in drawing characters of 'one virtue and a thousand crimes,' forgetting that neither poet, sculptor, nor painter, ever became eminent by representing monsters. If we add to these, Shelley, a poet who has excited some interest from his beautiful powers, depraved as his moral taste was by a hateful system, we find him calling repentance selfishness, maintaining that a man ought never to reproach himself, and though denying the existence of God, professing to adore a great spirit of intellectual beauty. Here we see, how far this perversion of good sense and feeling could go. The age has not been destitute of religious feeling; the independence which passed for manliness in the times of Voltaire, is now regarded as childish vanity; and the poets who have disowned religion, have done it to their own loss, notwithstanding, as Mr Hunt says, in his inimitable manner, 'they are eminently pious toward nature, and pious toward the human race.'

The circumstance that some of the first names in modern poetry have offended in this way, has given a character to the whole; and after these graver sins, it may seem like an anti-climax to mention the follies of the poets; but our readers must take the trouble to remember that follies, in all cases, are far more offensive to the world than vices, and meet with sterner condemnation. One of these follies, was the debate concerning the invariable principles of poetry, conducted by Mr Bowles on one side, and Byron and Campbell on the other. The question was, whether the objects of nature or those of art, afford the best images for poetry. It would seem to be clear, that the works of God are greater and more perfect than those of man; but poetical interest does not belong to the objects themselves; it is superadded and given; and it seems idle to ask whether most poetical associations have gathered round the works of nature or those of art. Some critics attempted to give nature the preference, by showing that works of art, when poetical, in fact derived their interest from nature,—that is, from man who made them; but they are not the less artificial, on that account, and we apprehend it would be extremely difficult to find works of art, which were not made by man. Whether one shall be more poetical than another, seems wholly accidental; that may be poetical to one person, which is not so to another; and the only thing approaching to a standard in taste, is the sentiment, if we can ascertain it, of the greatest propor-

tion of men. Thus the Iliad and the Parthenon, having been stamped with the seals of successive ages, are acknowledged as first among the works of art. But these disputes, in subjects which admit of no precision, have tended to produce a weak and capricious taste in some, and aversion to the whole matter in others. What is exclusive, is almost always wrong. This should be remembered by those who speak of low and rustic life as affording the best subjects for poetry. By the best, they mean too often the only subjects; but others can see, that while low life offers fine subjects, and its language powerful expression, there is no reason why higher objects and incidents should not afford the same. If particular associations have made the hum of a spinning-wheel more inspiring to some than the tones of an organ, it is not wise to set it down as a standard for the taste of the world. We can easily conceive of giving a person a disgust to the whole subject, by talking to him of the invariable principles of poetry, and then taking Pope's works from his hands, and giving him Wordsworth's 'Peter Bell.'

The style of many writers of the day is another instance of folly. The versification of English poetry was polished slowly and with great labor, from the roughness of the metaphysical poets; but certain writers have lately found particular beauty in this very roughness, and labored with singular diligence to make their own verse lame and halting. They are not aware that the unpolished vigor, which seems natural in Cowper and Burns, appears like gross affectation in them; but as most men find a charm in musical verse, it is quite hopeless to call on them to turn from the well ordered military march, to admire the cripples' stumbling procession. This, however, is not the worst affectation of the day; there is an affected vagueness and obscurity,—a style in poetry resembling Hazlitt's in prose, which seems to be peculiarly fascinating to writers, though not to readers. We suppose that poets often feel that language is inadequate to convey their glowing sentiments and emotions. But they must consider that others are not thus oppressed with these same fine imaginations, and the language which seems striking to them, because it is indefinite, will most probably seem unmeaning to their readers. Certainly there are cases of description, like the vision of Eliphaz, where obscurity is impressive; but the obscurity should be in the nature of the subject, not in the mind of the writer. Those who think clearly will generally express themselves with precision; and every one

knows that the thoughts and images of the most gifted poets appear with a clear outline, like that of the statue against the bright blue sky. The advocates of these various systems, of course, deny the name of poet to those who have not followed their rules; and thus every great name has been roughly dealt with in its turn, except, perhaps, Milton and Shakspeare, which all profess to venerate, as all parties in this country bow to the name of Washington, without thinking it necessary to follow his instruction or example.

We may say too that the poems of the day have generally been adapted to a youthful taste; they have been founded on the excessive passions of youth, or romantic sentiments which those more advanced in life can neither sympathize with nor understand. We seldom find the history of patience and resolution, the adventure of philanthropists, the high endurance of living and dying martyrs, forming the subject of these poems; neither do we meet with portraits of affection in its simplicity, depth, and power. We have more of the passion than the sentiment of love; an oriental coloring is given to every feeling, and we have been called to admire characters like that of the 'Corsair,' which never was nor can be true to nature. The painting is all of the miniature kind; we find no works like the 'Paradise Lost,' resembling some architectural wonder, where the effect depends on the proportion of the whole, and not the finish of particular parts. All this is somewhat discouraging to those, who, like ourselves, are past the enthusiasm of life. When we read, we wonder where the charm has gone that used to steal over us; we see with profound indifference what once filled us with rapture, and become familiar with a melancholy feeling, like that which Humboldt beautifully describes, when, passing into the southern hemisphere, he saw the stars that had lighted his infancy sink and disappear. This is what makes so many cease to depend on poetry as a source of enjoyment; they may go back to Pope and Milton, and read them the thousandth time with pleasure, but they no longer care what poetical stars are rising or setting; they content themselves with living over the past.

Mr Hunt has named several poets in the course of his work, all of them men of great and various talent, any one of whom might have done much to keep up the standing and influence of his art. Why they have failed to do this, we think will appear as we indulge the remembrance of these distinguished men,

who, though most of them are yet living, have, like Napoleon, passed into history, and made all the impression they ever will make upon the world.

If we arrange them in the order of talent, we should set Byron first; for it is in vain to deny him the praise of most exalted powers. It is true that they were often perverted and misapplied, and that circumstances aided in the outset to give him notoriety; but that accidental interest would soon have passed away, had it not been sustained by real and gigantic power. While the harps of other poets could only gain audience as men paused awhile in the midst of their business and care, he sounded a trumpet with which all Europe rang,—people, principalities, and powers stood still to listen; the moralist was enchanted into silence before him, and the well deserved reproof of virtue died away in praise. We think we give his moral history, and at the same time explain why he did so little to exalt his art, when we say that he wanted character; he was always the creature of circumstances, impulse, and passion. A youth like his, wild and wayward, with no restraint but that of parents who deserved no respect, and appear to have been remarkably unfaithful to their trust, the one being a dissolute man of the world, the other a headstrong and violent woman, was not likely to give him a right direction for life. We may say that he might have resisted these circumstances; but we must make fair allowance for the effect of being thus exposed to misleading example. We do not see how he could have been otherwise than haughty, capricious, and resentful; a prey to the designing, who would flatter his passions, and an enemy to all who would have taught him to restrain them. A strong effort of principle might have altered his character as he grew older; but throughout his life, he seems to have been wholly destitute of fixed principles, and even habits, of action. He was also disposed to melancholy, which unfitted him for any such exertion. Cheerful in society no doubt he was; and cheerful in appearance, when, like the sufferers in his vision of 'Darkness,' he fired his dwelling as the shadow deepened, to afford a momentary warmth and light. But it is against nature to suppose that an ill-balanced mind like his could be happy, or that dissipation should have failed to produce its usual effect of making the world a wilderness round him. We have no doubt that he felt all the careless desolation he so powerfully describes, even in his youth; and no one will question that he felt it, after he

had madly 'cut down the bridge,' by which he might have returned to his home, friends, and country. Certainly his inconsistency is far from proving that he did not feel. We can conceive nothing more natural, than that such a man should begin to lament his wife the moment after he had cast her away; or that he should have again been incensed at times, when he thought of his imaginary wrongs, even while he knew that he himself was guilty. Such things are but too natural; and in such quick revulsions of feeling, the colors would naturally be heightened by his poetical imagination.

Such a man requires to be excited by circumstances; and we accordingly find that he did not put forth his strength, till a rude attack from a Reviewer had made him furious. The poem in which he expressed his resentment, was fierce and powerful; but he forgot that the satirist must secure the sympathy of his readers. Their sympathy never goes very heartily nor very far with mere revenge, and always changes sides when that revenge falls on the innocent as well as the guilty. We expect to find him, when in Greece, inspired by her majestic desolation; and accordingly he pours out his soul in a voice like that of past ages. But when he leaves her scenes and ruins, the climate of the East spreads its luxurious influence over him, and though before, in the true spirit of intellectual glory, he had trampled on the poisonous laurels that grow in the field of blood, we find him now perversely employed in exalting robbers and pirates into heroes and martyrs. He rises again among the recollections of Rome, which suggested perhaps the best of his poems; though one would think that he had conceived the idea of writing it, like Gibbon, among the ruins at night. He seems like a guide walking mysteriously through the city, and when he comes to some striking fragment of antiquity, turning upon it the strong light of his dark lantern. But Italy, with her 'fatal gift of beauty,' seems to have enervated all his faculties, and unfortunately his associates were not of a character likely to redeem him. Shelley says in a letter, 'Lord Byron is now reformed, and lives with a very beautiful and sentimental Italian lady.' Mr Hunt, too, declares himself very merciful to such *arrangements;* and with our impressions of Byron, it seems very natural that under such influences, he should have written canto after canto of a work which made many who were unused to blush, redden with shame for him. Again, when, weary of this debasement, he breaks the chain and

goes to aid the Greeks, his energy is called out and he acts with a generosity, good sense, and decision that amazed even his admirers. Like Burns, he had a strong and manly understanding, which appeared where circumstances were favorable to its action. But he had nothing of that resolution, which gives those who possess it such a mastery over themselves and over weaker men. This shows why he appeared at different times so strong, so feeble, so lofty, and so low; why, with powers like an angel's to tower above his fellows, he so often sunk beneath them, and left in the hearts of his admirers, a memory made up of strangely blended recollections of glory and of shame.

We cannot think that the greater proportion of Byron's poetry is likely to endure; too much of it is obscure, prosaic, and unnatural; though in the heavy clouds of smoke, we are occasionally startled by volcanic bursts of passion. He is irregular and unequal; there are few of his longer poems in which he sustains himself throughout; and if we were to select among his writings for immortality, we should pronounce his smaller pieces, like the one beginning 'Oh lady! when I left the shore,' most likely to be admired in future times. Many of these are unequalled for the depth and fulness of their sentiment and meaning, and the plaintive music of their flow. But his fame must be in a measure traditional, though monuments of his greatness will remain. Even if there were none, no one will ever doubt the power of him who made such an impression upon the world.

Next to Byron, if we consult our recollections, we must place Campbell; a name once delightful to all lovers of the art. We can remember the fine promise of 'The Pleasures of Hope,' in which the youthful air of the sentiments contrasted so well with the manly power displayed. His 'Gertrude of Wyoming' was far more perfect; it was almost faultless in its design and execution; and his 'Hohenlinden,' and 'Ye Mariners of England,' equal any thing that poetry has ever produced. Even now, familiar as they are, they send a cheering thrill to the heart, like the roar of a signal gun.

But Campbell early retreated from the field, thinking, perhaps, that he had written enough, and content, as well he might be, to rest his fame on what he had already done. It was certainly a great effort to sustain so high a character, and his later works sufficiently show, that it could not be sustained without

labor. His early works, rapid as their flow appears, were evidently touched and retouched with the painful industry of ancient sculpture. The spirit of the times did not encourage this delicacy, and being sufficiently sure of immortality without it, he gave over the exertion. No one can think that he retired through fear of suffering eclipse from any of the excentric orbs that were rising; but he might have been willing to make an experiment upon his fame, to learn what was his chance for immortality, while he was yet living. We cannot help regretting that he departed from his plan; for 'Theodric,' though it is now generously forgotten, was only calculated to injure his fame, and like Rogers's 'Human Life,' is a warning to poets never, out of complaisance to the times, to attempt to conform to a system which they do not approve at heart.

The world has no right, that we know of, to find fault with a poet for ceasing to write. He cannot be considered as indented to the business, simply because he has written well; still we cannot help feeling as if Campbell's retirement were somewhat inglorious; injurious it unquestionably has been. While he was building the tombs of the older prophets in a beautiful criticism, he might have reflected that the best way to do them honor was to show what kind of poetry their memory and example could inspire. It is unfortunately true of living on one's fame, as of living on one's capital; it diminishes faster than the owner is aware. The world insists upon looking on him, who has once been a poet, as always a poet; and its gratitude, as Walpole said of statesmen, consists in 'a lively sense of *future* favors.' We lament his retirement, not only as depriving us of a pleasure, but as encouraging the gradual decline of the art; for he seems to us better calculated than any living poet, to restore the classical taste and manly simplicity of former days. Campbell had no reason to complain that his works were undervalued; they were sought for and admired by old and young; and the public requires a constant supply of such poetry to keep its taste good. The public mind, disgusted by absurd, or wearied by uninteresting works, soon grows indifferent; and an unhallowed excitement can soon deprive it of its perception of true poetical beauty. If Chantrey should shut up his work-shop, and leave the field to artists of the bowsprit, the taste for sculpture would degenerate rapidly enough in England; and it is evident that a similar effect has resulted from Campbell's retirement; swarms of gilded insects have come out to the light;

many pretenders have gained notoriety by wildness and extravagance, who would have had neither chance nor ambition while labor, accuracy, and talent were essential to success.

We turn, almost with regret, to Wordsworth; a poet surpassed by none in elevation of feeling, strength of imagination, or tenderness of heart, who, by tenaciously adhering to a system, has had less influence on the public mind than any distinguished writer of the age. This is not wholly the fault of the public; and we are the more disposed to give our impression of his merits, because we know that there are among ourselves men of high religious feeling, who find a key-note struck in Wordsworth's writings, and in no other, to which their own hearts can fervently reply. On this account, they forgive or forget his obscurity and other defects; we fully agree with them in their admiration of Wordsworth, and regret the more that a mistaken system, which is nothing but his own taste exalted into a law, has limited his excellent influence in the world.

He maintains that the incidents of humble life are the best calculated for subjects of his art; and in this, we are inclined to agree with him. We are glad to find, that novels, as well as poems, are revealing sources of deep interest among the humble as well as the high. But he evidently treats them as the only subjects of interest, and in this we do not agree with him. We can see no reason for this exclusiveness; if association has made other scenes more poetical to others, he has no more reason for condemning their taste, than they for rejecting his. But to be a good subject of poetry and to be poetical one's self, are two different things; and thus we feel, that to represent the rustic as feeling the poetry he inspires, as actually walking in glory and joy behind his plough, is ludicrously untrue. Many of those cottages that look out so beautifully from their caverns of foliage, are abodes of vulgar vice and pain. Those acquainted with the character of peasants, tell us that they have generally no regard for the beauties of nature; and it is because this taste is so rare among them, that it seems so poetical when it is found. There must be proportion between circumstances and character; and it is by observing this proportion, that Crabbe has become so eminent for his rough-hewn sculpture. Truth is the charm in his poetical descriptions. The want of this truth to nature, prevents Wordsworth from becoming a favorite with the class he describes. They know that there is a simplicity of the man as well as the child, and they

think he has mistaken the one for the other. They know that philosophic pedlars are not to be found in all their acquaintance with that estimable race; and they can have no sympathy with beings that have no existence among men.

We think him mistaken, also, in his theory of the poetical language; a dialect generally supposed to exist, and yet sought for as much in vain, as the Lingua Franca on the shores of the Mediterranean. He is for the language of low life, 'purified from its defects'; but it seems to us that its main defect is its rusticity, and when purified from its coarseness, as it is in his writings, it is no longer properly called low. We have half suspected, at times, that he believed with the Frenchman, that 'speech was given us to conceal our thoughts'; but it seems to us, that the best language in poetry and everything else, is that which expresses our ideas, if we have any, with most force and directness. If it be true that people in low life express themselves more forcibly than others, the reason must be that they are more easily and deeply moved; but if others are subjected to the same emotions, the same language will spring to their lips; the accidental difference in circumstances making no change in human nature. That they are more easily moved, we are ready to admit; it is shown in the effect of eloquence upon them; but this only proves that they are better subjects of poetry; that they are more poetical in their sentiments and language, we are not ready to allow.

The general strain of Wordsworth's poetry is healthy and reviving; but there are some instances in which the feeling is excessive, and can find no sympathy in poets or others. We sympathize with him in the joys and sorrows of the cottage, because human nature is there; but we cannot consent to search for 'thoughts too deep for tears' in 'the meanest flower that blows,' because this can only be done by a marvellously excited imagination. It must require a long discipline to learn to be thus strangely moved, and it is, after all, a sad waste of feeling. We can find matter of interest and admiration in the flower, as a work of nature suggesting fine moral resemblances; but we are not prepared to weep over it, till we can be assured that such feelings are consistent with a manly regard to the duties of life; and moreover, till we can be sure of exemption from those misfortunes of life, for which tears are generally shed.

Wordsworth evidently desires to make poetry inspire reli-

gious feelings; and the attempt is worthy of all praise. But there is no such thing as reforming men, by talking in a language which they do not understand. If he had consulted the example of that religion which inspires him, he would have chosen the language most familiar to his readers, and endeavored to adopt their feelings, so far as he could without compromising his own. In this way he might have elevated theirs, and rendered a noble service to the cause of human improvement; as it is, he has contributed to the decline of his art, and done as little as a pillar-saint for the welfare of man.

We do not mention some other distinguished poets, partly because Mr Hunt has not afforded us a pretext by introducing an account of them into his book, with the exception of Moore and Coleridge; the latter of whom has been fortunate enough to maintain the reputation of a great genius, on the strength of his 'Ancient Mariner,' a wild and powerful ballad, though his admirers were sorely dismayed, for a time, by the publication of his 'Christabel.' The age has afforded all sorts of extravagance, among which the writings of Shelley, Barry Cornwall, and Keats, deserve to be mentioned, to show how beautiful talents can be eclipsed by an unnatural style. They might have shone bright in their several stations, if they had kept the orbits marked out for them by nature; but they chose to strike out new paths for themselves, and the world has shown no disposition to follow them. They seem to the uninitiated, employed as unprofitably as they would be in painting the colors that float before us when our eyes are shut, or setting to music the ringing in their ears; and each, by his particular errors, has done something to injure the influence of poetry in the world.

We could not, perhaps, better illustrate what we have said of the decline of poetry in public favor, than by giving a few extracts from writers of this description, Mr Hunt among the rest; and then by asking whether the art could do otherwise than decline, in an age when there were any who would listen to their magnificent pretensions. But we have no room for these, nor for extracts from the work before us, which has been widely circulated already. It is addressed, not to that desire which all feel to know something of the familiar life of an eminent man, but to the malicious scrutiny which so often assumes the censorship of virtue. We may honor the moralist who throws down the monument of the dead, when he thinks there is contagion lingering in it to destroy the living; but we have no

desire to repeat Mr Hunt's high-colored account of one who had been his friend, because we believe that he acted more from passion than duty.

What the destiny of poetry will be, we cannot pretend to determine. If, as Byron remarks in one of his letters, the poetical world is in a state of revolution, we trust, that, like other revolutions, it will terminate in improvement at last. The two faults of the age have been imitation and affected originality. It seems hard for a man of talent to confine himself to the footprints of those who have gone before him; but he should reflect that excessive care to avoid this resemblance, shows a consciousness of inferiority, quite as often as imitation. We really think, however, that most of those who have dreaded resembling Pope, need have been under no apprehension, lest the likeness should be too striking. We allow that he was elaborate and artificial; and those who find fault with him for this, would do well to remember that poetry is an art. If they say he was too elaborate and artificial, we can assure them that they do not mend the matter by going to the other extreme; and we have no doubt that he will be found nearer to truth and nature than his opposers, when the question, What is truth and nature? is determined, as it must be, by the prevailing sentiment of cultivated men.

Art. II.—1. *Edda Sæmundar hins Fróda, Edda Rhythmica sive Antiquior, vulgo Sæmundina dicta. Pars III. continens Carmina Voluspá, Hávamál, et Rigsmál. Accedit Magnüssen (Finni) Priscæ veterum Borealium Mythologiæ Lexicon, &c.* Havniæ. 1828. 4to. pp. 1146.

2. *Svea-Rikes Häfder af E. G. Geijer.* 1sta Delen. Upsala. 1825. 8vo. pp. 605.

The attention of the scholars of almost every country in Europe has been recently turned with renewed and fresh interest to the cultivation of their own native literature, language, and history. An exclusive devotion to classical models, and especially a subservience to those of French literature, have ceased to be the order of the day. None have labored with more zeal in this patriotic work than the Danes and Swedes.

They have found, too, an ample field of curious research and investigation, in the old monuments, relating to their early history, still preserved in the ancient Icelandic or Scandinavian tongue, the parent of the modern dialects of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. There are no nations of modern Europe, who can trace back the authentic history of their ancestors so far in written records. We do not mean that the mythic and mythico-historical books of those remote times are always to be relied on, for particular facts and circumstantial relations of events, or as establishing an unbroken succession of kings or other chronological data. These are often, doubtless, mixed up with mythological fictions, and the false exploits of the gods attributed to real heroes. But what is of vastly more importance to the philosophical student of history, than any mere barren detail of dry facts, or long lists of kingly lines, like those which the weird sisters showed to Macbeth,—is the broad and strong light cast upon national manners, laws, religion, and other institutions, by these ancient works. Even those which are the most blended with fictions are not the least valuable in this respect. They trace the systems of religion on which the popular faith was founded, and describe to us the conduct of human agents under the influence of this belief. They paint the wars, and festivals, and loves of these ancient nations. They exhibit, in high relief, their manners and customs, laws, government, religious rites, and other peculiarities. So that when we strip off the poetical and mythic exterior of these monuments, we are presented with a living picture of the character and manners of our remote ancestors, true to nature, and valuable for its antiquity. But the national historians of Denmark and Sweden have not been satisfied with this general application of these remains of antiquity to the philosophy of history. They have sought in them for auxiliary evidence of particular historical facts and chronological data. They have been used for this purpose with great skill and ingenuity by *Suhm*, the Danish historian, who, by the aid of this clue, has succeeded in unravelling the intricate web of Danish history, and dissipating the obscurity which hung over the early annals of his country. The Swedish historians have also made a similar use of these materials, as we shall see hereafter.

The earliest emigration from the North, of which we have any authentic account, was that of the Cimbri and Teutones, who went forth from the Cimbric Chersonesus, about a century

before the Christian era, or in the year of Rome 640, in search of a new country in the milder climate of the South. The military genius of Marius saved Italy from the menaced consequences of this irruption, which came near to anticipating the fate of the *Eternal* city by several centuries; and we do not hear of another swarming from the great northern hive, until the Goths accomplished what their precursors had vainly attempted. Like all other nations, the Goths sought to illustrate their origin by boastful appeals to the achievements of their ancestors, who, in their migrations wars, and conquests, were led by heroes and demi-gods. Cassiodorus, the principal minister at the court of Theodoric, the Gothic king of Italy, compiled a Gothic history from the ancient chronicles and songs, which were preserved among them by oral traditions; and, Gibbon supposes, may have embellished it with such fictions of his own invention as would flatter the national vanity of these conquerors. But the light, thrown by more recent researches upon the history of the North, would seem to confirm the general authenticity of the materials from which he compiled. The original of this history is lost, and a very imperfect idea of its contents is to be obtained from the abridgment of Jornandes. But it represents the Goths to have left the Scandinavian peninsula, where they had been established by Odin, and to have settled on the southern shores of the Baltic, long before they made their irruption into the Roman empire. It is, however, a more probable opinion, adopted by some later historians, that the Goths in Scandinavia were rather a colony from those on the southern coast of the Baltic.

The Gothic class of languages belongs to the Japhetic, or Indo-Germanic family; and we have a specimen of one of these languages, of the Teutonic branch, (the *Mœso-Gothic*), in the version of the Gospels by Ulphilas in the fourth century.

But the oldest and most authentic monuments of northern history have been preserved in the ancient Scandinavian or Icelandic language, which is the parent of the modern dialects of Sweden and Denmark. This, too, belongs to the Gothic class of languages, and consequently to the Japhetic family, and has many internal marks of its oriental origin. In the year 874, A. C., Ingolf and several other distinguished chiefs of Norway, in order to escape from the intolerable tyranny of Harold the Fair-haired, who had reduced all the petty states of that country under his dominion, founded a colony in Iceland,

which had previously been discovered by the Norwegian navigators. The descendants of these fugitives preserved the knowledge of the Scandinavian language and literature in this sequestered island. The remote situation of Iceland from the great theatre of wars and revolutions on the continent, and consequently the external peace, together with the free, republican form of government, favored the cultivation of letters in this *Ultima Thule*, whilst the parent country was too often involved in darkness, bloodshed, and tyranny. Like those of most other uncivilized nations, the Scandinavian learning and history were preserved in oral traditions, long before any attempt was made to reduce them to writing. The Sckalds, like the rhapsodists of ancient Greece, and the bards of the Celtic tribes, were at once poets and historians. They were the companions and chroniclers of kings, who frequently entered the lists with them in their own art. An intercourse, pacific or warlike, was constantly kept up with the parent country, and the Sckalds were a sort of travelling minstrels, continually going from one northern country to another. A regular succession of this order of men was maintained; and a list of two hundred and thirty in number of those who were distinguished in the poetic art, in the three principal kingdoms of the North, from the reign of Regner Lodbrok to Valdemar the Second, is still preserved in the Icelandic language, among whom are several crowned heads. This Regner Lodbrok, who was a famous poet and pirate (!) reigned in Denmark about the commencement of the ninth century, and after many predatory excursions into different countries, was taken prisoner by Ella, a Saxon king of one of the petty states into which Britain was divided, and by an exquisite refinement of savage cruelty was left to perish from the venomous bites of serpents with which his prison was filled. An ode still exists supposed to have been sung by him in his torments, but doubtless composed by Brage the Old, or some other of the Sckalds, which is full of glowing anticipations of the felicity he was to enjoy in the hall of Odin, after such a long career of what, in that age, were called glorious achievements.

A collection of these traditional poems of the ancient Sckalds was made and reduced to writing, in the eleventh century, by Sæmund Sigfusson, who was born in Iceland about the middle of that century, and studied at Cologne, in Germany. This is what is called the *poetical* Edda. The original

text of this very ancient and curious book, with a Latin version, various readings, notes, glossary, &c. was begun to be published at Copenhagen in 1787. One volume of this work was issued in that year, under the superintendence of the learned men composing what is called the Royal *Arna-Magnæan* Commission, to whose care is confided a collection of Icelandic manuscripts, which is now in the library of the University at Copenhagen, and which was left by a native Icelander, Arne Magnussen, eminently skilled in the literature of his country. A second volume was published in 1818, which contains, principally, mythico-historical poems. These not only throw light on different passages of Scandinavian history, but illustrate the connexion between the history of the northern nations, and that of the Franks, Huns, and Burgundians, in their various wanderings, wars, and conquests. A third volume has just been published by Professor Finn Magnüssen ;* who is also the author of an essay which gained the prize offered in 1816, by the Royal Society of Sciences at Copenhagen, for a critical solution of the connexion between the religion of the Scandinavians and other northern nations, and that of the Indo-Persians, with a comparative view of the traditions, language, and monuments of this national family, published in Danish, 1824–1826, in four volumes, octavo. He has brought a vast variety of learning to bear upon this subject, and considers the Scandinavian mythology as mostly physical, and in this manner connects it with the mythic systems of the East. Professor Magnüssen has also compared the mythic system of Ossian with that of the Scandinavian nations, in another essay, published in the Transactions of the Scandinavian Literary Society, and shown their identity, from which he infers the originality of the poems published by Macpherson.

The *prose* Edda is supposed to have been arranged in the beginning of the 13th century by Snorro Sturleson, born in Iceland in 1179, and descended from one of the most illustrious families of the republic, in which he had filled the highest offices with honor and distinction. Certain it is, that this Edda or prosaic Mythology (which may be compared to the Library

* This contains a Lexicon of the ancient Northern mythology, compared with the religious systems and rites of other cognate nations, such as the Germans, Persians, Indians, &c., with a view of the popular superstitions, the remnants of the ancient Pagan religion, which still prevail in the North of Europe.

of Apollodorus), being thought of little value, and perhaps rather scandalous than useful to Christian people, was continued by some other authors, with a view to explain the poetical imagery and circumlocutions in the songs of the Sckalds, and this continuation is called *Skalda*. The prose Edda is a sort of *Ars Poetica*, intended to initiate young poets in the science of mythology and the poetical language. It was first edited, much altered and abridged, in 1665, by Resenius, with Latin and Danish versions by other hands. To this he appended two songs of the poetic Edda ;—the *Völuspá*, or poetical prophecy of Vala, which contains a sort of abridgment of the mythological system of the Edda in a very mysterious and often unintelligible style, resembling the Sibylline verses ; and the *Hávamál*, or sublime discourse of Odin, which is a metrical collection of moral precepts, not unlike the Proverbs of Solomon, or the Pythagorean *Carmina Aurea*. The best and most complete editions of the original text of the two Eddas, with various readings, &c. are those published by Professor Rask, at Stockholm, in 1818, in two separate octavo volumes. His eminent qualifications for the task, by his previous residence in Iceland, and his profound knowledge of the ancient languages and literature of the North, are well known and fully appreciated by all those acquainted with these subjects. The text of the poetic or elder Edda in this edition differs, however, but little from the large Copenhagen edition in three quarto volumes, mentioned above, except in being more accurately accented, having the *i* distinguished from *j*, *u* from *v*, *ö* from *o*, &c., and being of course, more legible to persons who have a tolerable knowledge of the common Icelandic. The songs are also placed in an order nearer to the original arrangement, and divided into two parts, the first of mythological, the second of heroical songs. But the text of the other, or the *prose Edda*, is almost entirely different from that in Resenius' edition, it being derived from the most ancient manuscript, called *Codex Regius*, from which Professor Rask never has deviated, except where some reading in the other ancient manuscripts on parchment, for critical reasons, seemed to be decidedly preferable. The *Edda*, properly so called, is here, for the first time, distinguished from the *Skalda*, with which it was confounded by Resenius, so that even some scholars have thought the *Skalda* a lost work, not perceiving that almost one half of it had been incorporated in Resenius' edition of the *Edda Snorronis*.

Various opinions have been maintained by critics, as to the share which Sæmund, who first gave to the world the poetical Edda, had in its composition. Some suppose, that he merely collected the Runic manuscripts of the different poems, and transcribed them in Latin characters. Others maintain that he collected them from the mouths of different Sckalds, living in his times, and first reduced them to writing, they having previously been preserved by oral tradition merely. But the most probable conjecture seems to be, that he collected some from the poets of his day, and others from the scattered manuscripts written after the introduction of Christianity and *Latin* letters into Iceland, and merely added one song of his own composition, the *Sólar Liód*, or *Carmen Solare*, of a moral and Christian-religious tendency, so as thereby to consecrate, and to leaven, as it were, the whole mass of Paganism. He thus performed for these ancient poems the same office, which, according to the theory proposed by Wolf and Heyne, and generally adopted by the critics of Germany, was performed by the ancient Grecian Rhapsodist, who first collected and arranged the songs of his predecessors, and reduced them to one continuous poem, the Iliad. But that the odes now in question could not have been collected by Sæmund, or any body else, from Runic manuscripts, will be evident from the following considerations.

The Runic alphabet consists properly of sixteen letters, which are Phœnician in their origin. The traditions and chronicles of the North attribute their introduction to Odin. They were probably brought by him from the East into Scandinavia, but they have no resemblance to any of the alphabets of central Asia. All the ancient inscriptions to be found on the rocks and on stone monuments, which exist in the greatest number near Upsala, the principal seat of the religion of Odin, are in the ancient Scandinavian language, but in Runic characters. Some ancient coins exist with Runic legends engraved upon them. They were also used for inscriptions on arms, utensils, and buildings, and occasionally on wooden tablets for the purpose of epistolary correspondence. There is an allusion to this latter use of them in the *Atlamál in Grönlenzko ;** and also in a Latin poet of the sixth century, Venantius Fortunatus, who asks his friend Flavus, if he is tired of the Latin, to write to him in Hebrew, Persian, Greek, or even *Runic* letters ;

* *Edda Sæmundar hinns Fróda,* Pars II. p. 422. Edit. Legat. Magnæan.

'Barbara fraxineis pingatur *Runa tabellis*,
Quodque papyrus ait, virgula plana valet;
Pagina vel redeat perscripta dolatile charta,
Quod relegi poterit, fructus amantis erit.'

But they were principally used for lapidary inscriptions, and there is no evidence that any such thing as *books*, properly so called, existed among the Scandinavian nations before the introduction of Christianity. Ulphilas made use of the Runic characters in his translation of the Gospels into Mœso-Gothic in the fourth century, making certain alterations and improvements in the alphabet to accommodate it to his purposes. But the only manuscript which now exists in Runic characters, is a digest of the customary laws of Scania, which is supposed to have been written in the thirteenth century. A magical quality was attributed to the Runic characters by the ignorant superstition of the Scandinavians. This was artfully inculcated by Odin. In the poem which terminates the edition of the *Hávamál* by Resenius, he is represented as detailing the power of various charms composed of *Runes*, as adequate to heal diseases, to counteract poison, to enchant the arms of an enemy so as to render him impotent in battle, to still the rising tempest, to stop the career of witches as they ride through the air; and he even boasts that by these magic spells he could raise the dead, and hold converse with them respecting the secrets of the invisible world. In the *Vegtams-Quida*, he is represented as mounting his horse *Sleipner*, one of the foul brood of the evil spirit *Locki*, and descending into the infernal regions to evoke the spirit of a deceased prophetess with Runic incantations, and to compel her to reveal future events respecting which the gods themselves were in doubt and alarm.

It is this passage which Gray has translated, or rather paraphrased;

'Uprose the king of men with speed,
And saddled straight his coal-black steed;
Down the yawning steep he rode,
That leads to *Hela's* dread abode.
Him the Dog of Darkness spied,
His shaggy throat he open'd wide,
While from his jaws, with carnage fill'd,
Foam and human gore distill'd;
Hoarse he bays with hideous din,
Eyes that glow, and fangs that grin;
And long pursues, with fruitless yell
The father of the powerful spell.
Onward still his way he takes,
(The groaning earth beneath him shakes,)

Till full before his fearless eyes
The portals nine of hell arise.
'Right against the eastern gate
By the moss-grown pile he sate,
Where long of yore to sleep was laid
The dust of the prophetic maid.
Facing to the northern clime,
Thrice he trac'd the Runic rhyme;
Thrice pronounced, in accents dread,
The thrilling verse that wakes the dead;
Till, from out the hollow ground,
Slowly breath'd a sullen sound.
'Pr. What call unknown, what charms presume
To break the quiet of the tomb?
Who thus afflicts my troubled sprite,
And drags me from the realms of night?
Long on these mould'ring bones have beat
The winter's snow, the summer's heat,
The drenching dews, and driving rain!
Let me, let me sleep again.
Who is he, with voice unblest,
That calls me from the bed of rest?'
* * * * * *

These magical qualities of the Runic letters are also described in the *Brinhildar-Quida*, (the Ode of Brynhilda.)* We will give a short sketch of this legend, as it affords a very good specimen of the style and subjects of these singular compositions. *Sigurdr*, journeying to the south towards Franconia, sees upon a high mountain a flaming light. As he approaches it he enters a valley, and beholds what he supposes to be a man in full armor sleeping on the ground. Sigurdr takes off the helmet of the sleeper and discovers that it is an Amazon. Her armor clings to her body so that he is obliged to cut it off with his sword, when she arouses from this deathlike sleep, and inquires who has unbound the spell in which she lay entranced. Sigurdr informs her who he is, when she hails in mystic strains the cheerful light of day, pours libations to the fruitful Earth, and the other deities, and tells him that she is a *Valkyria* employed by Odin to watch the fate of battle, and give the victory to him to whom the god had decreed it; she had unadvisedly interfered in a combat between two kings, to one of whom Odin had promised the victory, but she gave it to the other by cutting off his adversary's head. Whereupon the god struck her with his soporific wand (he is represented with this attri-

* *Edda Sæmundar hinns Fróda*, Part II. p. 190.

bute of Mercury), and commanded her never more to engage in war, but condemned her to be married. The spirited Amazon vowed that she would marry no man who knew fear. Sigurdr, stimulated by curiosity and love, asks her to indoctrinate him in that lore which she had gathered in various regions, or as some commentators have it, various *worlds*, which she had visited,—for these wild and mystical poems are most of them susceptible of a mythic as well as a literal interpretation. Thus *Odin* is the supreme deity, as well as the conqueror, high priest, and king of the Scandinavians; *Asgard* is the Olympus of the northern deities, as well as the eastern city from which Odin is supposed to have come; the *Giants* are the Finns; the *dwarfs* are the Laplanders; the *Vani* are the Russians, &c.

Brynhilda then describes the qualities of the enchanted cup of liquor, which she offers to Sigurdr, strongly medicated with poetical inspiration, wit, and other good things; and instructs him in the magical virtues of the different hieroglyphic characters, and especially of those which Odin had expressed from the liquor (or had discovered when *inspired* by the influence of the liquor) distilled from the head and horn of *Heiddraupnir* and *Hoddropnir*, two monsters whom he had vanquished and killed. The ode then makes a rapid transition, and abruptly introduces the god, as standing on a rock, 'with naked sword and helmed brow.' Having just decapitated *Mimis* the Giant, he compels, by Runic incantations and magical charms, the ghastly head to join in the colloquy. The head of the defunct Giant then becomes an interlocutor in the dialogue, utters oracles, and indicates the true magical characters, or *Runes*, and their various offices. Brynhilda then desires Sigurdr to determine whether he will pursue this course of philosophy any longer at the hazard of learning something fatal to his peace. But he declares that he will abide the disclosure, even if instant death await him in the decrees of fate. She then proceeds to read him a course of ethics, which in comparative purity and good sense is strangely contrasted with the grim features, that generally mark the religion of Odin. For instance,

'And first this counsel take.—Towards thy kindred, lead a blameless life. Do not avenge, if they provoke; for this, they say, in heaven meets its reward.

'Another I will give.—When thou swearest, speak nought but truth. Atrocious punishments await the perjurer's crime.'

She proceeds to give him a great deal of other good advice,

and among the rest, to beware of 'the evil eye,'—of enchantments,—not to take a wife for her beauty or riches,—against hard drinking and quarrelling in his cups—if attacked by an enemy in his house, to go forth and meet him, 'for it is better to perish by the sword, than to be burnt up alive,'—and not to confide in the promises of the kindred of the man whom he has slain, 'for the wolf lurks in the little child, even if they have accepted the price of blood.' These counsels are followed by directions for burying the dead, 'whether they perish by disease, on the sea, or by the sword.'* The story is continued in several subsequent cantos, comprising very beautiful specimens of these antique compositions, and containing a copious mine of poetical wealth, from which Olenschlæger and other living Danish and German poets have enriched their works. They are not only full of wild and beautiful poetry, and lively pictures of the manners and customs of the heroic age of the North, its patriarchal simplicity, its deadly feuds, and its fanciful superstition, peopling the earth, air, and waters with deities, genii, dwarfs, and giants; but there are many touches of the deepest pathos, to which the human heart beats in unison in every age and in every land;

'Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.'

This is especially true of the *Völundar-Quida*, and the succeeding connected odes; which have all the interest of a complicated drama from the variety of events, and of the characters, who are introduced and portrayed with exquisite skill, the scene continually changing from one country to another; and in which might be found the materials of many tragedies and tragic romances. How beautiful is the allegory of the Serpent

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*These are, to prepare a *tumulus*, wash the body, comb the hair, bring it on a stone bier to the place of interment, and bid the deceased repose in peace. These stone biers are still used by the people of the North; and in Norway it is the custom to set down the body at the front door of the house, where a valedictory is pronounced, not by the minister of religion, but by some one of the peasantry. Before the arrival of Odin in the North, the usage of *interring* the bodies of the dead was universal. He introduced the custom of *burning* them, and collecting the ashes in an urn, which was deposited in the *tumulus*. But this usage never prevailed universally, and the primitive custom was subsequently revived, and must have been practised when the above poem was composed. The religion of Odin also inculcated the duty of wives' sacrificing themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands, and the Scandinavian chronicles and poems contain many traces of this practice.

who conceals the treasure, and, transmitting it from hand to hand, makes it the continual *stimulus* of new crimes of constantly increasing atrocity, and illustrates the dreadful power of the *auri sacra fames* over the heart of man!* Such too is the story of the heroine who is represented in the *Gudrúnar-Quida in Fyrsta* (or First Ode of Gudrúna,) as standing by the dead body of her slaughtered husband Sigurdr, immoveable in her resolution not to survive him, and refusing to be comforted. The illustrious chiefs, and noble women 'girt with gold,' crowd around her, and vainly strive to console her grief and dissuade her from her fatal purpose. She sheds not a single tear, but remains a fixed picture of silent despair, whilst her female friends and companions endeavor to suggest topics of consolation from their own calamities and sufferings. Among these *Giaflaûga* tells of her having followed to the grave five husbands, two daughters, and three sisters. *Herborga*, a queen of Hungary, has a sadder tale of woe to relate. She had lost seven sons, and her husband slain in battle, and her father, mother, and four brothers buried in a watery grave within a year; had been taken captive in war, and carried into slavery, where she was compelled 'to loose and unloose the shoe-latchets' of the chief's wife, by whom she had been taken prisoner, and to perform other menial offices similar to those so much dreaded by Andromache in her parting speech to Hector. Still Gudrúna cannot weep, until they are about to remove the dead body of her husband; when they take off his robe, and, disclosing his gaping wounds, desire her to take the last kiss,—she bursts into a flood of tears. This tragic story ends by the return of Gudrúna into her native country, Denmark; but Brynhilda, the lover of Sigurdr, will not survive him. She commands eight of her male slaves, and five females to be slain, and falls upon her own sword.† These same persons and their tragical history make the subject of the old German epic poem *Nibelungenlied*, which is however much more modern in the form, in which it exists at present.

One of the most curious of the mythic poems contained in the Edda (volume first) is the *Vafthrudnismál*, which, like most very ancient writings of this sort, is in the form of a dramatic dia-

* *Edda Sæmundar hinns Fróda*, Pars II. Proëm. p. xii. Edit. Legat. Magnæan.

† Idem. Part II. p. 270—284. Edit. Legat. Magnæan.

logue. Odin proposes to visit one of the most famous Giants, or Genii (the original word is *Jötun*, signifying one of the race of demigods), for the purpose of comparing the extent of their respective attainments in sacred science, and consults his wife, the goddess *Frigga*, 'to whom alone the future is known,' upon the subject of his enterprise.* She with true feminine prudence counsels him to stay at home, where his godship is safe in the celestial mansion, 'for no one of the Giants is to be compared with Vafthrudnir in craft and valor.' But Odin persisting in his resolution, she vouchsafes him a favorable augury, and bids him have his wits about him, for her sake, and that of the other deities, whose fate was linked with his. Odin sets forth on his journey *incognito*, and comes to the hall of this giant, celebrated for his knowledge of sacred mysteries, which he approaches, and discovers that the master is at home.

'ODIN.

'Hail Vafthrudnir! I have at last reached thy mansion; but before I enter, first I would know if thou art indeed that wise and omniscient Genius.

'VAFTHRUDNIR.

'Who is this mortal, that thus accosts me in my palace? Unless thy wisdom exceeds mine, thou shalt never go hence.

'ODIN.

'Gagnráder is my name. I have been long on the road, and am both hungry and thirsty; I demand hospitality, Genius!

'VAFTHRUDNIR.

'Why then, Gagnráder, do you remain at the threshold? Come and take a seat in the hall, and we shall soon see who of the two is the wisest, the guest or the old speaker.

'ODIN.

'The poor man who enters the rich man's door should be frugal of his words.

'VAFTHRUDNIR.

'Tell me then, Gagnráder, if thou wouldst give a specimen of thy science, the name of that horse who drags the car of Day over the heads of mortals?

'ODIN.

'*Skinfaxi* is the horse called, who drags the car of Day over

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* In this *mythus* a trait of the ancient manners of the North is glanced at, to which Tacitus has alluded in respect to the veneration in which women were held by these nations; 'Inesse quin etiam *sanctum aliquid et providum putant:* nec aut *consilia earum adspernantur, aut responsa negligunt.*' De Mor. Germ. cap. 8.

the heads of mortals,—the fleetest among horses, with the ever-shining mane.

'VAFTHRUDNIR.

'Tell me, Gagnráder! if indeed thou wouldst give a specimen of thy science, the name of the horse, who drags the car of Night over the heads of the beneficent Deities?

'ODIN.

'*Hrimfaxi* is the horse called, who drags the car of Night over the heads of the beneficent Deities, and the foam which distils from his mouth is the dew of Morning.'

The Giant, finding from the readiness of his guest in thus naming and describing Lucifer, Hesperus, and the other stars, that he had an antagonist worthy to enter the lists with him, invites Odin to take a seat by his side, and engage in a disputation upon the mysteries of sacred science, with this singular condition, that the losing party should forfeit his head! Then begins the keen encounter of their wits, and Odin (who still keeps his *incognito*) commences the digladiation by asking the Giant, whence proceed the earth and the heavens; who answers very learnedly and correctly, that the earth was created from the flesh of *Ymir*,—the rocks (primitive, transition, and all), from his bones,—the heavens, from his brain,—and the sea, from his blood.* The god proceeds to interrogate the Genius (numbering his questions like a Chancery lawyer) upon the most puzzling points of cosmogony and theogony,—whence proceed day and night, winter and summer,—the creation of the human race, &c. His eleventh interrogatory regards the condition of departed spirits, and he inquires respecting the nature of the occupations of the heroes, who, having perished by a violent death, were alone thought worthy to enjoy the felicity of Odin's *Valhalla*. The Giant answers, that they are daily engaged in martial exercises, similar to those in which they were employed on earth, and encounter each other in battle, in which real blows and even mortal wounds are dealt, and many are slain; but at the signal given for the banquet, they arise, and march with the rest to the hall of Odin, to share in the feast prepared for them, and to quaff the liquor of the gods, and converse together in peace. These tournaments and feasts were to continue to the end of the present world. He then pursues his inquiries, respecting the destruction of the universe,

* Under this mythological imagery is described the creation of the external world from *Chaos*, typified under the form of the giant *Ymir*.

and the new creation by which it is to be followed, according to the mythological notions of the Scandinavians, evidently derived from the East, where that dogma had prevailed from very early times. He asks what is to become of Odin himself, in this final consummation of all things. To which Vafthrudnir readily replies, that *Femir* the wolf shall devour the 'Father of Ages' (Odin), and the whole world, with all things therein, both gods and men, shall be involved in one general conflagration. The pretended Gagnráder at last asks the Genius what are the words which Odin whispered in the ear of his son, when the latter was placed upon his funeral pile. Whereupon the astonished Genius recognises Odin, and acknowledges himself vanquished in this intellectual duel.

'VAFTHRUDNIR.

'No mortal man those words can know which thou whisperedst in the ear of thy son at the beginning of ages. I read my doom, written in magic characters, and decreed by the celestial fates for having dared to encounter the all-wise Odin in sacred controversy.'

One of the oldest Danish annalists is Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote in the twelfth century, under the patronage of the celebrated Archbishop Absalon, minister of Valdemar the First and Canute the Sixth. That remarkable man, who united the apparently incompatible characters of churchman, warrior, and politician, and in each of them excelled the most conspicuous personages of his age, not only encouraged Saxo in the compilation of this work, but is supposed to have furnished him with great assistance in its progress. The genius of the historian does not however appear to have corresponded with that of the statesman by whom he was patronized. He attributes the foundation of the Danish monarchy to *Dan* (A. M. 2910), from whom the country was called *Dannmarck*. But other national authorities trace the origin of the name to the word *Dan* or *Dann*, which signifies *lowland* (and of which kindred forms remain in the modern dialects, as *downs* in English), being applied in opposition to the highlands of Norway and the mountain tracts of Sweden. In the preface to his work he professes to classify the authorities on which he proceeded. These are the old songs, odes, or chronicles in verse, by which the ancient Danes celebrated the exploits of their heroes; the Runic inscriptions found all over the North; the Icelandic chronicles and *Sagas;* and the relations communicated to him by Arch-

bishop Absalon. Some of these are certainly valuable, and indeed indispensable, materials for ancient Danish history. But this author wanted the skill to make the right use of them. He seems to have been a credulous pedant, incapable of distinguishing between those fictitious narratives, which are very good evidence of general manners, and those original documents which are alone sufficient to establish particular historical facts and the circumstantial details of events. His general authenticity is arraigned by the learned Torfæus, in his *Series Dynastarum ac Regum Daniæ;* who proves that Saxo Grammaticus had but a very limited acquaintance with the old traditional poems of his country, which besides are insufficient evidence as to the succession of kings or the chronological series of events; that the Runic inscriptions are of little or no value as illustrative of national history, since they rarely contain anything of a public nature, and are most of them obscure, effaced, or illegible; that the Icelandic chronicles and *Sagas* might indeed have been highly useful, had they been diligently studied by this author, which there is internal evidence they were not, since he is so often contradicted by these ancient writings; and, lastly, that we have no means of determining the precise value of the information received from Archbishop Absalon, since we do not know from what sources he himself derived it. From all which Torfæus concludes, that though the compilation of Saxo Grammaticus contains many curious particulars as to the antiquities of the North, it is entitled to very little credit in respect to authority, as he has blended the fabulous, the heroic, and the historical together, and has swelled the list of Danish monarchs to an inordinate length by confounding the various dynasties who reigned in the petty states into which the country was divided before the time of Gorm the Old.

Torfæus, who was himself a native of Iceland and deeply versed in Scandinavian learning, very laborious, diligent, and active in his inquiries, attempted to rectify these errors, and to settle the chronology of the series of Danish kings from a period a little before the commencement of the Christian era down to Gorm the Old in the ninth century, when the different parts of the monarchy were reunited, and from which epoch its indivisibility became, according to the Danish publicists, a settled constitutional maxim. He begins with Skiold, the son of Odin, making him the founder of the first race of Danish kings, retrenching the long line of preceding monarchs which the imagination or

anachronism of Saxo had supplied, and correcting the multiplied errors into which the latter had fallen as to the order of the succeeding reigns.

The chronological system of Torfæus appears to be followed by Suhm, and the best modern Danish historical critics. But to a foreigner, at least, it does not seem to be entirely free from objections similar to those which have been justly made to that of Saxo Grammaticus. The derivation of all the first dynasties of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway from Odin, is not a little startling, when we reflect that the kings of the Saxon heptarchy also traced their descent from *Woden*, and that the early history of all nations is filled with fabulous genealogies of their princes, deriving their origin from deified heroes. The Icelandic chronicles are doubtless curious and valuable monuments of national literature. But it must be remembered that they were collected from very remote oral traditions, handed down from one generation of Sckalds to another, and first reduced to writing after the introduction of Christianity into the North. Though this does not in the slightest degree diminish their value as illustrative of national manners, polity, and religion, it would seem to render them less worthy of implicit credit as evidence of particular historical facts. Eleven centuries elapsed from the advent of Odin to the epoch of the first Scandinavian chronicler *in writing*, Islief, bishop of Sckalholt in Iceland, who died in 1080. Even his work has perished, although it is believed to have been made use of by Are (the Learned), the friend and fellow-student of Sæmund, who first collected and published the poetical Edda. On the other hand, the power of oral tradition, as a medium of communication between ages remote from each other, ought not to be too much undervalued; especially where there is a perpetual order of men, whose exclusive employment is to learn and repeat, whose faculties of memory are thus improved by cultivation and carried to the highest pitch, and who are relied upon instead of historiographers to preserve the national annals. This is especially true where the compositions to be repeated are in a metrical form, which increases the facility of remembering them. Even after the Homeric poems had been reduced to writing, the rhapsodists still retained them so perfectly that they could readily recite any passage desired; and we are told of Calmuck poems of much greater length than the Iliad, which have never yet been reduced to writing, although their bards can repeat very large portions of them.

Many valuable materials for the history of the North have been collected and published since the time of Torfæus. But as he was a native Icelander, he had the facility of access to these in the original manuscripts, and has in fact used them with great diligence, and even critical skill, in his compilation. Professor P. E. Müler, a living author deeply versed in these studies, has written a learned essay upon the sources from which Saxo Grammaticus derived his information, and also upon those which Snorro Sturleson used in the compilation of his history of the kings of Norway. The *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* is a collection of chronicles and other materials for national history, commenced by Langabeck and subsequently continued by Suhm. It is printed in a very handsome manner, at the expense of the king. Seven volumes in folio have already appeared, and the eighth is now in the press. Several of the ancient *Sagas* which relate to the Scandinavian history previous to the introduction of Christianity, have been published at Copenhagen in the original Icelandic text, some with Latin and others with Danish translations. They are regarded as authentic materials for history; not precisely chronicles, but family histories or annals, somewhat like those from which Livy and the other Roman historians principally compiled. There are other works which bear the same title of *Sagas*, but which are fictitious romances founded upon the exploits of the deities, kings, and chiefs of the heroic age. Some of these have been published in Sweden in the original, and some translations of such have appeared at Copenhagen.

One of the last authentic *Sagas* which have appeared there, is that entitled *Laxdæla-Saga*, which was published in 1826, under the direction of the Arna-Magnæan Commission, in the original Icelandic text with a Latin version. It is the history of a particular family, who inhabited a valley in Iceland near the river Laxá, so called from the abundance of salmon to be found in it. But, like most of these books, it branches out into general history, and goes back to the discovery of the island and its colonization from Norway in the time of Harold the Fair-haired, and comes down to the period when it was converted to Christianity. It is full of interesting details as to those remote ages and sequestered countries,—the modes of life of their inhabitants,—their hereditary feuds, wars, factions, trade, and fisheries, —and the exploits of the *Vikings*, who were nursed on the mountain wave, and boasted that they had never slept by a cottage fire. The scene is not confined to Iceland, but spreads

itself to Norway, the Orkneys and Ferroe islands, Ireland, and Scotland. Five kings of Norway, and one of Ireland, figure as actors. The narrative is conducted in the most animated strain; the characters are portrayed with fidelity in their minutest lineaments, and we see and hear them in every act of private and public life, as if we were actually present; whilst there is every internal evidence to attest the authenticity of the narrative, and to convince us that we are not entertained by a fiction.

It thus appears that there exist very extensive, and, if they were used with sound judgment, authentic materials for the early history of Denmark. These materials have been collected, excerpted, and arranged with immense erudition and incredible diligence by the great Danish historian P. F. Suhm, who devoted his life and fortune to that purpose. His scattered writings have been collected in fifteen volumes, octavo, contaning among various treatises and papers of very different value, one (volume ninth) on the difficulties in writing the ancient Danish and Norwegian history. But his historical writings consist principally of the following very laborious and voluminous works. 1. Preparatory essays for the proper history of the North, namely, on the Pagan religion, on the origin of the Northern nations, on their various emigrations, and a critical history of Denmark during the dark and fabulous ages; making, in all, ten volumes in quarto, except one, containing genealogical tables, in folio. 2. The history of Denmark from Gorm the Old to about the year 1400, making fourteen volumes in quarto, which has been completed during the present year by the learned Professor Nyerup, who was for a long time Suhm's librarian. The style of Suhm is by no means attractive, nor is his judgment very acute, nor his reasoning clear and cogent; but he has amassed the materials and cleared the ground for a future architect.

The best Swedish history hitherto completed, is that by Professor Lagerbrink of Lund, the cotemporary of Suhm, published at Stockholm in 1769–83, in four volumes quarto. He is much inferior to Suhm, however, in research and learning, and perhaps even in style and impartiality. But as the best *subsidia* to Northern history were published at Copenhagen after his work was commenced, or even finished, the author is in a great measure excusable for these defects. Some of the mistakes into which he has fallen in respect to the more ancient

portion of this history have been lately corrected in two volumes of *Annotations to Lagerbrink*, &c., published by the present royal historiographer of Sweden, Mr *J. af Hallenberg*. The achievement of a good national history of Sweden seems in a fair way of being accomplished by Mr *Geijer*, the author of the work, the title of which is prefixed to the present article. The first volume of this work, which (when finished) is intended to be a complete history of Sweden, was published at Upsala in 1825. It contains, 1. A geographical view of the country. 2. An account of the notions which the Greeks and Romans had of the North, and the Gothic emigrations. 3. The Scandinavian, and especially Swedish sources of historical information. 4. The Runic monuments. 5. The Icelanders, and their poetry and history. 6, 7. The mythological and heroic history of the North. 8. The history of the *Ynglinges*, or first Swedish dynasty, descending from Odin. 9. Critical remarks on that period. 10. The *Ynlinges* in Norway, and the history of Regner Lodbrok and his sons. But as this article has already extended to a greater length than we had intended, we will merely add, that it relies on the best authorities existing, and is composed with a very judicious choice of materials, of which the book itself contains a critical account.

Art. III.—*The Life of Elbridge Gerry, with contemporary Letters, to the Close of the American Revolution.* By James T. Austin. Boston. Wells & Lilly. 1828. 8vo. pp. 520.

It has been sometimes remarked, in substance, that the Revolution is becoming a trite theme. This is a great error; its interest is daily increasing. The circumstances, that the generation by whom it was accomplished has almost wholly disappeared; and that the generation, which succeeded that of the Revolution on the active stage of life, is already in retirement, heighten instead of diminishing, the interest of that great event. It is viewed by a new generation of men, educated to new ideas, and new destinies. It is viewed through a new medium, that of oral tradition, growing every day more general and faint, and of written accounts, multiplying in the same ratio. It is in the nature of tradition, to select only

the prominent incidents. It is in the nature of written accounts to represent the subject matter, in the most imposing light, either of praise or censure; and the result is, that an event of real magnitude in human history is never seen, in all its grandeur and importance, till some time after its occurrence has elapsed. In proportion as the memory of small men and small things is lost, that of the truly great becomes more bright. The contemporary aspect of things is often confused and indistinct. The eye which is placed too near the canvass, beholds too distinctly the separate touches of the pencil, and is perplexed with a cloud of seemingly discordant tints. It is only at a distance, that they melt and mingle into a harmonious, living picture.

Besides, great events in real life, like the master-pieces of poetical creation, have their beginning, their middle, and their end. The glory of the whole cannot be seen in the detail of any one of the parts. It is only when we see the whole spread out, over a series of years, and sometimes of ages; when the principles for which good men toiled and suffered, have ripened into institutions; when truths, which seemed at first the abstractions of the philosopher's cell, have grown into laws, into constitutions, and what we may call the habits of nations, that we are able duly to appreciate the character of the leading events of the history of our race, and the merit of the great men raised up in the critical conjunctures of national fortune. No man liveth for himself alone; neither does any generation live and act for itself alone. As it is necessary to put an individual through all the exercises of social life,—to try him in every relation for which his physical, intellectual, and moral nature qualify him, before you can attain the full conception of what a man is; so the character of an age, and the joint action of the great men of an age must be traced, through succeeding ages of consequences. It is true, that the result is often far different, we may suppose, from the anticipation of those who took the initiatory steps. Not one, perhaps, of those who attended the first congress in 1774, had any conception of the events which fifty years would bring about in this country; and it might seem, for that reason, an exaggeration, to give them distinct credit, for what they did not even foresee. This, however, is false reasoning. In a great national crisis, such as the revolution of 1775, the minds of the leading men are wrought up to the highest pitch of fervor. They glow with unwonted enthusiasm; the future is indeed indistinct, but it is

full of all that is momentous. What the particular consummation will be, they cannot tell; but their spirits are attuned to great issues. It may be some indefinite remedy of a present grievous oppression; or some fanciful fulfilment of projects deemed chimerical; it may even look to a cool reasoning observer like strange delusion, as when some of our revolutionary fathers proposed to introduce the Hebrew tongue, or when Columbus projected a new crusade to Palestine, as the final object of his discoveries.* But it is evident enough, that when men have wrought themselves up to a state of feeling, in which they freely stake their fortunes and lives upon their actions, they are under a prophetic excitement, looking forward to vast consequences, which may be different in kind from those that happen, but not inferior in degree. And whatever the particular form of the result, they who knowingly risked all to produce *some* great and desirable result, are entitled to the full credit of the happy consequences.

To take another example, it may very rationally be stated, that not one of our pilgrim fathers had a distinct anticipation of the future progress of the country. But so far is this from diminishing their glory, as the founders of these republics, that, we might almost say, it increases it. Could they have foreseen the certain train of auspicious consequences, destined to flow from their enterprise, the natural weakness of the human heart would have been so much flattered in the vision, as almost to destroy the merit of their voluntary sufferings. As it was, they foresaw nothing certain, but incredible hardship and numberless sacrifices. But inasmuch as they deliberately encountered these from good motives; and did, at the same time, form to themselves an obscure, but elevated and pious vision of christianizing the Continent, and bringing its undiscovered regions and unknown tribes within the pale of religious civilization; their merit ought fairly to be measured by the grandeur of the actual consequences of their enterprise, although the precise form of those consequences was not and could not have been foreseen.

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* An instance may here be found of the different judgments formed of the same thing, by different minds. The suggestion alluded to in the text, is spoken of by the late Mr Gifford, in his notes to Ben Jonson's Plays, in a sneering manner. Mr Poletica, perhaps as good a judge in political affairs as Mr Gifford, refers to it as a suggestion, it is true, of an impracticable character, but one founded on a true perception of the political relation of the United States to Great Britain. A remark on the project of Columbus will be found on another page.

If there be any justice in these principles, they show both that the Revolution, instead of being a theme, trite and exhausted, is now beginning to be understood in its proper grandeur and importance; and also that, however great and happy the train of events has proved, of which that was the commencement, the illustrious men of that day are fairly entitled to have their merit estimated accordingly. But while we must place ourselves in the point of view, in which the event has enabled us to stand, we must, at the same time, go back to contemporary materials, to furnish the foundation of a true understanding of the character of the men and the events of the revolution. We must open the public archives; and this, though not thoroughly done as yet, has not been neglected; on the contrary, a good part of what history we have is drawn from what may be called public sources. But in addition to this, we must search the scrutoires and examine the private files of the leaders of the day. Though not a little of this work has also been done, much remains to do, and every contribution of this sort, to the general stock of our knowledge, ought to be gratefully welcomed by every patriot and every curious student of our history. We already have a series of works, which no one, who wishes to know what the revolution was, ought to leave unstudied. The lives of Otis, Quincy, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Franklin, and the signers of the declaration of independence already, constitute an invaluable series. To these are now added that of Gerry, and we have reasonable expectations, that those of Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson will soon enrich the collection.

As no one of these works is, of course, a history of the revolution, and as they all owe their chief value to their connexion with the revolution, it follows that they are to be regarded as collections of materials; and possess an interest, independent of their literary execution. The Life of Elbridge Gerry, which is under our present consideration, besides its value as a repository of revolutionary materials, is drawn up in a manner creditable to its author. It is neither overloaded with speculation, nor destitute of the reflections necessary to explain, introduce, and connect the letters of the principal personages of the day. Colonel Austin has avoided an error exceedingly obvious in the composition of a work of this kind; that of making it a historical sketch of the Revolution. The known events of that period are now so familiar, that however natural

it may be, for the biographer of one of its great characters, to present a continuous narrative of its occurrences, it is a far more judicious course, and it is that pursued by Colonel Austin, to take for granted that the reader knows the history of the revolution, and to introduce so much of it only, as is convenient for the understanding of the peculiar action of his hero, and the materials for the first time presented to the reader. On a few occasions, Colonel Austin has indulged in reflections of his own, at some length; and, at these times, has discovered no little vigor and originality of thought, and pointedness of manner.

The life of Mr Gerry was continued to an advanced period, and his agency in public affairs extended throughout an unusually protracted succession of events. In the language of Colonel Austin,

'In the convention to form a constitution for the confederacy, which may be considered a new epoch in the history of the United States, he attracted no common share of public attention. At the organization of the federal government, he was a member of the house of representatives; during the negotiations, which ended in the termination of our treaties with France, he was engaged in an important embassy to that power; during the excitement and agitation which preceded the second war with England, he was at the head of the government of Massachusetts, and through the greater part of that war presided over the senate of the United States.

'This connexion with distant and important events in the history of this country, belongs almost exclusively to him. Four of his associates in the colonial legislature and provincial congress of Massachusetts were his colleagues in the congress which declared the independence of the United States, but neither of them was a member of the convention which prepared the federal constitution. Of the whole number who signed the declaration of independence, seven only were members of the latter assembly. Again, the first and second congress under the new government contained many individuals who had been distinguished in the civil or military service of the revolution, and several who had assisted in forming the present constitution, but the number of those concerned in both these events was small. Time rapidly made that number less, and when the subject of this memoir took the chair of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, few of his associates in the revolution were in its councils. At a subsequent period, when he presided in the senate of the nation, he is believed to have been

the only individual, in any branch of the government, who had been a member of the "*immortal congress of* 1776."

'Two only of his colleagues of the revolution attained an equal elevation under the constitution of the United States. They passed indeed to a rank one degree higher in its service; but of these eminent citizens one ceased to hold public office about the commencement of the present century, and the other retired in the year 1809. Subsequent to this latter period, ELBRIDGE GERRY was governor of Massachusetts, and died in 1814, vice-president of the United States.'

In the present work, the narrative of Mr Gerry's life is brought down only to the close of the revolution. His biographer has assigned the reasons which have induced him, for the present, to pause at this stage, in the following manner;

'Of those more recent events which occurred at and subsequent to the formation of the constitution of the United States, it is not easy to speak with sufficient impartiality, at a time so near their accomplishment. The irritation they excited has not subsided. The storm of party violence may have ceased, but the waves are not yet calm. The traces of a consuming fire are still perceptible. The path lies

"per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso."

'The prominent incidents in the life, which this volume is intended to illustrate, occurred in times of revolution, faction, and party warfare. The whigs and tories were not more vindictive than the advocates and opponents of the constitution, or than the factions who quarrelled about the treaty of London and the war with France, or than those who arranged themselves under party banners as republicans and federalists.

'It was not possible that any man of decision of character and personal independence should stand well with all these irritated adversaries. In such times every honorable man selects his side. The consequence of a choice is the favor of one and the enmity of the other.

'The subject of this memoir enjoyed in a remarkable degree the support of his political friends, and had no patent of exemption from the fate, which impended over the statesmen of his age. Much of the malignity, with which he was assailed, may be justly ascribed to a vindictive and vulgar spirit; but it is not to be doubted that many measures of his public life seriously displeased the leaders of a strong and powerful party, and induced them to believe they "did the state some service" by diminishing the influence of his name.

'To discriminate between defamation intended merely to exas-

perate, and that estimate of conduct which speaks sincerely in the language of reproach; or between adulation designed to exalt the character of a leader, and praise which is the honest sentiment of a gratified community, is not always a practicable task. The duty of the biographer is doubtless to enable his readers to form their own judgment by an impartial and dispassionate narration of the facts that existed.

'This and other considerations have induced the publication, at the present time, of so much only of the life proposed to be written as was passed during the revolution, a period about which, at this day, there is a correct standard of opinion. The residue is in progress, and may be given at some future time to the public. It is the more willingly deferred, because it is that part with which recent inquirers into American history are in some degree familiar.'

We are inclined to think that Colonel Austin has in this adopted a judicious course. In the volume at present before the public, he has presented, on behalf of the venerable subject of his narrative, a claim to public respect, which all will admit. He has identified him, in the most intimate manner, with the American Revolution. He has shown him to us, as the confidential associate and coadjutor of its great leaders,—as a distinguished leader himself; and in this imposing and dignified light, he has deduced his history to the termination of the war. There is a portion, a very large and active portion of the community, who are prepared already for the continuation of the narrative. We believe no man now finds it difficult to do justice to those, who opposed or who advocated the adoption of the Constitution. There are not many states of the Union, to which this ought to be a more tender theme, than to Massachusetts. The Convention was almost equally balanced, and the means employed to produce the desired result do not illustrate, as much as could be wished, the power of pure reason. Still, however, we believe we have reached an age, when this subject could be treated, without risk of offence in any quarter. The same may be said of the events of a period considerably subsequent, in reference to the younger portion of the community, who have come into life since other events have been the turning points of the politics of the country. But, inasmuch as some of the active politicians of the periods specified by Colonel Austin are still on the stage, we think he has acted with a commendable discretion, in pausing at the close of the Revolution; and we are quite willing to rest with

the same discretion the choice of the moment, when the interesting narrative shall be resumed; prepared to welcome it, whenever he shall think fit to present it to the American people.

But it is time to invite the reader's attention to some of the interesting details of the work before us,—and among these, we cannot but allude to the subject of the academical exercise assigned to Mr Gerry, at the period of his graduation at Harvard College. At the period, when Mr Gerry took his degree at Cambridge, the annual commencement was a far more important occasion, than it is at the present day, when colleges are numerous, and festivals of all kinds have been so much multiplied, as to divide that public attention, which was then concentrated on a very few, among which the commencement at college was inferior to none, in the general estimation. The academic exercises of this occasion were therefore highly important, both as an indication of the feeling, which existed among the portion of the community, which, having received a liberal education, was destined, in the professions, to exercise an influence over public sentiment; and also as an instrument, at the time, of giving tone and animation to the opinion of those assembled from all parts of the state. Accordingly, the very first movements of popular sentiment were responded from the University. Samuel Adams took his second degree at Cambridge, in 1743. On this occasion, he maintained the affirmative of this question, 'Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved?' In 1765, John Adams wrote his Essay on the Canon and Feudal Law, in the splendid peroration of which he makes the following animated appeal;

'Let the colleges join their harmony in the same delightful concert. Let every declamation turn upon the beauty of liberty and virtue, and the deformity, turpitude, and malignity of slavery and vice. Let the public disputations become researches into the grounds, and nature, and ends of government; and the means of preserving the good and demolishing the evil. Let the dialogues and all the exercises become the instruments of impressing the tender mind, and of spreading and distributing far and wide the ideas of right and the sensations of freedom. In short, let every sluice of knowledge be opened and set flowing.'

At the annual commencement in 1765, the same year in which this exhortation was given, Mr Gerry received his sec-

ond degree at Cambridge, and supported the affirmative of this question, 'Whether innovations in the laws of trade and revenue which destroy the commerce of a people, may be lawfully evaded by them as faithful subjects?' It will be recollected that, in the year before (1764), new duties had been laid on the West India trade; and that in 1765 the stamp act was passed. At the same commencement, Francis Dana, afterwards a distinguished member both of the continental and the federal congress, and chief justice of Massachusetts, maintained the negative of the question, 'Whether the legislature of a state had a right to change its constitution.' It was therefore, with great propriety, that the following remark was made, by the present chief magistrate, at the annual visitation of the Boston free schools in 1826. 'It was from the schools of public instruction, instituted by your forefathers, that the light burst forth, which now illuminates the world. It was in your primary schools; it was by the midnight lamps of Harvard Hall; that were conceived and matured, as it was within these hallowed walls,* that were first resounded the accents of that independence, which is now canonized in the memory of those, by whom it was proclaimed.'

We pass over a great many details of interest, relative to Mr Gerry's entrance into political life, and his services in the legislature and on the committee of correspondence, and come to the period when, in 1774, he was elected a member of the provincial congress, which sat at Concord, Cambridge, and Watertown, and which Colonel Austin justly describes, as the first purely revolutionary assembly in the colonies. There was nothing contrary to the existing charters of government, in the convocation of the continental congress at Philadelphia. Like the congress of 1765, which met at New York, to confer on the Stamp Act; or the congress of 1754, which met at Albany to devise a plan of general union, the meeting of 1774 could only be regarded as a legal conference of committees from several colonies, met to submit their grievances to the crown; which they did in a dutiful address. The provincial congress of Watertown was convened, against all previously existing law, except that, which is previous to all other law,—the law of necessity. They were truly told by the royal governor, that 'their assembling, as they had done, was a violation

* Faneuil Hall.

of their own constitution.' They in particular took that step, which may be considered, in modern revolutions, as marking, by a precise point of time and action, the turn in the tide of government;—we mean that, which gives a new direction to the revenue of the state;—which cuts off the streams from one treasury, and pours them into another. The provincial congress of Massachusetts elected Henry Gardner as treasurer, and called on the people to pay their taxes to him.

On this general subject, Colonel Austin makes the following just reflection.

'This assembly had no justification for convening by any provisions of the provincial charter; and their assuming the powers of legislation, and other high acts of authority and government, were supported by no other sanction than the voluntary consent and approbation of the people.

'Resistance to organized government usually begins by military force. The arm of the law is active and powerful enough to put down all opposition that is not supported by the bayonet; but the American revolution began by the exertion of moral and intellectual power. It commenced in an intelligent and peaceable effort by the people to direct for themselves, and by themselves, the public business of the province; and so far as Massachusetts was concerned, the assembling of these delegates with the intention of exercising all the powers of legislation, and carrying this intention into complete effect, was a perfect abandonment of the provincial government, an overthrow of the royal power, and the beginning of the existence of a free, sovereign, and independent state.'

We are well convinced, that, in after ages, one of the most important points of view, under which the American revolution will be scrutinized by the friends of liberty and the student of history, will be that of a great school of freedom, in which other times may find the most instructive lessons, as to the methods, by which a republican independence can most successfully be attempted. If we trace back our history to the cradle of the commonwealth, we find that after liberty of conscience, the first thing needful, the understanding must be enlightened, and the means of education provided; in order that the reasoning mind, which in its liberty of conscience has acquired the right to think, may be enabled to think rightfully, liberally, and wisely. Without this preparation, strength is brute force; and numbers, wealth, and what we may call statistical prosperity, can serve only to make a valuable colony; never a hopeful commonwealth. When a revolution then is to

take place, let it, according to the great example of our fathers, begin far back with that, which is the glory of human nature, the calm, decided, energetic operation of the *reason* of the people; diffusively, in the common sense of the mass; eminently, in the strong conviction of the gifted minds. A just and hopeful political reform must first disclose itself, as such, in this way; for *reason*, deciding, reflective reason, is the great glory of our nature; and that, which makes one mortal being superior to another, and nearer the immortal and Supreme, is the elevation and correctness of his intelligence.

When by education the mind of the country is prepared; when the faculties of the gifted few are prepared to lead, and of the intelligent mass to follow, then, in a well conducted revolution, ensues the purest and chastest operation of intellect,—that, by which the rights of the people and the duties of the crisis are, in the various forms of *written discourse*, powerfully set forth and brought home to the community, and made familiar to its members. After the unexpressed, the inexpressible, the purely etherial operations of mind, that, which approaches nearest to them, is the silent voice of reason, in the retirement of the closet. It does not supersede, it awakens the independent action of other minds. It suggests the theme, but affords space for meditation, for qualification, it may be, for correction. It is the most transparent veil, the most spiritual incarnation, in which the word can be made manifest. Here, too, is the highest test of comparative merit, which man can apply. Of the inward exercises of pure reason, man cannot judge; nor how much those of one intellect exceed those of another. But when the truth of a cause and the strength of its supporters are brought to the test of a written exposition and defence, we are then furnished with the first and surest means of judging of its truth, and of the power and light, with which it has been conceived and taken up. The whole history of the colonies, down to the year 1760, presents us with the illustrations of this stage of an orderly revolution.

Lower in the scale is the agency, by which the cause, thus prepared in the consciences, convictions, and reason of men, is to win its way to the favor of the less reflecting portion of the community, or to gain a majority of voices in the primary and popular assemblies. This is the agency of *public speaking*, an instrument less chaste indeed and intellectual, than that of written discourse, yet liberal and generous in its nature. But it ne-

cessarily borrows not a little from physical accidents; it addresses a taste less severe; it looks more to the side of the passions, and less to that of the reason; and is not so necessarily the expression of native power, and independent thought. Moreover, till the understanding of the best and most solid portion of the community has been enlightened; and they are well taught in the principles of reform, it is premature to put the multitudinous assemblies in action, by the sympathetic fervor of popular eloquence. But when each of these in its place has been done; when the understandings of the people have comprehended the principles of the proposed reform, and their reason has felt its necessity; when, in the large cities or in the crowded audiences elsewhere convened, their spirits have been wrought up to a certain passionate enthusiasm, by the eloquence of fervid appeals, then they have reached what may be called the maturity of preparation. They are ripe for the reform they demand. From the year 1760 to 1775, may be considered the period, in America, of this second stage of preparation.

If arbitrary power be still opposed to the acknowledgment of their rights, nothing farther is needed, than to raise *the arm of flesh*,—the humble but faithful minister of the righteous will of an enlightened and enkindled people, resolved to be free. This, of course, is an agency still lower in its character, partaking of mechanical impulse, and brute violence; but ennobled by a noble cause, and necessary in the conflict with the like force, exerted in an opposite direction.

Such is the wholesome gradation of the energies of a people, trained up in orderly discipline, to a seasonable and auspicious independence. It is of such a revolution and such an one alone, that it can be said, in any hopeful sense, *Vestigia nulla retrorsum.* But woe to the misguided nation, that inverts the succession of the powers and talents, by which alone a great and genial efficacy in human affairs can be exerted; whose mighty masses are put prematurely in motion; whose popular assemblies are hurried into hasty and unconsidered measures; and who are obliged slowly and sadly to go back to the heavenly directress,—the counsels of calm reason,—to repair the errors, into which they had been plunged by following their passionate guides. It would be easy to point out, in the history of the French revolution, a complete contrast to the American, and to show that the prosperous issue of one and the disastrous miscarriages of the other proceeded from a

complete inversion of the natural order of the talents, by which a movement ought to be given to political affairs. It is necessary, to avoid misconception, to add, that the talents of written discourse, popular eloquence, and physical action do not necessarily exist alone, each exclusively of the others. There are rare instances, where they are all united. They were eminently so in Julius Cæsar, who wanted nothing but good moral qualities, to make him the paragon of humanity; being, as he was, the most elegant writer, the happiest popular speaker, and the ablest general in Rome. Less rare are the cases, where two of the three great qualities are united, in the same individual. We have compared them above only as possessed, and brought into operation, singly and each exclusively of the others; that is, as much so, as any one quality of rational man can be exclusive of all the others.

It would be grateful and instructive to examine the characters of our revolutionary leaders, in the application of the talents we have described. Mr Jefferson and Dr Franklin exercised the purely philosophical influence (but that of the highest order) over American affairs; the latter long before the crisis of the revolution came on, the former more eminently in the succeeding stages of our political progress. Neither of them, we believe, possessed any portion of the talent of the orator or of the soldier. Mr Adams united to the pure philosophy of Jefferson and Franklin a powerful gift in eloquence, which made him a far more efficient member of a deliberative assembly than either. Washington's talent was peculiar. We believe he never spoke in a deliberative assembly; and he discharged with great success the functions both of the philosophic statesman and of the soldier, without possessing, in an eminent degree, the *peculiar* qualities of either. As a learned civilian there were many of his contemporaries who surpassed him; as a commander, it certainly would not be hard to point out, in the revolutionary army, a few men more visibly endowed with purely military qualities. He seemed to possess just enough of either character to enable him to do the duties of both. In civil administration, the decision, circumspection, and firmness of the commander were his main strength; in the command of the army, the moderation, assiduity, and perseverance of the civil service were the great features of his Fabian policy. He does not owe his military fame to his battles; nor his reputation as a magistrate to his political science. He is more indebted

perhaps for his great and solitary ascendancy to the moral qualities of his character, and to his high disinterestedness, than to his possession of the talents, which render other men famous. The subject of the present work, Mr Gerry, was not an orator, in the common sense of the word, and though two or three times exposed to peril from hostile violence, was never in the military service. His power was that of intelligence, energetically, assiduously, and patiently exerted;—strengthened by the merit of early espousing, steadily supporting, and never deserting the cause.

Mr Gerry was a member of the committee of safety, appointed by the provincial congress; which committee had been in session at West Cambridge, on the 18th of April, 1775. The following interesting anecdote shows, by how narrow an escape he was saved from being one of the first victims of the war.

'A committee of congress, among whom were Mr Gerry, Colonel Orne, and Colonel Hancock, had been in session, on the day preceding the march of the troops, in the village of Menotomy, then part of the township of Cambridge, on the road to Lexington. The latter gentleman after the session was over had gone to Lexington. Mr Gerry and Mr Orne remained at the village; the other members of the committee had dispersed.

'Some officers of the royal army had been sent out in advance, who passed through the village just before dark, on the afternoon of the 18th of April, and although the appearance of similar detachments was not uncommon, these so far attracted the attention of Mr Gerry, that he despatched an express to Colonel Hancock, who with Samuel Adams was at Lexington. The messenger passed the officers by taking a by-path, and delivered his letter. The idea of personal danger does not seem to have made any strong impression on either of these gentlemen. Mr Hancock's answer to Mr Gerry bears marks of the haste with which it was written, while it discovers that habitual politeness on the part of the writer, which neither haste or danger could impair.

'MR HANCOCK TO MR GERRY.

"DEAR SIR, *Lexington, April 18th,* 1775.

"I am much obliged for your notice. It is said the officers are gone to Concord, and I will send word thither. I am full with you, that we ought to be serious, and I hope your decision will be effectual. I intend doing myself the pleasure of being with you to-morrow. My respects to the committee.

I am your real friend,

JOHN HANCOCK."

'Mr Gerry and Colonel Orne retired to rest without taking the least precaution against personal exposure, and they remained quietly in their beds, until the British advance were within view of the dwelling-house. It was a fine moonlight night, and they quietly marked the glittering of its beams on the polished arms of the soldiers, as the troops moved with the silence and regularity of accomplished discipline. The front passed on. When the centre were opposite to the house occupied by the committee, an officer and file of men were detached by signal, and marched towards it. It was not until this moment they entertained any apprehension of danger. While the officer was posting his files, the gentlemen found means by their better knowledge of the premises to escape, half dressed as they were, into an adjoining corn-field, where they remained concealed for more than an hour, until the troops were withdrawn. Every apartment of the house was searched "for the members of the rebel congress"; even the beds in which they had lain were examined. But their property, and among other things a valuable watch of Mr Gerry's, which was under his pillow, was not disturbed.'—pp. 67–69.

Mr Gerry was one of the earliest to perceive the importance of organizing the naval strength of the country. While his friend John Adams, in the continental congress, was prompt in directing the attention of that body to the same subject, Mr Gerry, in the provincial congress of Massachusetts, submitted a proposal at an early period in 1775, for a law to encourage the fitting out of armed vessels, and to provide for the adjudication of prizes. This was a step of no common delicacy. The idea of a formal war, offensive as well as defensive, found but tardy entrance into the minds of the people. They easily conceived themselves authorized, by the law of nature and necessity, to defend themselves against the actual application of force; but it was going much farther, to engage themselves in voluntary warfare, particularly a warfare against the private property of their British countrymen. So strong were these scruples, that among the anecdotes illustrative of the opinions of the day and the manners of the people, we hear of American merchants, who, in fitting out their privateers to cruise against British commerce, opened an account with the king of England, in which he was regularly charged with the captures they suffered, and credited with the prizes they took.

Mr Gerry was chairman of the committee, appointed to prepare the act to authorize privateering and establish admiralty courts. Governor Sullivan was another member of it;

and on these two gentlemen devolved the task of drawing the act; which they executed in a small room, under the belfry of the Watertown meeting-house, in which the provincial congress was holding its sessions. It was found necessary to pay regard to the scruples of those, who doubted whether such a measure might not be inconsistent with the allegiance still professed to the crown. This was certainly no easy task, but Mr Gerry said to some of these persons, in the words of Colonel Austin, 'we will contrive to "*whereas*" it, into some reasonable form.' He accordingly undertook to frame the preamble; and Governor Sullivan drew the act. The preamble ran in the following terms; and we apprehend it would be hard to find a more pregnant *whereas*, in the annals of legislation.*

'Whereas the present administration of Great Britain, being divested of justice and humanity, and strangers to that magnanimity and sacred regard for liberty, which inspired their predecessors, have been endeavoring, through a series of years, to establish a system of despotism over the American colonies, and by their venal and corrupt measures, have so extended their influence over the British parliament, that by a prostituted majority, it is now become a political engine of slavery;—and whereas the military tools of these our unnatural enemies, while restrained by the united forces of the American colonies from proceeding in their sanguinary career of devastation and slaughter, are infesting the seacoast with armed vessels, and daily endeavoring to distress the inhabitants, by burning their towns and destroying their dwellings with their substance, plundering live stock, and making captures of provision and other vessels, being the property of the said inhabitants;—and whereas their majesties, King William and Queen Mary, by the royal charter of this colony, "for themselves, their heirs, and successors, did grant, establish, and ordain, that in the absence of the governor and lieutenant governor of the colony, a majority of the council shall have full power by themselves, or by any chief commander, or other officer or officers, to be appointed by them from time to time, for the special defence of their said province or territory, to assemble in martial array, and put in warlike posture the inhabitants of their said province or territory, and to lead and conduct them, and with them to encounter, expulse, resist, and pursue by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, within or without the limits of the said province or

*There is more light thrown on one peculiarity of the Yankee character, in this admirable *mot* of Mr Gerry, than can be gathered from all the travellers in America, we have ever read.

territory; and also to kill, slay, destroy, and conquer, by all fitting ways, enterprises, and means whatever, all and every such person and persons, as should, at any time thereafter, attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of their said province or territory, and to take and surprise, by all ways and means whatever, all and every person and persons, with their ships, arms, ammunition, and other goods, as should in a hostile manner invade or attempt the invading, conquering, or annoying of their said province or territory;"—and whereas it is expressly resolved by the grand congress of America, "that each colony, at their own expense, make such provision by armed vessels or otherwise, as their respective assemblies, conventions, or committees of safety, shall judge expedient and suitable to their circumstances and situations, for the protection of their harbors and navigation on the seacoasts, against all unlawful invasion, attacks, and depredations from cutters and ships of war;" and it is the duty and interest of this colony to exert itself, as well for the purpose of keeping supplies from the enemy, as for those mentioned in the paragraphs of the charter and resolve now recited;

'Therefore, for the more effectual carrying into execution the purposes aforesaid,' &c. pp. 505, 506.

In connexion with this extract, our readers ought to turn to the volume, and peruse the letters of the late President Adams, preserved in the Appendix, on the subject of the origin of the American navy.

It would be out of our power, did it fall within our present object, to pursue the analysis of this interesting volume. Almost every page of it contains matter, which the curious and patriotic student of our history must read with delight. The original letters of John and Samuel Adams, of Washington, of Jefferson, of Knox, of Dana, of King, and of other distinguished men of that day, are sufficient to stamp the highest degree of importance on the volume. There are fewer letters of Mr Gerry himself, than we could have wished. We account for their absence, on the supposition, that, in the great press of business, which devolved upon him, he had not time to reserve copies of many of his letters, and that the originals have not been returned to him or his representatives.

This is a matter of some general interest in this country, at this moment, and one, therefore, we hope, on which we may be permitted to make a few remarks. In the literary republic of Europe, as far as we are acquainted, letters are considered as the property of their writers, and not of the persons to whom

they are addressed. The person, who writes them, sends them to his correspondent (generally speaking) for the *sole* purpose of being *read* by *him*. In the great majority of cases, private letters are good for nothing else; and consequently it is needless to inquire, in whom is vested the residuary property in them. But the private letters of distinguished men, on public subjects, soon acquire a literary and a historical importance, and with it, a pecuniary value. To whom do they belong? We answer, that, as far as we know, in the estimation of the literary world abroad, they belong to their writer or to his representatives. It is considered a matter of course, when an individual dies, unless some other disposition of his papers be made by himself, that the letters of his correspondents should be returned to their authors; and equally a matter of course, that the letters, which he may himself have written, should be sent back by those, in whose possession they are, to the surviving representatives of the deceased, on whom devolves the care of his property and of his reputation. This course seems to us reasonable and just. Honor, in the first place, forbids the use of a letter, by the person to whom it is addressed, for any other purpose than that for which it was sent him. If I publish my correspondent's letter to me, unless with his express or easily implied permission, I do an act by no means creditable. If injury result to him by the publication, I have been guilty of unpardonable indiscretion. If I make the publication intentionally to injure him, I am guilty of the most detestable baseness. The man, who, intentionally to injure another, violates the confidence of a private correspondence, is an assassin, in all but the nerve which is wanting to plunge a dagger into his neighbor's back. The quality of the action is not essentially changed, when performed by the representatives of the original parties.

But the case of more common occurrence is one, which does not involve a departure from the rules of honor. It is simply that of regarding all the letters found in a person's possession at his decease, as his property and not that of their writers; and this idea has been in this country, in some degree, adopted. But we think it plainly an incorrect view of the subject. How desirable would it have been to the respectable gentleman, who has favored the public with this life of Vice-President Gerry, to have had all his letters in his possession? Or take the case of Mr Jefferson. Suppose that he

had not been in the habit of retaining copies of his letters; and that they existed only in the originals, and these scattered over the continent. His family would, in that case, be deprived of a very considerable portion of the richest fruits of his mind, and of the most lucrative remains from his pen. Even as it is, the pecuniary value of any publication his family may wish to make, is essentially impaired, by the practice of freely publishing his letters, on the part of those, who happen to have them in possession. It will not be thought, that we intend any censure applicable to single cases where this has been done. It is often done from good motives, to raise the fame of the distinguished writer; often from the pardonable wish to gratify contemporary curiosity; but almost always at the expense of the interests of those, in whom whatever value such letters possess, ought to be considered as vested.

After the last remark, it will be doubly unnecessary to observe, that no covert censure is intended on the introduction into the present work of the letters of the contemporaries of Vice-President Gerry. Colonel Austin has pursued not merely the course which usage has sanctioned; but that which necessity and duty imposed upon him, in the want of the letters of his venerable relation. Till a general practice of mutual restitution shall be adopted, it would be the height of injustice to enforce it upon an individual. The letters of the contemporaries of Mr Gerry, which the present volume contains, are many of them of the highest interest, especially those of Samuel and John Adams. We cannot resist the temptation of quoting one of the latter. The event has hitherto shown, that the fears entertained by its venerable writer, in common with almost all his copatriots not of the army, were exaggerated; but the sentiments expressed show the real political principles of a much misrepresented man.

'MR JOHN ADAMS TO MR GERRY.

"*April* 25, 1785.

"* * * * What is to be done with the Cincinnati? Is that order of chivalry, that inroad upon our first principle, equality, to be connived at? It is the deepest piece of cunning yet attempted. It is sowing the seeds of all that European courts wish to grow up among us, viz. of vanity, ambition, corruption, discord, and sedition. Are we so dim-sighted as not to see, that the taking away the hereditary descent of it will not prevent its baneful influence? Who will think of preventing the son from wearing

a ribbon and a bit of gold that his father wore? Mankind love to see one child at least of every beloved and respected father possessed of his estate, his office, &c. after his decease. Besides, when once the people begin to think these marks rewards, these marks are soon considered as the only proofs of merit. Such marks should not be adopted in any country where there is virtue, love of country, love of labor. When virtue is lost, ambition succeeds. Then indeed ribbons and garters become necessary, but never till then. Then indeed these should be public rewards conferred by the state, the civil sovereign, not private men or bodies. I have been asked, why I have not written against it? Can it be necessary for me to write upon such a thing? I wrote twenty years ago some papers which have been called an Essay on the Feudal Law, in which my sentiments and the sentiments of our ancestors are sufficiently expressed, concerning all such distinctions and all orders of chivalry and nobility. But, sir, while reputations are so indiscreetly puffed, while thanks and statues are so childishly awarded, and the greatest real services are so coldly received, I had almost said censured, we are in the high road to have no virtues left, and nothing but ambition to reward. Ribbons are not the only reward of ambition. Wealth and power must keep them company. My countrymen give reputations to individuals that are real tyrannies. No man dares resist or oppose them. No wonder then that such reputations introduce chivalry, &c. without opposition, though without authority. The cry of "gratitude, gratitude," is animal magnetism; it bewitches all mankind, and has established every tyranny, imposture, and usurpation that ever existed upon earth; so true are those words of Machiavel, "Not ingratitude, but too much love, is the constant fault of the people." This is a subject that requires a volume; and you see I am in haste. I could not have believed, if I had not seen it, that our officers could have adopted such a scheme, or the people, the legislatures, or congress have submitted to it one moment. I do not wonder at a Marquis de la Fayette or a Baron Steuben; they were born and bred to such decorations and the taste for them. From the moment that Captain Jones had his cross of merit bestowed by the king and consented to by congress, I suspected that some such project was in contemplation. Awful, my friend, is the task of the intelligent advocate for liberty. The military spirit, the ecclesiastical spirit, the commercial spirit, and innumerable other evil spirits are eternally devising mischief to his cause and disturbing his repose. It is a constant warfare from the cradle to the grave without comfort, thanks, or rewards, and is always overcome at last.

'Is not this institution against our confederation? Is it not against the declarations of rights in several of the states? Is it

not an act of sovereignty, disposing and creating of public rewards, presumptuously enterprised by private gentlemen? Is the assembly a lawful assembly? Is it not cruel to call this a club for private friendship, or a society for charity for officers' widows and children? Would even such a society be lawful without the permission of the legislature? Is it not substituting honor for virtue in the infancy of a republic? Must it not introduce and perpetuate contests and dissentions, pernicious in all governments, but especially in ours? Is it not an effectual subversion of our equality? Inequalities of riches cannot be avoided as long as nature gives inequality of understanding and activity. And these inequalities are not unuseful. But artificial inequalities of decorations, birth, and title not accompanying public trust, are those very inequalities which have exterminated virtue and liberty, and substituted ambition and slavery in all ages and countries. I do not wonder that the word *republican* is odious and unpopular throughout the world. I do not wonder that so few, even of the great writers, have admired this form of government. Plato himself, I am fully persuaded from his writings, was not a republican. It is the best of governments while the people are republicans, that is, virtuous, simple, and of independent spirit. But when the people are avaricious, ambitious, and vain, instead of being virtuous, poor, and proud, it is not. A republican is an equivocal title; a Dutchman, a Genoese, a Venetian, a Swiss, a Genevan, and an Englishman, are all called republicans. Among all these shades you will scarcely find the true color. Our countrymen may be the nearest; but there is so much wealth among them and such an universal rage of avarice, that I often fear they will only make their real republicans miserable for a few years, and then become like the rest of the world. If this appears to be their determination, it is not worth the while of you and me to die martyrs to singular notions. You are young and may turn fine gentleman yet. I am too old, and therefore will retire to Pen's Hill,

'The world forgetting, by the world forgot.'

'"I am, my dear sir, your sincere friend, JOHN ADAMS."'

pp. 427–431.

ART. IV.—*Johannes Wit, genannt von Dörring. Fragmente aus meinem Leben und meiner Zeit. Aufenthalt in den Gefängnissen zu Chamberry, Turin, und Mailand, nebst meinen Flucht aus der Citadelle letzteren Ortes.*

John Wit, alias Von Dörring. Fragments of my Life and Time. Residence in the Prisons of Chamberry, Turin, and Milan, with my Escape from the Fortress of the latter City. Brunswick. 1827.

THIS curious work has attracted considerable notice in Germany. It is the autobiography of a young man named *Wit* (which auspicious cognomen he soon, and with great propriety abandoned), who first enlisted in the wild projects of revolution, conceived by some ill-advised students in the German Universities; then became implicated with the secret societies of Piedmont and Naples; and after having encountered a world of trouble from the police, in several countries, has now set himself to work within the walls of a Danish dungeon, as a sort of literary state's evidence against his former associates.

Could we place any faith in the author, the book would be valuable. As it is, no one thing, in itself improbable, is entitled to be believed because he asserts it. But, inasmuch as many things in it tally well with what is known to be true, and the author is known to have run, in general, the course which he has described, there is no objection to our admitting as probable his statements on many points, where there is no visible temptation to falsehood. In this respect, his details relative to the revolution in Piedmont are not undeserving of attention.

There is something pathetic in the account he gives us of the circumstances under which his memoirs are composed. He has written them, he says, 'in a dungeon, shut up behind a threefold range of grated and bolted doors, with a sentinel at the nearest entrance.' 'The thick iron bars before my windows,' he adds, 'are not over cheerful; the storm which almost constantly howls round my prison, is not the sweetest music; and the residence in a solitary fortress, built out into the raging sea, procures no relief to a wasted frame, and no kind alleviation to the suffering mind.' Deprived of all his papers, he could only draw his details from his memory, 'and nothing else,' says he, 'has remained faithful to me.' 'Some important facts,' he adds, 'may be misstated, and some names may be misspelled.'

He studied at the University of Jena, at an epoch when the revolutionary excitement among the Germans was at its highest pitch. At the age of eighteen, he was, according to his own confession, the most exalted of the exalted. After having formed some political connexions abroad, he departed for Paris, in 1818, with a view to the formation of a union between the German revolutionists and those of France. To try the progress which the revolutionary spirit had made in Germany, a short poetical composition, of an obnoxious character, was published and widely circulated. The author of it was arrested in 1819, by order of the Prussian government. But believing, as he says, that the services of this gentleman were necessary to the regeneration of Germany, Wit announced *himself*, in the most solemn manner, as the author of the offensive production, and narrowly escaped arrest. In the autumn of 1819, he repaired to England, where he exchanged his own name, Wit, for that of his step-father, Dörring. He employed his time in London in writing libellous and scandalous articles on the German princes, and thus, he says, acquired much notoriety. 'I thought myself a great man.' That our hero thought himself a great man, is very probable; about the notoriety, we are pestered with doubts. From London he returned to Paris. Here he met in Count de Serres, an intimate friend of his family, and Baron Eckstein, who was then inspector-general in the police department, was his maternal uncle.

Having been almost an eyewitness of the murder of the Duke of Berry, his better feelings were for a moment reawakened. Count de Serres endeavored, by flattering his vanity, to counteract the influence, which the leaders of the revolutionary party exercised upon the young adventurer. He gives no facts of any importance during his residence in Paris, and we give no credit to his general, vague accounts of his connexions with all parties, and his project of forming a party of his own.

In the summer of 1820, he informs us that he defeated a project to murder the king of France. In July, 1821, an intimate associate of the Italian revolutionists, a Dr Joachim de' Prati, declared to him in Switzerland, that they had resolved to bring about the revolution by murder, or (as they expressed it) by *cold iron;* whereupon our hero broke off all connexion with them. His associates resolved to punish him for this de-

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sertion; and hints are dropped that his death was decreed. Shortly afterwards he was arrested by the government of Piedmont. The incidents of his first detention, until his escape from the citadel of Milan, are the subject of the present book. He anticipates, however, a portion of the contents of another volume, by stating that, after having wandered for nearly a year through Switzerland and Germany, under different disguises and names, with a price set upon his head, he was at length arrested, at Bayreuth, in February, 1824. The judge who examined his cause, Baron de Welden, won his confidence. The Prussian government had, by that time, discovered the manœuvres of a secret association *(geheime Bund)*. The author volunteered to declare all he knew about this matter. A counsellor was despatched by the Prussian government to Bayreuth to examine him; and this gentleman, like the former, inspired him with the greatest confidence and affection. He boasts of having communicated to the Prussian government the true origin of the above mentioned association, and his own secret movements at Paris. No accusation had been brought against him. His declarations were perfectly spontaneous. He could have retracted the one, in consequence of which he had been arrested, namely, that he was the author of the revolutionary poem abovementioned; but instead of telling this truth, he thought fit to criminate himself, and in consequence is enjoying the leisure of a dungeon.*

From Bayreuth he was sent to Berlin, where he arrived with many prejudices against the Prussian government; but, during his long detention, he observes that he had abundant reasons to change his opinion. The two judicial personages who examined him won his esteem and friendship. He had spoken very disrespectfully of one of them, a Mr de Kamptz, in English newspapers; this gentleman did, nevertheless, everything that depended on him to alleviate his sufferings. He calls upon the testimony of all those who have been under prosecution in Prussia to state, 'whether it is possible to proceed with more rectitude, mildness, and benevolence, than this much calumniated gentleman.' He declared all he knew of the plans of his ancient associates, for, he observes, he saw the time was come to tell the whole truth. He saved thus many innocent persons. Against the blame which might be thrown upon him for this

*The memoirs are dated February, 1827, at Fredericsort, a Danish fortress in South Jutland, three leagues north of Kiel.

conduct, he alleges his conviction, 'that the state must, like the church, abandon speculative truth; and that natural rights are as insufficient for the bulk of mankind, as natural religion.' He has, moreover, as he says, acquired the conviction that the several governments of Germany aim at the good of their subjects, and earnestly wish to reëstablish order and tranquillity by mildness. The reader perceives, by this specimen, that the Danish jailors understand the regimen that suits gentlemen like Mr Wit; from 'a patriot of distinguished note,' they have tamed him down to a very edifying loyalty.

Entering now into the details of his revolutionary course, he begins with his adventures in Switzerland. He had been ordered by the Swiss authorities to leave the city of Geneva, and the canton of that name; but instead of obeying that injunction, he went secretly to Mornex, a village on the little Saleve, to wait for an opportunity to begin his operations at Rome and at Naples. While residing here, he frequently repaired to Geneva in the night.

Soon after the arrival of the Austrian troops at Naples, the *Alta Vendita*, or Supreme Directory of the Carbonari, dissolved itself for the time. This was done less from fear of discovery, than from the conviction that it had lost, for the present, its influence over the other *Vendite* and *Baracche* (so they styled their local associations), which were closely observed by the authorities. The members of the three first degrees were, moreover, so numerous, that it was indispensable to adopt a thorough reform.

In the summer of 1821, eleven of the principal leaders assembled at Capua, and resolved to depute two of their farthest initiated 'Cousins' *(Cugini)* to Paris, on purpose to confer with the chiefs of the *Great Firmament*, on the propriety of transferring to that capital the direction of the entire concern of the Carbonari; that being the place where they would find the best means of forming connexions with every part of Europe, of procuring the most important coöperators, and the amplest pecuniary resources. This *Great Firmament*, or Directory of the secret society of France, as the author asserts, originated in two other secret fraternities, the *Adelfia* and *Filadelfia*, which, jointly or severally, were connected with General Mallet, who endeavored to overthrow Bonaparte, while he was himself in prison; a project which conducted him to the guillotine, or to some other such end.

The task of uniting the *Great Firmament* with the *Alta Vendita*, was committed to two deputies, the Sicilian Duke Garutula, and Carlo Chericone, Klerkon (?), son of the Napolitan Duke of Fra-Marino, chamberlain, or major-domo of the king. This latter individual sought our author, and delivered him a letter from an old friend of his, a Pole, who had resided for some time at Naples, as a secret emissary of the malcontents of his country, and had proposed to the Neapolitan Parliament, to organize a legion of his countrymen, which should muster four thousand men. Klerkon was the bearer to Wit of a commission of Inspector-General of Carbonari in Germany and Switzerland; but he declined accepting it, not from love or respect for the existing governments, but because he was persuaded that the Italians were so corrupt, that a revolution would but bring upon them greater miseries than already weighed upon them. Upon being told, however, that the commission which he declined would be tendered to the lawyer Joachim de' Prati, he accepted it; for he knew the sanguinary disposition of this man, how strong was his hatred of all existing institutions, and how easily he could be led into every kind of crime. But whilst he thus sacrificed himself, he says, for the public weal, he took care to disclose his motives and his secret intentions to a highly elevated personage. Whoever this may be, the author owns that instead of encouraging him to continue in the connexions into which he had recently entered, he did everything in his power to reconcile him with his 'father-land,' and to persuade him to adopt a course of life more conformable to his personal interest, and to the welfare of society. But he thought it too late for him to retire from the dangers into which he had plunged, lest his courage might be questioned. He speaks here in a mysterious jargon, well adapted to his revolutionary career, of a Prince, who accepted the highest degrees of the secret association, and who succeeded, by these means, to neutralize the manœuvres of his compeers. Who this new *Monsieur Egalité* may be, we are not informed. The author speaks of him in the following terms; and if there is any truth in what he says, of which we have strong doubts, the *high personage* has great cause to be flattered with the figure he is made to cut.

'For the step which I took, I have the example of a most respected Prince, known and honored by a large part of my readers in a still more definite character. To him, unquestionably the most

deeply initiated among the initiated, was committed the inspector-generalship and propagation of the Illumnati-Association, throughout the North of Europe. He received from the hands of Knigge (?) the documents *(cahiers)* of the three highest orders (fortunately existing only on paper), and thereby learned the scandalous object of the Association. He foresaw the evil which would be occasioned, should he separate himself from it in open disgust, and some other, imbued with the full spirit of the order of the Priests and Epoptæ, undertake the direction. On this account he constrained himself to accept the office abovementioned; and gave so skilful a turn to affairs, and so neutralized the poison of the Association, that it disappeared in the North without effect, where, but for this, it would have found but too ready a reception, and but too many supporters.'

The author throws, after all, little light upon the origin of the Carbonari. According to him, the catechism published of that society, by a Mr St Edme, is spurious; and few of the initiated themselves know of how many degrees their confraternity was composed, who were their brethren, and where the *Alta Vendita*, the highest lodge, resided. The Carbonari pretend to a very remote origin. It would seem that a society, called the *Charboniers*, existed in Franche-Comté; and the Italian Carbonari borrowed from them the title of *good cousins*, and the patron St Theobald; but this, adds our author, is their only similarity. The principal *Vendita* was opened at Capua, in 1809, and their instructions and journals were in the English language. The preference given to this tongue is ascribed by the author to the circumstance, that the Republican party of Italy was intimately connected with the Royalists of Sicily; and that the latter were in close connexion with the British minister, who merely wished to make use of them against their common adversary, the then Emperor of France. Lord Bentinck, says the author, stood very high in the ranks of the order; and while entrusted with a command in the Mediterranean, performed all the duties of *bon cousin* in the most conscientious manner.

In the lower degrees of the Carbonari, morality, Christianity, and even the Church, were the ends for which the initiated swore to sacrifice everything; and the independence and unity of Italy were considered as merely means of extending virtue and piety. But on being admitted to the fourth degree, a new scene opened. The *Apostoli*, as they were called, were obliged to promise to destroy all monarchies, and especially

those of the Bourbon dynasty. But the whole of the secret was revealed to the initiated in the seventh and last degree. The great end was then disclosed, and it was no other than that of the *Illuminati*. The initiated swore destruction to every positive religion, and to every established form of government. Unlimited despotism and democracy were alike under the ban. All means were declared allowable for the execution of these plans, even murder and perjury. The author was admitted to this unhallowed secret, and was received as *Princeps summus Patriarchus*, but without being obliged to bind himself by the ordinary oath. He owed this exemption to the circumstance that he received that high degree, not in a full meeting of the society, but by *communication*, or by full powers especially conferred, to that effect, upon one or more members of the secret society. Here we shrewdly suspect honest Wit of fibbing. He might as well own that he took the oath. If breaking such an oath made him guilty of perjury, we do not know that any body would think the worse of him for that.

By way of set-off for betraying these secrets, our hero (with whom it is *Tros Rutulusve*) denounces another society, which, according to him, is exerting itself to restore everything to the situation, in which it was previous to the French revolution. The *Società della Santa Fede*, as he calls them, are a set of ecclesiastics, who labor to reëstablish the influence of the clergy in Italy. Their president, at one time, was the late Pope. They bear several names, at the present time, such as *Consistoriali*, *Crocesegnati*, *Crociferi*, *Società dell' Anello*, and *dei Bruti*. France favors their designs, because of the identity of their views with the Jesuits, and because she hopes to weaken, by their means, the ascendency of the Austrians in Italy. In regard to territorial changes, the Duke of Modena, though so nearly related to the Imperial dynasty, was to obtain Piedmont, and the whole of Upper Italy. Tuscany was to be the lot of the Pope, and a portion of the Ecclesiastical Territory was assigned to Naples.

These *Santa-Fedists* hate Austria, adds he, because her government is too wise to confer much power on the clergy, and because she is supposed to wait anxiously for the first opportunity of placing a prince of the Imperial dynasty upon the throne of St Peter. The Piedmontese members of that party hate Austria, because she counteracts their exaggerated

principles, and curbs their vindictive disposition. The author applauds the conduct of the Austrians at that critical epoch. The most perfect discipline reigned among their troops; wherever they were stationed, as for instance at Alexandria, the political reaction was unaccompanied with cruelties, and it was sufficient to be enlisted in the imperial service, to escape all prosecution. We cannot but ask the question, how Wit became possessed of the confidence of this party.

After a long digression, on the state of parties in Piedmont, the author enters into further details respecting his personal relations with the Italian revolutionists; and here the story of this volume regularly begins, if we understand it. Klerkon induced the Prince Antrodocco to trust him with an unimportant, though secret, commission into Lombardy and Switzerland, under the name of Zante. He, and the author, waited for two other associates, who were to join them at Geneva, the Duke Garutula, who had adopted the name of Lord Morby, and Colonel Picolletis, both then residing at London. But whilst Wit awaited their arrival, a police officer of Geneva, named Giron, informed the commander of the *gens-d'armerie* at St Julien, of his residence at that place, of his previous arrest at Turin, and of his suspicious character. On the twentieth of September, 1821, Wit, who was on that day confined by illness to his room, was informed, that some persons wished to speak to him; and instantly several soldiers entered the room, and holding their blunderbusses to his head, politely requested him not to move, as he was a prisoner. They were Piedmontese *gens d'armes* or *carabiniers*, as they were called; and the first thing they did, was to seize all the papers that were lying upon a table. Wit was very uneasy, on account of a letter involving the life of a friend, which he had received on the previous day. To save it from the hands of the *gens d'armes* was therefore his first thought, and the mode in which he accomplished it would have done credit to a graduate of the state's prison. Quietly lying in his bed, he draws on his stockings and rubs the bottom of them with a tallow candle, which stood by his bed-side. This done, he leaps from the bed, unclad as he was, and, under the pretence of assisting in collecting and putting up his papers, upsets the table. The papers flew in every direction; and he contrived to set his foot, with its adhesive preparation, on the all-important document.

He then put on his slippers, and soon succeeded, unobserved, in destroying the paper.

From Mornex he was conducted to Bonneville, in the valley of Chamouni, with few or no clothes, and no money. His feet soon became sore and blistered, from his fatiguing journey; and seized with a violent fever, he considered himself happy in reaching his place of destination for the night on the bare back of an unbridled ass.

The commanding officer at Bonneville, Count Avogadro, allowed the prisoner to take up his abode in an inn. Here he sold his watch, which had cost him a hundred dollars, for the tenth part of that sum. On the next morning he set out for Annecy, and here our dainty *Princeps summus Patriarchus* complains, that he did not, like Jean Jacques, find a Madame de Warens, to take pity on him! Instead of this, he says, he was pelted by the boys in the streets, some of whom held grass to his ass's mouth, to make him stand still, while their confederate rogues took aim at poor Wit.

Chevalier Benedetto, the commander of the *gens-d'armerie* in the province of Carouge, a gentleman stricken in years, who appears to have shared the sentiments of the Bey of Tunis on the subject of clubs, caused our hero to be instantly conveyed to prison, without previous parley. The *gens d'armes* made their sport of him, and one among them, after having bound him with a rope, drove him into a subterranean prison. 'Am I to go under ground?' asked the discouraged Wit. *Coraggio, carino,* 'Courage, my friend,' returned the *carabinier*, with a grin, which might have rendered superfluous the prisoner's proficiency in the Italian language; *l' alzaranno ben presto; da quì non si sorte, che per andare alla goletta,* 'courage, my friend, you will soon be *up;* the only way out hence is to the gallows.'

This dungeon was twelve feet square, and so low that the prisoner, though a small man, could not stand upright. It was lighted by means of air holes, open on a level with the street, which, when it rained, gave a free passage to the water from the streets of the town. This place had shortly before been the last abode of a criminal executed for murder; yet his straw bed was a welcome legacy to his successor. He was ever afterwards, he says, unable to remember what he did during the first night he passed in that horrible prison; whether he wept or laughed, slept or was awake. The next morning,

as he came to his senses, he beheld near him an old man and woman, who exclaimed, 'He is not dead; he lives yet.' These were the jailer and his wife; and the latter, moved with pity at the utter dejection of poor Wit, prevailed on her husband to carry him up into her room. They were both very kind to him, and obliged him to share with them their only bed. Yet they dared not procure him medical assistance, for fear of the governor. At length, on the fourth day of his detention at Annecy, he was transported in a wagon, fastened by a chain to several recaptured deserters from the galleys. All the gyves in the jailer's armory being too large for his wrists, an unchristian instrument, for which (Heaven be praised) there is no English name, the *poucettes*, was applied to his fingers, which caused him so much pain, that he excited the pity of his fellow sufferers. They were in no want of food, for the lower class of people in Italy are generally very compassionate to all convicts, except state prisoners. Wit being unluckily of the latter class, whilst his companions experienced all sort of kindness from the mob, he received only proofs of contempt and hatred.

In the military quarters, where he was detained at Aix in Savoy, he discovered the five *carabiniers*, who were placed over him, to be free-masons; and as soon as he made himself known to them, they promised to render him all the good offices compatible with their duties. From Aix, Wit was carried to Chamberry; and here again he met with a kind reception, on behalf of the *carabiniers*. A physician advised his transportation to a hospital. 'Having been brought up with tenderness, I now found myself,' exclaims he, 'in a public hospital.' This institution was under the care of a religious sisterhood. The good nuns, in spite of the misrepresentation to which they exposed themselves, gave him one of their cells; trimmed it with flowers; beguiled his sad hours with reading and conversation; and provided him with all he could wish for his meals. 'Indeed,' cries he, 'I know nothing nobler or more respectable on earth, than the grey sisters. Religion alone can lend them the strength to discharge their arduous duties; and such a religion must needs be the true one.' He corroborates this by the wonderful examples of self-devotion which these excellent females gave at Barcelona, at the time when the yellow fever raged in that city; by the offer they made to the Greek committee to tend the sick at Missolonghi; and by what

he himself had witnessed of their humanity towards the convicts in the prisons at Toulon. Their influence among these unfortunate men, he says, far exceeded that of the clergy. Convicts, on the eve of their execution, and struck with remorse, begged anxiously to be permitted to confess their sins to one of these pure and noble creatures.

He remained five weeks in the hospital. On the second of November, he was torn from the midst of the charitable sisterhood, and withdrawn from the care of a nun, who reminded him of his mother, not only by her personal qualities, but by her appearance. The good nun secretly thrust into his hand a paper containing a few pieces of gold. But this did not save him from being loaded with chains, and thrown into a small wagon, with five soldiers. The commanding sergeant soon ordered him, either to give him half of his gold, or forfeit the whole, no prisoner being permitted to have money. By submitting to this exaction, he obtained, into the bargain, permission to pass his nights on the road in an inn; and on the fifth day, he reached Turin.

Here our author, instead of limiting himself to a narrative of personal events, goes at length into the history of the latest troubles in Piedmont. This part of his work, however, we must pass over, although we do it with reluctance, as being, *if entitled to credit*, about the only valuable part of Wit's book. Being uncertain as to the degree of faith which can be placed in his details, and having undertaken to follow his personal narrative, we must omit his sketch of these revolutionary movements. We accordingly meet with him next, in the presence of the minister of police of the kingdom of Piedmont, the Chevalier Roget de Cholex, a gentleman, he says, of unquestionable integrity, wherever his political opinions are not concerned. The chevalier, with a most winning courtesy, told him that he was convinced of his innocence; but finding him arrested, he could not forbear to examine him, were it but *pro formâ*. He told him, however, that the papers which had been seized upon him, proved that he had been acquainted with the criminal designs of some of the contrivers of the insurrection, namely, Count Santa Rosa, and Morozzo, and left no doubt respecting his intercourse with the Duke de Dalberg, and the Spanish envoy Bardaxi. A full confession of all that he knew, the minister said, would procure him immediately his liberty. *Monseigneur*, replied the prisoner, *ce n'est pas à mes révélations, mais à mon inno-*

cence, que je devrai ma mise en liberté.—J'avouerai d'ailleurs à Votre Excellence, que j'ignore absolument tout ce qui pourrait avoir rapport aux vues supposées des exilés Piémontais.' The minister frowned at him for a moment, and ringing the bell, said to him; 'It seems, sir, that your memory is rather faithless. You will be conveyed into a place where you will have sufficient leisure to reflect upon what you know, or are ignorant of.' Having said this, he gave him in charge to a sentinel, who accompanied him to his prison. But before he reached it, he was marched through the town, loaded with chains, where not long before he had appeared in a very different garb, and under different auspices. A countess of his acquaintance passed close by him, leaning upon the arm of a young officer, with whom also he was acquainted. His first impulse led him to address them; but the lady had the barbarity to turn her head aside, her knight laughed in his face, and his own companion gave him a blow, altogether a pretty severe visitation for a civil word to an old acquaintance. He reached, at length, his limbo.

His jailer was a tall, gaunt fellow, of forty, in whose perpetual grin, malice and treachery were ill concealed; his wife ten years older than he, uncouth and enormous in size, of red, bloated aspect, the personification of female coarseness and abandonment, surrounded by an interesting troop of children, more malicious than herself, with squinting eyes and carroty hair. The prompt discernment, with which our hero penetrates the characters of these engaging persons, demands our admiration.

The prisoner was commanded to strip off his clothes, to show whether money or weapons were concealed about his person. For this purpose our modest hero demanded the retirement of another room, a proposal which was received with a fiendish yell of laughter; and as he persisted in his views of decorum, his clothes were immediately torn from his back by main force. After this preparatory display of prison hospitality during nearly an hour, and after having followed the jailer through all the windings of the prison, which had formerly been a Jesuit's convent, he found himself, at length, in his cell, which was better than the one he had occupied in the prison at Annecy. Wit was at first in doubt whether he was to be the sole inmate of the cell. This doubt was presently solved; for Bagnasco, the jailer, politely applying his foot to something before them on the ground, cried out with the help of an oath; *Che*

s'alza, calzolajo maledetto, 'Get up, you —— cobbler!' Thereupon a colossal figure sprang up, and in a tone equally mild and amiable replied, *Figlio d' una vacca*, can't you let people take their rest?' Signor Bagnasco, without heeding the reply, turned to his new inmate with the few and emphatic words; *Lo resta quì*, 'Here you remain.'

Here then, within the safe enclosure of an oaken door, studded with iron, and armed with double bolts, our hero was left to his meditations. Ere long, his amiable chum, whom he had heard and felt, but could not see, approached him with the friendly offer of half his bed, and made himself known to Wit as a masonic brother.

Peculiar care was taken, in this prison, to deprive the captives of all means of attempting their own lives, or that of the jailer, or any of his assistants. This was carried so far, that they were deprived of all furniture, and had no fire. The windows, instead of glass, were of linen; and even the metal buttons of the prisoners' garments were cut off, and a liberal allowance of pack-thread furnished as a substitute. During the night, the jailer visited the prisoners, every two hours, followed by two attendants. At each of these visits, they struck with heavy iron staves upon the floor, and against the grates, to judge, by the sound, if any of the bars were loosened or cut.

Our young German on the following morning was conveyed, in a carriage, to the police office, under the guard of three soldiers. The papers, which had been seized upon him, were already unsealed. He complains of the loss of several, that might have clearly established his innocence; but which, notwithstanding his repeated solicitation, he never was able to recover. His examination lasted three hours, and he was afterwards reconducted to his prison. The little money he possessed, he was obliged to disburse for his conveyance to the police. A pitcher of bad water and a pound of bread were, for that day, his food and his drink. The distribution of the soup having taken place during his absence, he had lost his share of it. An inflammatory fever soon increased his wretchedness, and his only relief was some grapes, with which his compassionate fellow sufferer supplied him. His severe treatment is candidly ascribed by our hero, to an imprudent assault which he had made on two of the jailer's attendants. Seeing his bare neck, they hazarded the remark, that it was

fitter for the block, than for the halter; which, considering the source from whence it came, was rather a complimentary than a reproachful remark, decapitation being far more genteel than hanging. Wit however took it amiss, and seizing them both, beat their heads together, till the blood gushed from their ears and nostrils. The victory was, as might have been expected, of short duration; the fellows, though worsted at first, rose like Antæus from the restorative touch of the jail floor, and threw the feverish conqueror against the wall, with such violence, that he fell at their feet, and as they thought, dead. But as soon as this alarm was over, they fastened him with an iron ring and chain to the wall, and separated him from his kind companion. Wit complains that the consequences of this affray were felt by him for years, and that he was never fairly *right in the head* afterwards; but this difficulty, we believe, ought to be dated much farther back.

The further examination of our hero was delayed by the necessity of translating his papers. As soon as this was done, he was brought before a magistrate, who visited the prison. At first, he resisted the summons; neither threats nor blows could move him to obey. He insisted that Signor Angelo Romano, the secretary of the police, should repair to his cell; and to the amazement of the turnkey, and his uncompromising helpmates, that officer not only came, but betrayed, by strong emotions, the pity he felt for the sufferings of the young captive; and he instantly ordered him to be taken out of his irons, and severely reproved the jailer for his excessive severity. An expert jailer, however, was at this period a very consequential person at Turin; and it was not without great difficulty that Signor Romano procured his removal into a larger room, which was, however, already tenanted by several state prisoners. They were all, more or less, implicated in the late political movements, and knew Wit's history. They were all under criminal trial, while he, only 'suspected of being suspicious,' as he says, was merely under the *surveillance* of the police. His companions in misfortune, about seventy in number, and all officers, were nevertheless not so much depressed in spirits as himself. They often passed their evenings, which no one of them was certain might not be the last of his earthly career, carousing, and playing at cards. Wit had recourse to a singular expedient to write to one of his friends in France, for pecuniary assistance. Having allowed the nail of the little

finger of his left hand to grow to a considerable length, he sharpened it upon a stone and with his teeth, so as to convert it into a tolerable pen, and his blood supplied the place of ink. Having, by this means, written his note, he was not less successful in finding a faithful agent, among his fellow prisoners, to forward it. A few weeks after, he received a remittance, by which he was enabled to hire a mattrass, and to board with the jailer, who, from that moment, became remarkably good-natured. The penitentiary system in Piedmont, especially in regard to state criminals, was not allowed to add much to the burdens on the treasury. Happily for the prisoners of all descriptions, the *Società della Misericordia* supplied them with beds, and with daily rations of bread and rice soup; to which was added meat, twice a week. This society included many ladies of respectability, who were withal engaged in the less feminine business of reforming the state. They composed a secret female political society, under the name of the *Gardeners*. The central committee of this association sat at Bologna.

The fate of the prisoners in whose company Wit now lived, was dependent on the decisions which might be made at any moment by the tribunals, and which, once made, were carried into instant effect. One of their number, a lieutenant-colonel, Chevalier Laucri, being one day called from table, because his counsel desired to confer with him, left the company, requesting our hero to keep his place and his wine. An hour having elapsed, and no sign of Laucri, the warden was questioned as to what had become of him. He pretended at first not to know the cause of his protracted absence; but after another hour had passed, the turnkey informed the prisoners, that Laucri had received his sentence, and was already on the way to execution. At the same moment, the sound of muffled drums was heard; and the prisoners, having climbed up to their windows, saw their late companion suspended on a gibbet. All this was the work of three hours.

This, and similar examples of prompt administration, served but to harden the hearts of the other prisoners. A sullen, impious resignation to their fate, was visible in all their actions. They gambled during whole nights. Two officers agreed to play for the chance of survivorship, the winner to inherit the other's effects. The loser contrived from that moment, to squander all he possessed.

The Piedmontese government offered to Wit a small allowance; but he refused to accept it, having, as he says, determined, in the outset of 'his political career,' never to bind himself by the two most indissoluble bonds, by which, according to him, a man can be tied, 'by gratitude and by oath.' This self-denial required in the present case no little effort; for the sum of eight hundred francs, which composed his whole fortune at that time, was purloined from him by his jailer, in obedience, he intimates, to the express command of a higher authority. Count de Latour du Pin, the French ambassador, had addressed a note to the Piedmontese ministry, representing Wit as a person well known to his government, and who had been near doing mischief in France. The minister of police in Geneva wrote to the same purpose. But instead of deploring these additional persecutions, our hero makes no secret of his satisfaction at having been considered so important and so dangerous by two governments, as to induce them to aggravate his sufferings.

Regard to our limits obliges us to pass over some portions of our hero's narrative, and regard to delicacy requires us to omit others. Tired at length of his sojourn within prison walls, he determined to make an experiment of the magnanimity of Count Bubna, the Austrian military governor of Lombardy and the neighboring regions, then occupied by the Austrian troops. He accordingly wrote him a letter informing him of his situation, soliciting a personal interview with him, and kindly giving him an account of the state of things in Upper Italy; for which Count Bubna, who probably had a spy in every coffee-house in the country, and who read every letter that passed through the post-office, was no doubt much obliged to honest Wit. Some time passed and no answer reached him from the Count. He determined, as the next resource, on suicide. Starvation seemed to him, from experience, the easiest mode of getting rid of life. It was a mode to which the prison regimen afforded great facilities. 'Only begin,' says he, 'with eating and drinking less every day, and at last take no food, and live only upon water, and you may be sure to die without any suffering.' The experiment even procured him many of those pleasurable sensations described by the Opium-eater,—he saw and communed with distant and long departed friends; but in proportion as he refused all nourishment, the minister of the police was the more diligent in sending him the most tempting

dainties. All these attentions proving without avail, the jailer had recourse to the compulsive process, the favorite method of the Turin jailers to bring gentlemen to an appetite, who are for anticipating the regular course of law. In that crisis, our hero resorted to a remedy, with which, after the example of Frederic the Great and some other heroes, he had provided himself, from the moment that he entered upon his glorious career,—a poison, which he constantly carried in his pockets, prepared in the form of sugar plums. But on the day in which he was to accomplish this great design, an answer was brought him from Count Bubna. The Count promised to see him within a few days; and upon this prospect of coming under the auspicious sway of the Austrian military police, he immediately grew better in health and spirits and appetite. His papers, however, were all seized, a measure which he ascribes to the jealousy of the Piedmontese toward the Austrians. And here we cannot but remark on the endless accumulation of what are called 'papers.' Seize a gentleman of Mr Wit's vocation as often as you will, you always find him with a trunk full of papers of the most portentous import.

At length, in February, 1822, a young Italian Baron was ushered into his cell, with the recommendatory title of an agent, commissioned by the Austrian authorities to release him from his dungeon. On the following night he left his prison, without taking leave of the friends of either sex who had befriended his confinement. He was put into an easy and commodious vehicle, and escorted by four mounted *gens d'armes*. But the Italian Baron soon dismissed this guard, upon Wit's promise not to attempt his escape. Volpini de Maestris (for this was the name of the polite Baron) did not fail to make his companion sensible of the great honor with which he was treated, in being guarded by so distinguished a personage as himself; and they proceeded, with the fairest weather imaginable, from Turin to Milan, through Vercelli, Novara, and Buffalora.

And here ends the first book of these fragments; and with it, must be drawn toward a close our account of their contents. The adventures of this unhappy young man at Milan, could any faith be placed in their detail, are more interesting than those of which we have laid a sketch before our readers. Count Bubna appears, at first, to have treated him with a blunt kind of military frankness and friendship, intending, no doubt, to draw something from him. He enjoyed great privileges and

freedom from personal restraint, by the Count's permission; and his pages are filled with the adventures and intrigues with which his time was taken up. We never knew a personage less considerable than a Countess brought upon the stage, on such an occasion; and accordingly, for the second time in Wit's book, we are introduced to a lady of this quality. We look upon it as mere moon-shine.

By this time, the different governments which had claims on Wit, began to move in his affairs. There was such a controversy for the honor of having him in their respective jails, as has not existed since the dispute of the seven cities about Homer. Denmark claimed him as her subject, and a Prussian diplomatic agent had made, on behalf of the court of Copenhagen, an application to the cabinet of Turin, long before Wit had himself written to Count Bubna. The Piedmontese police, on giving him up to the Count, reserved, however, the right of the Prussian ministry. Not long afterwards, the Austrian Special Commission, in consequence of a discovery of letters, written by him to Count Gonfalonieri, either of a treasonable import, or showing his connexion with the Carbonari, requested Count Bubna to send him back to the civil prison. Yet the affair remained undecided until the Congress of Verona had been for some time in session. Count de Serres, then French ambassador at Naples, the relative of Wit and the friend of his family, was soon joined to the other diplomatists at Verona. 'This gentleman,' as Wit observes, with an amusing tone of irony, 'had ceased to belong to the party of *Doctrinaires*, and was no longer my patron.' He represented the prisoner as the more dangerous, since from his youth, and some good qualities, he could deceive the most cautious; and confessed that he had himself been led to contribute to his criminal manœuvres. The imputation the most likely to impede his rescue, was, that he belonged to the General Directory, or *Comité Directeur*, of the revolutionary movements. Wit hints that such a junto really existed; but his hint, and the jargon in which it is clothed, are probably intended to alarm the governments, and to increase his own importance. At the same time, the *Commissione della Porta Nuova*, at Milan, claimed him anew; and as Count Bernstorff asked, also, his surrender to the Danish government, it was determined that he should be tried by the Commission, and afterwards embarked for Denmark, either from Genoa or Leghorn. He knew what his fate

in that case would be; and determined, therefore, to seek his safety by a prompt flight. But, from the apprehension of implicating thereby Count Bubna, whom he always affects to represent as his benefactor, he wrote to him, then at Verona, that he should endeavor to rescue himself. The consequence was, that the commander of the fortress was directed to watch him more closely, and to abridge the liberty which he had previously enjoyed. 'This,' says he, 'was precisely what I wished. During the seven months of plenty, I had provided myself for the seven months of famine. In other words, I had now many friends in the fortress.' In this, however, he was soon disappointed. Being removed to another part of the fortress, he lost the chance of bribing the turnkey, with whom he had been long acquainted, and the sentinels, posted at his door, belonged to nations with whose language he was not acquainted. Under these disappointments, he resorted to his old resource of suicide. He attempted to cut an artery, but succeeded only in opening a vein. Having placed his arm in a basin of warm water, he waited, like Seneca, for his end; but on the next morning he found himself, unconscious of what had passed, stretched upon a bed, with a physician by his side. Several weeks elapsed, before he was able to rise and walk.

Orders arrived, meanwhile, from Verona to mitigate his confinement; whereupon the governor of the fortress, Baron Swinburne (an uncle of the traveller of that name), permitted him to visit him, under an escort, once every day. He spent there some time in conversation with the general, who was enchanted, it seems, to talk English. In one of these visits, he met, by assignation, the valet of *the* Countess. Provided with an officer's cloak, he effected his escape from the prison to the Countess' dwelling. A price of ten thousand *lire* was set upon his head, but he nevertheless spent a week with the lady, disguised in female attire. A messenger sent to Turin, to manage his escape with one of his acquaintance, returned with an unsatisfactory answer. Obliged to hasten his flight, he resorted at length to the resource of assuming the dress and manners of a smuggler, or *frustrator*, as the Italians call that class of gentry, who strongly resemble the *contrabandistas* of Spain. The neighborhood of Switzerland, from which numberless difficult passages and short cuts lead into the interior of Lombardy, to the Lago Maggiore, and to the Lakes of Como and Garda, which border on three different states,

furnishes many facilities for the smuggling trade. The Countess' *valet de chambre* had a brother who was intimately acquainted with a band of smugglers; and Wit, in the expectation of joining them, went to board with the porter of the police director, 'for so cunning a lad was he [Wit] reckoned, that he could not better escape detection than by taking the step most likely to be avoided.' He was received by the door-keeper into his miserable room, under the pretence that he was a Swiss merchant, who, in an encounter with custom-house officers, had been so unfortunate as to kill one of them, and was accordingly obliged to keep a strict *incognito*. During the short time that he found security against the police under the roof of its principal officer, he was, nevertheless, as may well be imagined, in an uneasy state of mind. The porter was constantly receiving visiters; and an old woman, who frequently called upon his wife, one evening mentioned the escape of Wit, and the price set upon his head. Sensible of his danger, he resolved to leave his retreat, and to return anew to his Countess for some days. But the prison being near the Countess' dwelling, he took refuge there, with the consent of the jailer, with whom everything had been plotted to that end, through the agency of another fair and frail confederate. After having spent five days among murderers and thieves, he removed to a private apartment in a house advantageously situated for his final escape. Here he suffered much from cold, none of his rooms being provided with a chimney. He occasionally got admittance into the apartment of his hostess, where there was a fire, which, however, the worthy mistress of the house would not let him approach. Her first husband, it seems, had committed a murder; but for want of proof had been acquitted on trial. He went home, overjoyed, to his wife, and related the agreeable news to her, by the fire-side. A couple of spies of the police were stationed at the top of the chimney, heard the tale, and within twenty-four hours the indiscreet gentleman was convicted of murder. Ever after that time, his disconsolate widow (who had taken a second husband) had a horror of fire-side conversation; and would not, says Wit, for this reason, let him approach her chimney-corner!

At length his Piedmontese friend arrived, and offered to guide him safely beyond the frontiers of Lombardy. His friend was by profession a lawyer, and in principles a worthy associate of our hero. Disguised as a priest, Wit set out on his

journey to Pavia, in a light vehicle. The greatest difficulty that remained for him was to pass the frontier. But the lawyer knew every unfrequented pass; and after having crossed the Po, they proceeded, through bushes and moors, along the banks of that river, towards Carbonara, a village which principally thrives by smuggling. Before they reached that village, they were met by a *carabinier*, who called them to account. The lawyer stated that he was on his way to call on a client, and that the priest in his company was directing his steps to the same house, to give spiritual aid to the dying consort of the same individual. The soldier, without manifesting any suspicion, seemed, nevertheless, disposed to accompany the traveller; upon which the lawyer thrust his hand under his vest, in search of his stiletto, and gave to his associate a signal to coöperate in the bloody deed. Wit however, like the immortal Chancellor, was a friend of moderate counsels; and by the gift of some pictures of saints which he took from his Breviary, he won the good will of the honest soldier, whose life he thus saved. The man of the law preceded them; and by the time they entered the cottage, the hale and healthy matron had already stretched herself upon her straw bed, pretending to be in her last extremity, and imploring the benediction of the mock minister of the church, who performed his task with so much effect, that the warrior was moved to tears, and felt himself compelled to withdraw, to avoid showing unsoldierlike emotion. After having thus escaped detection without committing murder, (for he owns frankly, that he would have slain the soldier, in case his own liberty had been in jeopardy), he determined upon making a day's halt at Carbonara, in order to meditate upon his further proceedings. In Switzerland, he could not flatter himself with being long in safety, the Helvetic government having given up several revolutionary refugees, and that country being, at that time, much visited by the *surveillans* of several royal courts. It was also too dangerous for him to return to Germany or France. Spain was then a safe retreat for men of his description, and, as he says, a country where in all likelihood there would be business for him.

In the hope of finding a passage on board of some ship sailing from Genoa or Leghorn, he despatched a circular letter to the nearest lodges or *chiese* of Carbonari, and on the third day, he already, by their contributions, possessed twelve hun-

dred *lire*, which enabled him to make the necessary preparations for his voyage. This was the first and the last time, he says, that he taxed the secret societies with which he was connected; and as soon as he had received remittances from his family, he repaid the money, with which he had been supplied by them in that emergency.

New revolutionary commotions were on the eve of breaking out in Piedmont; and the fugitive profited by them. Under the protection of the *Sublimi Maestri Perfetti*, he traversed a country, which was then filled with *gens d'armes*. With a black wig, mustachios of the same color, and an olive-colored complexion, he assumed, with great success, the appearance of a deserter. When he met with soldiers, he pretended that he was seeking an enlistment in a Piedmontese regiment. Many an honest warrior of that country, approving of his desertion from the Imperial banners, supplied him with food, and drank to his success. Making his way by stealth under the cover of night, and passing the day concealed under the roof of some confederate, he at length arrived at Genoa. Here he flattered himself that he had reached the termination of his toils; but the ships bound for any of the harbors of France or Spain, were too closely observed, to leave him any hope of escaping by sea. There was the same vigilance, and consequently the same danger for him, at Leghorn, and he was therefore compelled to return almost to the point from which he had started, and to seek a refuge in Switzerland. His former disguises could not be safely assumed again, and he chose, therefore, that of a Capuchin friar. He wandered barefoot, and in safety, till he reached Vercelli, where he found, in the house of a *Countess*, several political associates, who had been his fellow prisoners at Turin. The spirit which then prevailed among the inhabitants of Vercelli, occasioned greater vigilance on the part of the police; and on the second day after his arrival in that city, the counter-police of the revolutionary party communicated the intelligence, that their antagonists had some suspicion of the new inmate of the Countess' palace. But the *Sublimi Maestri Perfetti* again saved him; and under a new disguise, that of a priest's attendant, he reached Intra, where the conspirators were so numerous, that he stood in no necessity of assuming any disguise.

Here ends the personal narrative of the author's adventures in the dungeons of Chamberry, Turin, and Milan, and during

his flight from the fortress of the last capital. Twenty pages, which make the conclusion of the book, contain the most singular medley of impious, blasphemous, mystical, dishonest speculations, that can cross a mind bewildered by the basest principles, or originate in a heart thoroughly corrupted.

ART. V.—*A condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley.* By TIMOTHY FLINT, Author of 'Recollections of the last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley.' In Two Volumes. 8vo. Cincinnati. E. H. Flint. 1828.

IF the merit of a writer is to be measured by the good which his books are calculated to effect, Mr Flint is one of the most deserving authors in the department of belles lettres, that America has produced. He has done more than almost any other individual, to bring the distant sections of the country acquainted with each other. If he did not open the gates of the mountains to the reading world, he has tempted its inhabitants to pass through them, far more frequently than they had ever done before. Of his former work, the 'Recollections of the last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley,' an account has already been submitted to the readers of this journal. The value of that work has *extorted* commendations from persons not willing to yield them with a good grace. Mr Ward, the late British Chargé d'Affaires at Mexico, makes the following reference to it; 'Should any of my readers wish for information respecting the mode, in which the western settlements [in the United States] have been conducted, and the extraordinary manner in which they have thriven, I can refer them to Flint's "Journal of a Ten Years' Residence in the Valley of the Mississippi," which, although written in a most uncouth style, is both an interesting and instructive work.' Mr Ward has here incorrectly given the title of Mr Flint's work, although he uses the common marks of quotation. Inasmuch as he undertakes to censure the book, in respect to manner, we think he ought to begin his censure by calling it by the right name. A 'most uncouth style' is a vague reproach. It ought to import a remarkably odd, strange, and unusual manner. These are not

the characteristics of Mr Flint's style; of which the principal defects are haste and negligence. He has all the essential elements of a first-rate style; and if he would subject his works to a severe revision, and prune off a little redundancy,—the natural outpouring of a mind full of the subject, and of a glowing imagination,—he would produce a better style than Mr Ward's.

The work before us is one of higher pretensions than the 'Recollections.' It is one of that class of works, which has been rendered popular, in this part of the country, by Dr Belknap's 'History of New Hampshire.' It contains a historical, geographical, and statistical account of the Valley of the Mississippi, first in the general, and then of the various separate states within its limits; and in this account are included general notices of the various productions found in the same region, in the different departments of natural history. This single suggestion, as to the nature of the work, will show that it cannot be intended to exhaust any one of the topics. It is a work for popular use; such an one as did not before exist, and such as will be perused with great interest by all classes of general readers. It will not, in reference to any of the great subjects treated, for instance, the history of the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi and the country through which it flows, supply the place of the original authorities, in the researches of the student. But it will give a general knowledge of this subject, and a comprehensive view of every thing connected with the western country; which can be found, we firmly believe, in no other work, and which it would cost the most industrious and judicious reader infinite pains and much time to collect from all the other sources of information. In fact, Mr Flint assures us, that something more than half of his work is original, in the strictest sense of the word, containing the results of his own observation, during twelve years of residence and of travelling in the region described. He alludes to the haste, with which he was led to bring the work before the public, and to his views of its improvement, in the event of a second edition. We feel no hesitation in saying, that if Mr Flint will, at his leisure, subject it to a careful correction in point of style; take some portions of it into a new draft, with a view to a little more fulness on some topics and compression on others, according to the relative importance of their subject matter; subjoin the particular reference for facts, that are in dispute, or otherwise important, and extend it perhaps to a third volume,

which will give it a compass by no means out of proportion to the magnitude of the subject; he will have the satisfaction of achieving a work, on which he may safely rest his own reputation, and which will reflect credit on the literary character of the country.

The perusal of such a work excites mingled sentiments of delight and astonishment, and almost of awe, in the mind. The phenomenon, which it presents, is of strange interest. While literary Europe is just learning something of the United States; and the influence on her system is beginning to be felt of those establishments, which are now two centuries old, we behold, in the Valley of the Mississippi—a wilderness at the period of the American revolution,—a population one third more numerous than that of the United States in 1783. Many of these youthful republics, as we are all rightfully called, are in that state of overflowing population, which characterizes the oldest countries in Europe; although the abundance of vacant lands, and the facility of effecting a settlement upon them, have placed that point with us much lower than it stands abroad. The young men, who have emigrated from the Atlantic coast to the West, did not, like the emigrants from Ireland and the Palatinate, leave potato-fare and six pence a day behind them. On the contrary, they left a country of high wages and hearty diet. If emigration be the safety-valve of states, ours is calculated to open at a very low pressure; in others, the governments have loaded it with additional weights, threatening the most disastrous explosions. A heavy tax on the sale of the fixed property of emigrants exists in some of the governments of Germany.

We are not acquainted with any instance, in the history of the world, of so rapid an extension of civilization over a barbarous waste. We all know how little had been effected, in a century and a half, by the French, in the same region; and comparatively speaking, how tardy was the progress of the Atlantic coast, under the auspices of England. Under the patronage of the government of the United States, the West has done more in fifty years, than the Atlantic coast was able to do in three times that period; and yet, at the time of the commencement of the revolution, the growth of the colonies of England was habitually spoken of, as a miracle in human history. It certainly adds, in the highest degree, to the astonishing character of these facts, that, although during the last half

century the Atlantic coast has suffered such a steady and powerful drain, it has itself continued to advance in population, wealth, and arts, with no perceptible diminution in the ratio of progress. On the contrary, the contrast between the present state of the oldest settlements in the country and their condition in 1775, is not less surprising, that the rapidity, with which, from the overflowing of these settlements, a new world has grown up beyond the Alleganies.

The author begins his work, with some observations on the general features of the Valley of the Mississippi, and the face of the country. Under the head of *mountains*, the following observations on the passages across the great western ridge will command the attention of our readers. If we mistake not, the perusal of the account of Lewis and Clarke's expedition has had considerable effect on the public mind, in establishing the impression, that the waters of the Columbia river are exceedingly difficult of access, from the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, and a consequent indisposition to push our settlements into that region. Any facts, therefore, which show that no such natural barrier exists between the two oceans, become of great importance and interest.

'As on the Alleganies, the rivers, that run in opposite directions from these mountains, generally have their sources near each other. In following the beds of these rivers up to their sources in the mountains, we find the easiest paths and the gentlest acclivities, by which to cross them. The character which they had gained, of being continuous, high, and everywhere alike rugged, and a barrier, almost impassable, between the regions east and west of them, from the descriptions of the first adventurers who crossed them, seems now to have yielded to a very different impression. Various leaders of expeditions of trappers have crossed these mountains, in directions more southern, than those of Lewis and Clarke. They affirm, that they found none of those formidable and almost insurmountable barriers, which undoubtedly exist on the route of those distinguished travellers. We have at this moment under our eye extracts from the journal of Mr Ashley, the leader of an enterprising and powerful association for procuring furs, who has crossed these mountains at different points. This journal narrates the account of a passage over them, from the sources of the Platte to lake Buenaventura, on the western side. It asserts, that he found an easy passage even for loaded carriages; with an ascent nowhere as sharp, as on the national road over the Cumberland mountains to Wheeling. He even asserts, that the

acclivity was so gentle, as nowhere to have an ascent of more than three degrees; and that nature has provided not only a practicable, but a good road quite to the plains of the Columbia. The testimony of travellers seems to be uniform, that to the eye, indeed, the ranges are unbroken and continuous. But nature seems everywhere to have indicated her wish, that no part of the earth should be interdicted by unsocial barriers from communication with the rest. Through the loftiest and most continued ranges there are found chasms, natural bridges, ascents along the beds of rivers, and corresponding descents on the opposite side, that render a passage over them comparatively smooth and easy.' Vol. I. pp. 35, 36.

Mr Flint next passes to a brief account of the *minerals* of this region. The substance described in the following passage, though seemingly different in some of its properties, as color, might supply the place of the *meerschaum* or *écume de mer* of Anatolia, which is in great request in the north of Europe for pipe heads.

'On the waters of the Little Sioux of the Missouri, and on a branch of the St Peter's of the upper Mississippi, is found a beautiful species of indurated clay,—constituting a stone of the most singular appearance, commonly called 'pipe stone,' from the circumstance, that the savages in all these regions, quite to the Western sea, make their pipes, and sometimes other ornaments, of it. It is said to be cut from the quarry, almost with the ease of wood. It hardens in the air, and receives an exquisite polish of impalpable smoothness. It is nearly of the color of blood; and is a beautiful article for monumental slabs, vases, and requirements of that sort. If it be as abundant, and as easily procured, as has been said, it will one day become an article of extensive use through the country. For, although marble abounds, this is a more beautiful material, than any marble that we have seen. It has been generally asserted, that an imaginary line of truce extends round the places, where this stone is found, within which the most hostile tribes pursue their business of cutting out stones for pipes in peace.' Vol. I. p. 44.

Mr Flint divides the Valley of the Mississippi, in respect to temperature, into four climates. The first commencing at the sources of the river, terminates at *Prairie du Chien*, and corresponds with the climate of the region between Montreal and Boston. The Irish potato, in this climate, attains its utmost perfection; and wheat and the cultivated grasses succeed well. The apple and the pear tree need a southern exposure; the peach requires still greater care; and during five months

in the year, the cattle require shelter in severe weather. The second climate is that of Illinois and Missouri, the region between the forty-first and thirty-seventh degree of north latitude. Cattle are seldom housed in winter, though often needing shelter. The climate is not so favorable to cultivated grasses, as that just mentioned. Wheat is at home in this region; the persimon and the pawpaw flourish throughout its whole extent. The apple, the pear, and the peach tree exist here in perfection. The third climate extends from the thirty-seventh to the thirty-first degree of north latitude. Below the thirty-fifth degree, in this region, the apple tree fails to bring its fruit to perfection. Cotton is raised for home consumption, between this parallel and the thirty-third degree; below the thirty-third degree, it is the staple article of cultivation. The fig tree ripens its fruit in this climate. From the thirty-first degree downward to the gulf of Mexico is the climate of the sugar cane and the sweet orange tree. The olive would probably thrive in this climate. The streams are never frozen. The forests are in blossom early in March. There is a thunder-storm almost every night.

On the subject of *diseases*, the author remarks, that as a general principle, the most attractive soils, the rich and heavily timbered alluvial tracts, are the least healthy. Some of these, however, as the Scioto lands in Ohio, which proved the graves of the first settlers, have, by the effect of cultivation, become healthy. The remark, which has been made of the old continent, is confirmed by experience in the Valley of the Mississippi; namely, that very considerable degrees of heat, and of moisture, existing separately, are compatible with the healthiness of a climate, but when the two are combined, disease is the result. The *Campagna di Roma* is neither the hottest nor the wettest part of Europe; but the action of an Italian sun on its marshes is strong enough to produce the *malaria*. For this reason, the dryness proceeding from cultivation, removing one of the elements of disease, naturally changes an unhealthy into a salubrious region. The fact asserted in the following extract is one, of which we believe the confirmation is found in all countries subject to *malaria*.

'Another fact, in relation to the choice of a residence, with a view to its salubrity, has been abundantly and unanswerably proved by experience. It is, that bluffs on the margins of wide bottoms and alluvial prairies are more unhealthy situations, than those, in

the bottom or prairie, which they overlook. This fact has been amply demonstrated on the Ohio bottoms and bluffs, on the margins of the alluvial prairies of the upper Mississippi, and, in short, wherever a high bluff overlooks a wide bottom. The inhabitants on the airy and beautiful bluffs, that bound the noble prairies of the upper Mississippi, in an atmosphere apparently so pure, as to preclude all causes of disease, are far more subject to fever and ague, than the people that inhabit below them on the level of the prairies. The same has been remarked of the Chickasaw bluffs, Fort Pickering, or Memphis, Fort Adams, Natchez, Baton Rouge, and the bluffs, generally, along the great water courses. Yet, though such is the uniform teaching of experience, so deceptive is the salubrious aspect of these airy hills, that swell above the dun and murky air, that seems to lie, like a mist, over the wide bottoms below them, that most people, in choosing their residence, will be guided by their senses, in opposition to their experience. We know not, whether the theory, by which this fact is explained, is a sound one, or not. It is said, that the miasma, or noxious air from putrid vegetation and stagnant water in the swamps and bottoms, is specifically lighter, than atmospheric air; that, of course, it rises from the plains, and hovers over the summits of the bluffs, here finding its level of specific gravity; and that, were it colored, it would be seen overlaying the purer strata of air beneath it.' Vol. I. pp. 56, 57.

Mr Flint next proceeds to the description of the *trees* and *shrubs*. The cypress is a very important tree. It begins to be seen on the wet lands, near the mouth of the Ohio, and is, with the swamp gum, the most common tree in the deep swamps from that point to the gulf of Mexico. It is a tree of a very singular character. Under its shade arises a multitude of curiously shaped knobs, called cypress knees. These are regular cone-like protuberances, in height and circumference not unlike tall and tapering beehives. The tree itself springs from a knob or knee of this kind, of an enlarged size, and, at the surface of the ground, of thrice the circumference of the proper trunk. This conical foundation of the tree rises to the height of from six to ten feet, and from its apex towers the main trunk of the tree, with scarce any diminution in its circumference for a length of sixty or eighty feet. But we must leave Mr Flint to pursue the account in his own words.

'Very near its top, it begins to throw out multitudes of horizontal branches, which interlace with those of the adjoining trees, and when bare of leaves, have an air of desolation and death, more easily felt, than described. In the season of vegetation, the

leaves are short, fine, and of a verdure so deep, as almost to seem brown, giving an indescribable air of funereal solemnity to this singular tree. A cypress forest, when viewed from the adjacent hills, with its numberless interlaced arms, covered with this dark brown foliage, has the aspect of a scaffolding of verdure in the air. It grows, too, in deep and sickly swamps, the haunts of fever, musquitos, moccasin snakes, alligators, and all loathsome and ferocious animals, that congregate far from the abodes of man, and seem to make common cause with nature against him. The cypress loves the deepest, most gloomy, inaccessible, and inundated swamps; and south of thirty-three degrees, is generally found covered with the sable festoons of long moss, hanging, as it seems, a shroud of mourning wreaths almost to the ground. It seems to flourish best, where water covers its roots for half the year. When it rises from eight or ten feet water of the overflow of rivers, the apex of its buttress is just on a level with the surface of the water. It is then, in many places, that they cut it. The negroes surround the tree in *periogues*, and thus get at the trunk above the huge and hard buttress, and fell it with comparative ease. They cut off the straight shaft, as suits their purpose, and float it to a raft, or the nearest high grounds. Unpromising as are the places and the circumstances of its growth, no tree of the country, where it is found, is so extensively useful. It is free from knots, is easily wrought, and makes excellent planks, shingles, and timber of all sorts. It is very durable, and incomparably the most valuable tree in the southern country of this valley. It is a fortunate circumstance, that it inhabits the most gloomy and inaccessible regions, which will not come into cultivation for ages. It will of course have a better chance, not to share the fate of the most useful timber on the valuable uplands. The improvident axe soon renders timber difficult to be procured, in a country in the centre of forests. All the cypress forests, however, that are easily accessible, on the lower Mississippi and its tributaries, have been stripped of their timber by the Mississippi lumberers, who have floated to New Orleans millions of feet of this timber, from the lands of the United States, and who have already created a scarcity of this species on the margin of the Mississippi. There are, however, in the vast swamps of the Mississippi, Arkansas, Red river, and Florida, inexhaustible supplies of cypress still remaining.' Vol. i. pp. 62, 63.

South of the thirty-first degree of latitude, in the lower country of Florida, along the coast, and from sixty to a hundred miles into the interior; and above the shores of Louisiana, to half that depth, the *live oak* is at home. It is not found west of the Sabine. It is not a very tall tree; but spreads its

branches widely. It is, as is well known, when green, heavier than water. The islands along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico furnish this tree in abundance. It is so difficult to cut down, burn, or in any way remove from the soil, that in these islands, which have lately been in request for the cultivation of sugar, this precious tree is regarded as an incumbrance.

The great value of this timber, in a national point of view, and the circumstance that it has frequently, and especially of late, engaged the attention of the national legislature, have led us to think, that some farther information on the subject would be acceptable to our readers. We derive most of the following facts from a very interesting letter of Mr Southard, secretary of the navy, to the chairman of the naval committee of the House of Representatives, dated the twenty-ninth of January, 1827.

The importance of the live oak timber to the navy of the United States, very early attracted the attention of the government. The navy department was first established in 1798, and the year following, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars was appropriated by law, to enable the President to direct 'the purchase of growing or other timber, or of lands on which timber was growing, suitable for the navy, and to cause the proper measures to be taken to have the same preserved for the future uses of the navy.' At this time, almost the only live oak timber, within the undisputed boundary of the United States, was contained in the states of Georgia and South Carolina. By the subsequent acquisition of Louisiana and Florida, the United States have become possessed of large tracts of land covered with this timber. Under the authority of the law just alluded to, the President of the United States, on the nineteenth of December, 1779, purchased Grover's Island, containing three hundred and fifty acres for seven thousand five hundred dollars; and in April, 1800, Blackbeard's Island, containing about sixteen hundred acres, for fifteen thousand dollars. Both of these islands are situated on the coast of Georgia. They still belong to the United States, and have generally been under the care of an agent; but the most valuable part of the timber has been removed, and the islands are now of little value, in reference to live oak, except as affording spots, where plantations of it might be established.

By a law of the first of March, 1817, the secretary of the navy, under the direction of the President, was authorized to

appoint agents and a surveyor to explore the public lands, and select so much of such portions as produced live oak and red cedar, as would be sufficient for the service of the navy. The land so selected was to be reserved from sale, and penalties were enacted against such as should cut or carry away these or other kinds of timber from the public lands. Subsequent laws were passed for carrying this system more effectually into execution. Two agents and a surveyor were appointed, under the law of 1817. They explored the coasts of Alabama and Louisiana, and made voluminous reports of their proceedings to the navy department. In consequence of the information which they contained, the President, on the twenty-ninth of February, 1820, directed the reservation of several islands in lake Chitimaches, Louisiana, containing in all about seventeen thousand acres, and estimated, at that time, to have upon them about thirty-seven thousand live oak trees of various sizes, fit for the naval service, a part of which, however, were difficult of approach, and some, perhaps, inaccessible. In May, 1821, an agent was appointed, with a small salary, to protect these reservations against intruders. No timber has as yet been cut from these islands, for the navy.

By the acquisition of Florida, vast quantities of live oak timber, as we have said, came into the possession of the United States. But the perplexity of the land titles, in this territory, threw great difficulties in the way of the government in obtaining it. A very great quantity of the public lands was instantly covered by fabricated claims; and while the commissioners were sifting them, the land was stripped of its live oak. A law was passed in February, 1822, authorizing the employment of the land and naval force of the United States to protect the timber on the public lands. Under this law, orders were immediately given to Captain Elton, in the brig Spark, to proceed to the St John's river in Florida, and prevent the cutting of timber on the public lands, or transporting it out of the territory. Similar orders have, from time to time, been renewed; and the commanders of our West India squadron, and of the revenue cutters in this part of our waters, have been instructed to the same effect.

The peculiar character of the Florida coasts, abounding with inlets, and the uncertainty of the land titles, went far to obviate the effect of these wholesome measures. An agent sent with Captain Elton reported, that he doubted, if there

were a timbered acre in the territory not claimed. The establishment of a commission for ascertaining the land titles in Florida, did something to remedy this evil; and in 1825, the subject was again brought before the attention of the President; but for want of an appropriation nothing could be done. Early in the fall of 1826, an agent was again sent into Florida, with full instructions on the subject. His reports to the department confirm the information, that the best of the live oak timber had been removed from the coast, as far as he had examined it. From Jacksonville, on the St John's, he writes, that 'the St John's, up to that point, together with its tributary creeks, fifteen miles up, is entirely cleared. Live-oak has, in fact, been a staple product. The collector at the bluff informed me, that for the last six or eight years, the number of vessels that had cleared, loaded with it, has averaged one hundred and fifty, not carrying each less than two thousand feet.' As this would amount in eight years to more than two millions of feet, it is probably an exaggeration. But it is well known that great quantities of it have been exported, and, it is supposed, purchased by foreign governments.

In 1827, this subject was brought before the House of Representatives, by one of its most able members, Colonel White, the delegate from Florida, who moved a resolution which led to the communication from the department, abovementioned, and to provisions by law to effect the preservation of the timber. Colonel White stated, in introducing his resolution, that he was well informed that the British government had its agents in the Southern States and Florida, engaged in purchasing and shipping live oak to England, cut by moulds, in the shape of knees, heart-hooks, and stern-posts, &c. He also stated, that he had been informed, that the Emperor of Russia had ordered two barrels of the acorns of the live oak to be sent to Russia, for the purpose of experiment in the southern portions of his empire. Colonel White recommended the establishment of a plantation of live oak, near the navy yard at Pensacola, where the government possesses a tract of land already covered with the young trees.

We presume that these agencies in Florida, for supplying the British government with our oak, were established while that territory was a Spanish province, and have been continued from the difficulty of detecting and breaking them up. In consequence of the representations of Colonel White and of the

secretary of the navy, provision was made in one of the sections of a law of the third of March, 1827, for the preservation of the live oak timber on the lands of the United States, and the reservation of those lands from sale.

Before quitting this subject entirely, we cannot but commend the attention paid, by the present Executive of the United States, to the introduction into this country of the vegetable productions of other regions. The circular, issued for that purpose, and addressed to the consuls, naval commanders, and others in the foreign service of the United States, is fresh in the recollection of the public, having been extensively circulated in the newspapers. When it is considered that cotton and rice are foreign products of comparatively recent introduction into the United States, the strongest encouragement suggests itself for multiplying experiments on all the subjects of the vegetable kingdom, from climates corresponding with any of those in this country. The teak-tree would undoubtedly grow in any climate adapted to the live oak.

We return to Mr Flint's work. The following description of a *cane-brake* (a swamp filled with *arundo gigantea* or *miegia macrosperma*) presents a scene which must be new to many of our readers.

'Every one has seen this reed in the form in which it is used for angling-rods. It grows on the lower courses of the Mississippi, Arkansas, and Red river, from fifteen to thirty feet in height. We have seen some, in these rich soils, that would almost vie in size with the bamboo. The leaves are of a beautiful green—long, narrow, and dagger-shaped, not unlike those of Egyptian millet. It grows in equidistant joints, perfectly straight, almost a compact mass; and to us, in winter especially, is the richest looking vegetation that we have ever seen. The smallest sparrow would find it difficult to fly among it; and to see its ten thousand stems, rising almost contiguous to each other, and to look at the impervious roof of verdure which it forms at its top, it has the aspect of being a solid layer of vegetation. A man could not make three miles in a day through a thick cane-brake. It is the chosen resort of bears and panthers, which break it down, and make their way into it, as a retreat from man. It indicates a dry soil, above the inundation, and of the richest character. The ground is never in better preparation for maize, than after this prodigious mass of vegetation is first cut down and burned. When the cane has been cut, and is so dried, as that it will burn, it is an amusement of high holiday to the negroes, to set fire to a cane-brake thus prepared.

The rarefied air in the hollow compartments of the cane bursts them with a report, not much inferior to a discharge of musketry; and the burning of a cane-brake makes the noise of a conflicting army, in which thousands of muskets are continually discharging. This beautiful vegetable is generally asserted to have a life of five years, at the end of which period, if it has grown undisturbed, it produces an abundant crop of seed, with heads very like those of broom-corn. The seeds are farinaceous, and said to be not much inferior to wheat. for which the Indians, and occasionally the first settlers, have substituted it. No prospect so impressively shows the exuberant prodigality of nature, as a thick cane-brake. Nothing affords such a rich and perennial range for cattle, sheep, and horses. The butter that is made from the cane pastures of this region, is of the finest kind. The seed easily vegetates in any rich soil. It rises from the ground, like the richest asparagus, with a large, succulent stem; and it grows six feet high, before the body hardens from this succulency and tenderness. No other vegetable could furnish a fodder so rich or abundant; nor, in our view, does any other agricultural project so strongly call for a trial as the annual sowing of cane, in regions too northern for it to survive the winter. We suppose this would be in latitude 39°.' Vol. I. pp. 80, 81.

The account of *zizania aquatica* or *folles avoines*, (p. 84.) is very interesting. It is, says Mr Flint, the great resource of the Northern Savages and Canadian traders and hunters. It springs up in waters six or seven feet in depth, where the bottom is soft and muddy, and is, of all the *cerealia*, except maize, in the opinion of our author, the most prolific. We join him in the expression of surprise, that,

'Amidst all our eager and multiplied agricultural researches, little attention has been paid to this interesting and valuable grain. It has scarcely been known except by Canadian hunters and savages, that such a grain, the resource of a vast extent of country, exists. It surely ought to be ascertained, if the drowned lands of the Atlantic country, and the immense marshes and stagnant lakes of the South, will grow it. It is a mistake, that it is found only in the northern regions of this valley. It grows in perfection on the lakes about Natchitoches, south of 32°, and might, probably, be cultivated in all climates of the valley.' Vol. I. p. 85.

The *stramonium* is represented by Mr Flint as a great pest of the Western country. On the richest bottoms it grows fifteen feet in height, and of a size and compactness to turn cattle. In some places, no inconsiderable part of the labor on the highways is to cut up this weed. Its popular name is *Jimson*, a

corruption of *Jamestown*, from which place in Virginia, it is supposed to have spread through the country.

The following is a description of a splendid species of *nymphæa;*

'Among the flowering aquatic plants, there is one, that for magnificence and beauty stands unrivalled and alone. We have seen it on the middle and southern waters; but of the greatest size and splendor on the bayous and lakes of the Arkansas. It has different popular names. The upper Indians call it *panocco.* We have seen it designated by botanists by the name *nymphæa nelumbo.* It rises from a root, resembling the large stump of a cabbage, and from depths in the water, from two or three to ten feet. It has an elliptical, smooth, and verdant leaf, some of the largest being of the size of a parasol. These muddy bayous and stagnant waters are often so covered with these leaves, that the sandpiper walks abroad on the surface of the leaves, without dipping her feet in the water. The flowers are enlarged copies of the *nymphæa odorata*, or New-England pond-lily. They have a cup of the same elegant conformation, and all the brilliant white and yellow of that flower. They want the ambrosial fragrance of the pond-lily; and resemble in this respect, as they do in their size, the flowers of the laurel magnolia. On the whole, they are the largest and most beautiful flowers, that we have seen. They have their home in dead lakes, in the centre of cypress swamps. Musquitoes swarm above. Obscene fowls wheel their flight over them. Alligators swim among their roots; and moccasin snakes bask on their leaves. In such lonely and repulsive situations, under such circumstances, and for such spectators, is arrayed the most gaudy and brilliant display of flowers in the creation. In the capsule are embedded from four to six acorn-shaped seeds, which the Indians roast, and eat, when green; or they are dried and eaten as nuts, or are pulverized into meal and form a kind of bread.' Vol. 1. pp. 89, 90.

We would gladly, also, extract the description of the long moss, which is used, in a prepared state, for many of the purposes of horse-hair; but we must hasten onward to other matter.

Our limits do not allow us to make any extracts from the chapter on *animals.* But we must refer the reader to the article of *Buffalo*, page 94, of *Beaver*, page 97, and of *Grizzly Bear*, page 98. Mr Flint (page 102) observes, that it is a fact to which he can bear ocular testimony, that the squirrels cross rivers, sometimes swimming, and at other times, on a chip or piece of bark, raising and spreading their tails by way of sail. It is related, adds he, that in the year 1811, they em-

igrated from the north towards the south by thousands, and with a front of some regularity, along the lower part of the state of Ohio, and the whole boundary of Indiana. Great numbers of them were drowned in attempting to cross the Ohio. The same thing took place the last year.

The chapter on *serpents* contains matter which will be found interesting to the general reader. The following narrative, though not sufficiently vouched to be received as true in its detail, is probably quite as authentic as the *mythus*, to which Mr Flint compares it; and serves to show us some of the terrors, whether of the imagination or of real life (and the former are perhaps as distressing as the latter), which await the first settlers of the wilderness.

'We have seen great numbers that have been bitten by rattle-snakes, or copper-heads, or moccasins; and we have never seen a fatal case. We read, indeed, of a most tragical occurrence, more horrible in the relation than the ancient fiction of Laocoon. An immigrant family inadvertently fixed their cabin on the shelving declivity of a ledge, that proved a den of rattle-snakes. Warmed by the first fire on the hearth of the cabin, the terrible reptiles issued in numbers, and of course in rage, by night into the room where the whole family slept. As happens in those cases, some slept on the floor, and some in beds. The reptiles spread in every part of the room, and mounted on every bed. Children were stung in the arms of their parents and in each other's arms. Imagination dares not dwell on the horrors of such a scene. Most of the family were bitten to death; and those who escaped, finding the whole cabin occupied by these horrid tenants, hissing, and shaking their rattles, fled from the house by beating off the covering of the roof, and escaping in that direction.' Vol. 1. p. 115.

Lizards are called 'ground-puppies.' Varieties of small camelions are found in this region. They are considered as harmless animals, though when taken, they show a disposition to bite. Probably their bite is not venomous. They will change, in half an hour, says Mr Flint, to all the colors of the prism. Green seems to be their favorite color, and while they assume it, the under part of the neck is scarlet. The throat swells, and the animal emits a sharp note like that of a grasshopper. 'We have placed them,' says Mr Flint, 'on a handkerchief, and they have gradually assumed all its colors. Placed on a black surface they become brown; but they evidently suffer while under this color, as is manifested by their uneasy movements, and by strong and quick palpitations. They are very active and nimble animals, three or four inches in length.'

'*Murena siren* is a very singular animal,' says Mr Flint, 'and, as far as we know, undescribed by naturalists. It somewhat resembles the lamprey, and is nearly two feet in length. It seems intermediate between the fish and the lizard class. It has two short legs placed near the head. It is amphibious, and penetrates the mud with the facility of a crawfish.' Vol. i. p. 119.

The crawfish are very troublesome in the waters of the West. Mill-dams are often penetrated and seriously injured by them; and the *levée* of the Mississippi has more than once been so weakened by their perforations, as to be gradually worn through and broken down.

Under the head of *rivers*, Mr Flint has drawn up a general description of the Mississippi and of the tributaries that flow into it, from its source to its mouth, but our space does not allow us to make an extract from it. To this succeeds an interesting chapter on the *Indian population*. Our author appears to us to think a little less highly, than some writers, of the character of the native population of this continent, and hints some doubts as to the nature and extent of their right in the soil of their hunting-grounds. This is too difficult and extensive a topic to be taken up at the present time; and it would, perhaps, be doing injustice to Mr Flint to detach from their connexion, his opinions on matters of controversy. We make the following brief quotation by way of doing justice, on one point, to the course pursued by the general government toward this unfortunate race.

'All words would be thrown away in attempting to portray, in just colors, the effects of whiskey upon such a race. It is, indeed, the heaviest curse that their intercourse with the whites has entailed upon them. Every obligation of duty, as philanthropists and Christians, imposes upon us all possible efforts to prevent the extirpation of the whole race; the inevitable consequence of their having free access to this liquid poison. We have adverted to the stern and rigorous prohibitions of the general government, and the fidelity with which they are generally carried into effect; and yet, in some way or other, wherever Americans have access, Indians have whiskey. It is understood that the laws of the state governments and of the general government are not in concert upon this subject. It is matter of undoubted fact, that in the states, the Indians find much less difficulty in procuring whiskey, than in the territories; and of course intoxication is far more common. The duties of the states imperiously call upon them to frame laws in unison with those of the general government, and to unite with

that to prevent these unhappy beings from exercising their suicide propensities.' Vol. i. pp. 184, 185.

The chapter of *monuments* is very interesting, but it is not in our power to dwell upon it.

The subject of the *present population* is, perhaps, that which will furnish the most ample matter of reflection to the philosophic mind. Within the distinct memory of those now on the stage, the Valley of the Mississippi might be called a wilderness; and the population which has since poured into it, has had to contend with almost every kind of obstacle. 'Sickness, solitude, mountains, the war-whoop, and the tomahawk, wolves, and panthers,' presented themselves to the first adventurers. In 1790, the population of the Valley of the Mississippi, exclusive of Florida and the country west of the river, was estimated at one hundred thousand. In 1800, it was something short of three hundred and eighty thousand. In 1810, it was short of a million. In 1820, including the population west of the Mississippi, and rating Florida at twenty thousand, and that of the parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, which belong to this Valley, at three hundred thousand, the whole population of this region amounted to two million five hundred thousand. Due allowance must of course be made for the effect of emigration. But there is no doubt that in 1830, Ohio, whose population is the largest and densest in the Western states, will be the double of what it was in 1820; and the emigration out of this state is unquestionably equal to the emigration into it.

The *national character of the Western people* is treated by Mr Flint with a manly spirit. The temper of the British journals on this head is truly atrocious. Even the 'New Monthly Magazine,' we are told, says that the Kentuckians flayed Tecumthe, and made razor-straps of his skin! That some traces of the effect of circumstances should be seen, in the manners of the people, is a matter of course; the only just subject of astonishment is, that a country *so* settled should exhibit all the essential features of a high stage of civilization. To compare Kentucky and Ohio, each within sixty years a savage wilderness, with Ireland, that has been christianized for fourteen centuries, and is within a day's sail of the very metropolis of civilization, and has had for six hundred years the *benefit* of being governed by its laws, would be doing great injustice to Ohio and Kentucky. We believe, in fact, that it would be possible to gather from the public prints of England a fair set-off,

within the circuit of the English counties, for every fact, that has ever been related with truth, for the purpose of showing the barbarity, violence, and immorality of the Western states.

Mr Flint gives curious details of some points of manners in the Western country, in some of which, as the discipline of the steam-boats, our brethren of the West are, it seems, in advance of the Atlantic coast. We can ourselves vouch for the truth of this comparison, and have seen travellers from the West, (who would be alarmed at the imputation of *aristocracy)* shocked with the promiscuous aspect of a steam-boat's company on the Delaware. There is no doubt, that steam-boat civilization (and it is as important a mechanical engine of civilization, as any that has been devised since the art of printing) is carried farther on the Mississippi, than in any other part of the world. The first steam-boat on these waters was seen in 1811. In the Appendix to his work, Mr Flint gives us the names, tonnage, and places of construction, of one hundred and eighteen steamboats, which navigate the Western waters!

The observations of our author on *the religious character* of the Western people will reward a perusal. We make no apology for the introduction of the following extract.

'None, but one who has seen, can imagine the interest, excited in a district of country, perhaps fifty miles in extent, by the awaited approach of the time for a camp-meeting; and none, but one who has seen, can imagine how profoundly the preachers have understood what produces effect, and how well they have practised upon it. Suppose the scene to be, where the most extensive excitements and the most frequent camp-meetings have been during the two past years, in one of the beautiful and fertile valleys among the mountains of Tennessee. The notice has been circulated two or three months. On the appointed day, coaches, chaises, wagons, carts, people on horseback, and multitudes travelling from a distance on foot, wagons with provisions, mattrasses, tents, and arrangements for the stay of a week, are seen hurrying from every point towards the central spot. It is in the midst of a grove of those beautiful and lofty trees, natural to the valleys of Tennessee, in its deepest verdure, and beside a spring branch, for the requisite supply of water.

'The ambitious and wealthy are there, because in this region opinion is all-powerful; and they are there, either to extend their influence, or that their absence may not be noted, to diminish it. Aspirants for office are there, to electioneer, and gain popularity.

Vast numbers are there from simple curiosity, and merely to enjoy a spectacle. The young and the beautiful are there, with mixed motives, which it were best not severely to scrutinize. Children are there, their young eyes glistening with the intense interest of eager curiosity. The middle-aged fathers and mothers of families are there, with the sober views of people, whose plans in life are fixed, and waiting calmly to hear. Men and women of hoary hairs are there, with such thoughts, it may be hoped, as their years invite. Such is the congregation, consisting of thousands.

'A host of preachers of different denominations are there, some in the earnest vigor and aspiring desires of youth, waiting an opportunity for display; others, who have proclaimed the Gospel, as pilgrims of the cross, from the remotest North of our vast country to the shores of the Mexican gulf, and ready to utter the words, the feelings, and the experience, which they have treasured up in a travelling ministry of fifty years, and whose accents, trembling with age, still more impressively than their words, announce, that they will soon travel and preach no more on the earth, are there. Such are the preachers.

'The line of tents is pitched; and the religious city grows up in a few hours under the trees, beside the stream. Lamps are hung in lines among the branches; and the effect of their glare upon the surrounding forest is, as of magic. The scenery of the most brilliant theatre in the world is a painting only for children, compared with it. Meantime the multitudes, with the highest excitement of social feeling added to the general euthusiasm of expectation, pass from tent to tent, and interchange apostolic greetings and embraces, and talk of the coming solemnities. Their coffee and tea are prepared, and their supper is finished. By this time the moon, for they take thought, to appoint the meeting at the proper time of the moon, begins to show its disk above the dark summits of the mountains; and a few stars are seen glimmering through the intervals of the branches. The whole constitutes a temple worthy of the grandeur of God. An old man, in a dress of the quaintest simplicity, ascends a platform, wipes the dust from his spectacles, and in a voice of suppressed emotion, gives out the hymn, of which the whole assembled multitude can recite the words,—and an air, in which every voice can join. We should deem poorly of the heart, that would not thrill, as the song is heard, like the "sound of many waters," echoing among the hills and mountains. Such are the scenes, the associations, and such the influence of external things upon a nature so "fearfully and wonderfully" constituted, as ours, that little effort is necessary on such a theme as religion, urged at such a place, under such circumstances, to fill the heart and the eyes. The hoary orator talks of God, of eternity, a judgment to come, and all that is im-

pressive beyond. He speaks of his "experiences," his toils and travels, his persecutions and welcomes, and how many he has seen in hope, in peace and triumph, gathered to their fathers; and when he speaks of the short space that remains to him, his only regret is, that he can no more proclaim, in the silence of death, the mercies of his crucified Redeemer.

'There is no need of the studied trick of oratory, to produce in such a place the deepest movements of the heart. No wonder, as the speaker pauses to dash the gathering moisture from his own eye, that his audience are dissolved in tears, or uttering the exclamations of penitence. Nor is it cause for admiration, that many, who poized themselves on an estimation of higher intellect, and a nobler insensibility, than the crowd, catch the infectious feeling, and become women and children in their turn; and though they "came to scoff, remain to pray."

'Notwithstanding all that has been said in derision of these spectacles, so common in this region, it cannot be denied, that the influence, on the whole, is salutary, and the general bearing upon the great interests of the community, good. It will be long, before a regular ministry can be generally supported, if ever. In place of that, nothing tends so strongly to supply the want of the influence resulting from the constant duties of a stated ministry, as the recurrence of these explosions of feeling, which shake the moral world, and purify its atmosphere, until the accumulating seeds of moral disease require a similar lustration again.' Vol. I. pp. 220–223.

The *pursuits of the people* form the subject of a curious chapter, but we have no room for extracts. The reader must absolutely procure the book itself.

Having gone through these several heads, and in a manner of which we have given some specimens, Mr Flint engages in the *general history* of the Valley of the Mississippi, beginning from the earliest accounts and coming down to the present day. Here it is, of course, impossible for us to follow him. This is the part of the work, which, for its great importance and the variety of matter necessarily embraced in it, Mr Flint will do well, in his second edition, to revise. It will bear a fuller detail in some parts. Authorities ought to be stated more frequently. Our author remarks, in the outset of this part of his work, that in the French and Spanish portion of it, he has mostly relied on the manuscript and untranslated work of M. de la Harpe. Some account of so important a manuscript would form the proper subject of a note.

The portion of the work, which is devoted to an account of

the Valley of the Mississippi collectively, is succeeded by a separate account of the states and territories embraced within its limits, namely, the territory of Florida, the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, the Arkansas territory, the states of Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio. The reader perceives the rich distribution of subjects. We shall have discharged our duty, if in the account we have already given of the work, we have shown it to be one, of whose contents the American student ought to possess himself. He must be a very diligent collector of information, who can read any one of these chapters, without being instructed by it. We do not propose to go into this part of the work, but the following, from the history of Tennessee, will serve as a specimen of its contents.

In 1784, North Carolina passed a law, ceding the country, which now forms the state of Tennessee, to the United States, provided congress should accept the cession within two years; the jurisdiction to be retained by North Carolina till congress should take possession. Upon this, the citizens called a convention, by which the laws of North Carolina, as far as applicable, were declared to be in force in the territory, and the aid of congress was invoked, for the formation of a new state. Meanwhile they ordained that the territory should be governed by a convention, and that this convention should send a delegate to congress.

Congress did not accept this cession, and North Carolina repealed her law. Meantime, however, parties were formed in Tennessee; and while, on one side, it was wished to return under the jurisdiction of North Carolina, on the other side, it was resolved to adhere to the separation. A new convention was called, and the territory was declared to be an independent state, under the name of *Frankland*. The convention announced to North Carolina the independence of the new state, and sent a delegate to congress; but it does not appear that any notice was taken, by that body, of these proceedings.

'In 1786, the state of Frankland had two conflicting courts in its limits. The one acted under the authority of their own state, and the other under that of North Carolina. Each court claimed, that its decisions were paramount; and in fact, the only one, that had a right to act in the case. A more fruitful source of collision and quarrel can not be imagined, than such a state. The sheriff of Frankland, with his *posse*, in some instances, went into

the other court, seized the papers, and turned the officers out of doors. The North Carolina party, as soon as it had power, retaliated in the same way. Colonel John Sevier was elected the first governor of the state of Frankland. The governor, soon after his induction into office, met the principal man on the North Carolina side of the question. From the windy and inefficient war of words, it soon proceeded to the more decisive war of blows. The argument was soon settled in the primitive way by the dint of fist. But these leaders of state were separated, before victory declared on either side. Their humbler retainers, as they felt in duty bound, imitated the example of their superiors, and lost an eye, or a piece of flesh of less importance from some other part of the body, without being either cooled, or convinced. It was obvious, that in such a crisis things must soon come to a more serious issue, than a fist-fight, or gouging an eye.

'The county of Washington elected members to represent them in the assembly of North Carolina. Colonel Tipton, who had fought the governor of Frankland, was one of these representatives. A paper containing the names of those, who were willing to accept the terms of North Carolina, and secede from the authority of Frankland, was sent by these members to the assembly. Taxes were imposed by the authority of both legislatures, and, as may be easily foreseen, the people paid neither, with much speciousness, assigning as a reason, that they did not know to which authority they ought to yield their money.

'This year the Cherokees renewed their attacks upon Tennessee. William Cocke, Esq., was delegated to congress. He made, before that body, an eloquent speech, placing in a strong light the helplessness and misery of their condition, engaged in a civil war on the one hand, and assailed by the merciless savages on the other. This time he was heard, and his representations were acted upon. A general amnesty was passed, in regard to all who expressed a readiness to yield themselves to the authorities of North Carolina. It was enacted, too, that the officers, who had held under the state of Frankland, should be displaced, and their places filled by persons appointed by North Carolina. Many, who held under the new state, had been originally appointed by North Carolina, and had been retained in their offices by Frankland. They were considered by congress in the light of persons, who admitted the authority of the new state. The pacific, and yet decisive measures of congress seemed at once to restore things to their former position, before the formation of the state of Frankland. But under the external appearances of tranquillity remained the smothered fire. There still remained a considerable number, staunch for the cause of the fallen state, and disposed, upon the first favorable appearances, to rear it up again. Governor

Sevier offered the services of these men to Georgia, in the prospect of an approaching war of that state with the Creeks. The legislature of that state having deliberated upon the proposition returned a very polite answer, expressing gratitude for the kindness of the offer, and promising a return of their services in any way, which should not be incompatible with the interests of Georgia. They sent a state of their case to Dr Franklin, soliciting advice. He wrote them in reply, that he thought they had better accede to the propositions of North Carolina.

'Notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances, Governor Sevier retained the integrity of his faith in the new state. Georgia, as a state, indeed, was only ready to avail herself of their military services, without promising any return of good offices. But several distinguished individuals of that state wrote to him, expressing their own good wishes, and those of many of the people. He was elected a member of the distinguished society of Cincinnati. A copy of the constitutions of the thirteen states, neatly bound, was presented him, with a very flattering address. The common toast in Georgia was, "Success to Frankland, and its virtuous citizens." But, all these symptoms of convalescence notwithstanding, in 1787, the legislature of Frankland met for the last time. Little was done, and shortly after the state of Frankland fell by natural decease.' Vol. II. pp. 31–33.

We have seen maps of the United States, published within a few years at London, on which, where *Tennessee* ought to stand, the word *Franklin* is inserted.

The second volume of Mr Flint's work contains the account of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, the most valuable part, perhaps, of the work. Commencing with page 350 of this volume, will be found a sketch of the general order and circumstances of emigration and settlement in the Western states, and the mode of proceeding adopted by a party bound to that region. But this, with many other curious and instructive details, we are obliged wholly to pass over.

The perusal of this work has suggested to us the desirableness of a complete collection of American historians, or historical works relative to the history of the country, to be undertaken by some of our extensive bookselling houses or an association of them. It ought to contain, in a regular series, both the original works and the subsequent compilations; beginning with such productions as Captain Smith's History of Virginia, Winthrop's Journal, and Prince's Chronology, and coming down through compilations of a later date, like Hutchinson's Massachusetts and Smith's New York, to works written since

the declaration of independence and at the present day. A complete collection of charters and patents should form a part of the plan. The want of such a collection is severely felt. Of some of the works, which would enter into it, one or two copies only are known to exist in America; and even of works of recent publication, many are out of print. We have known unavailing search to be made for years, in all our large cities, for such books as Sullivan's History of Maine; and McCall's History of Georgia. A collection like that proposed might be made as voluminous, as the public demand was found on trial to require.

Art. VI.—*A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus.* By Washington Irving. 3 vols. 8vo. New York, and London. 1828.

This is one of those works, which are at the same time the delight of readers and the despair of critics. It is as nearly perfect in its kind, as any work well can be; and there is therefore little or nothing left for the reviewer, but to write at the bottom of every page, as Voltaire said he should be obliged to do, if he published a commentary on Racine, *Pulchrè! bene! optimè!* And as the reputation of the author is so well established, that he does not stand in need of our recommendation as a passport to the public favor, it may appear, and in fact is, almost superfluous to pretend to give a formal review of his book. Nevertheless, we cannot refuse ourselves the satisfaction of adding the mite of our poor applause to the ample and well deserved harvest of fame, that has already rewarded the labors of our ingenious, excellent, and amiable fellow citizen; nor would it, as we conceive, be proper to omit noticing in this journal a work, however well known to the public, which we consider as being, on the whole, more honorable to the literature of the country, than any one that has hitherto appeared among us. Before we proceed to give our opinion in detail of the 'History of the Life and Voyages of Columbus,' we shall offer a few remarks on the character and merit of Mr Irving's other works, premising that we write under the influ-

ence of the feelings that naturally result from a good deal of friendly personal intercourse with this gentleman. If any reader shall suspect, that we judge Mr Irving too favorably because we know him too well, he is quite at liberty to make any deductions from the sum total of our commendation, that he may on this account deem in candor to be necessary.

Mr Irving shares, in some degree, the merit and the glory that belong to the illustrious hero of his present work, that of leading the way in a previously unexplored and untrodden path of intellectual labor. He is the first writer of purely Cisatlantic origin and education, who succeeded in establishing a high and undisputed reputation, founded entirely on literary talent and success. This was the opinion expressed by a very judicious and discerning writer in the Edinburgh Review, upon the first publication of the 'Sketch Book;' and it is, as we conceive, a substantially correct one. In saying this, we are perfectly aware that there have been found among us, at every period during the two centuries of our history, individuals highly distinguished, both at home and abroad, by important and useful labors in various branches of art and science. We mean not to detract, in the least, from their well-earned fame, which we cherish, on the contrary, as the richest treasure that belongs to their posterity, and would do everything in our power to establish and enlarge. We say not that Mr Irving is the first or the greatest man that ever handled a pen in the United States. *Vixêre fortes ante Agamemnona.* Our pilgrim fathers were accomplished scholars and powerful writers, according to the taste and learning of the times. One of their immediate successors, the pride and ornament in his day of a highly respectable college, is justly placed on an equality with the most profound and acute metaphysicians of Europe. The state papers of the revolution have been pronounced, by the first orator and statesmen of the mother country, to equal or surpass the noblest efforts of antiquity of the same description. In the exact sciences we have contributed as much or more than our share to the common stock of discovery and improvement, from the time of the first settlement of the colonies up to the present day. But our success in the department of polite literature and poetry (which are essentially one and the same thing) had not, until a very recent period, corresponded with our progress in most others. After all that had been done by the Trum-

bulls, the Hopkinsons, the Dwights, the Barlows, the Humphreyses,—Arcadians all,—all animated with a fine spirit and by no means laboring without effect, but yet rather as amateurs than as artists;—after all that had been done by these and various others of equal or hardly inferior merit, we still wanted the 'sacred poet.' We had no name distinguished by repeated triumphs on the field of polite learning, too brilliant to be overlooked, too generally acknowledged abroad and at home to be gainsaid or controverted, which we could present to friend and foe as a proof of our capacity for these delightful pursuits; no series of elegant and highly finished works of this class in verse or prose, to exhibit as specimens of what we could accomplish.

The reasons of this deficiency are too obvious in themselves, and have been too often published in good and ill nature, to be now questionable. It was not owing to want of genius. That divine gift has been as liberally imparted in the goodness of Providence to this nation as to any other, that ever flourished on the face of the earth; and the English race, to which we belong, has always been preëminently distinguished in both the great branches, Saxon and Norman, that combine to form its mingled stock, by the favor of the Muses. Nor yet did the difficulty lie in want of patronage, the presence or absence of which has little or nothing to do with the developement of genuine excellence. The real cause, as has been very generally felt by judicious observers, was the condition of the country, which created an urgent and continual demand for talent in the various walks of active life. A vast continent was to be subdued and cultivated; all the branches of mechanical industry (as far as the mother country would permit us to exercise them) to be commenced. Here was business enough for the mass of the people. For minds of an elevated stamp, the liberal professions, education, public and private, and the high functions of government, opened fields of action, into which such minds could not hesitate to enter. The desk, the bench, the professor's chair, the principal political and military offices, were not with us the patrimony of particular families, but the acknowledged property of merit and talent, which, as soon as they showed themselves, were summoned, by the loud and unanimous acclaim of the public, to enter in and take possession. Had our fathers been insensible to this high vocation, they would have shown that they were unworthy of it, and in-

capable of excellence in anything. Our Ovids and Martials were therefore lost in Franklins, Adamses, and Jeffersons, as were those of England in Murrays and Pulteneys; and the loss, we may well add, was exceeding gain.

It was not then the absence of talent or poetical inspiration, but the more imperious and urgent,—let us not be unjust to our ancestors,—the nobler and loftier nature of the call for active labor in the moral and political service of the public, that checked for a time the cultivation of the finer arts. The shepherd in Virgil, who was compelled to abandon at once his country and his favorite amusements, beheld with admiration, if not with envy, his comrade playing on his rustic pipe, under the shade of the accustomed beech tree. Our fathers, if they felt any emotions of regret, at quitting their literary and poetical pursuits, could at least console themselves with the reflection, that they made the sacrifice, not to quit but to serve their country; and in obedience to her sacred voice, sprang with alacrity and pleasure into the walks of active life. We had men enough among us, who were 'smit with the love of sacred song'; who in earlier life exhibited splendid proofs that their love was by no means an unrequited passion; and who, had they devoted themselves exclusively to letters, would have carried off the most brilliant honors in any department which they might have selected. Such were the persons, whose names we mentioned above *honoris causâ;* but they too fell under the general rule, and could not withstand those inducements to engage, in one way or another, in the public service, that wrought with irresistible force upon every generous soul. They were all, as is well known, employed in the highest, the gravest, the most absorbing political, moral, or military affairs; and we possess in their literary effusions either the unripe fruits of their youth, or the hasty and casual recreations, that amused the few leisure hours of their maturer years. Mr Barlow, for example, was originally a poet of great promise. His 'Vision of Columbus,' written at a very early age, and which has not been improved by his subsequent labors upon it, exhibited a talent, which, if properly cultivated by persevering study and assiduous exercise, would have produced works of a very high, if not of the highest order; but he was hurried away, like the rest, by the animating movement of every thing about him, and swept at once into active life, where the serious affairs in which he was engaged, gradually diverted his mind

from his earlier pursuits, and diminished his capacity to excel in them; so that when he came back to them at a later period, for the purpose of publishing a corrected edition of his poem, he had lost a part of his power, and his verse had not quite the same freshness and vigor, that distinguished it before. It is pleasing, however, to see in these productions, though of somewhat inferior poetical merit, how fondly his thoughts reverted, from amidst the busy scenes in which he was engaged, to the happy period of his youth, and dwelt, in fond recollection, on the rocky hills of New England, and the beautiful valley of the Connecticut, in which he had his birth. Thus we find him, while accompanying the French army as a representative of the Convention on the first invasion of Piedmont, so strongly excited by the view of the maize which grows in abundance in that country, though little cultivated in most parts of Europe, that he wrote, upon the spur of the moment, amid the tumults of the campaign, one of his prettiest and most lively poems. Mr Barlow's case was that of all the rest. General Humphreys was a military officer of high rank, and a foreign minister. He wrote most of his poems in the tent of the commander in chief, which, in the nature of things, could not well in this case have been pitched on the summits of Pindus, or in the classic valley of Aonian Aganippe. Considering the circumstances under which they were written, his poems are far from wanting merit, and are equal to the similar productions of the most celebrated geniuses of Europe. They are quite as good, for instance, as the poems of Frederic the Great, most of which were also written in the camp, and some of them on the eve of the most critical and dangerous battles. The works of both belong to the class of *amateur* productions, which, as such, can never reach the highest degree of excellence; for this can only be attained, in any department of intellectual labor, by the exclusive and persevering devotion of a whole mind, for a whole life. Dr Dwight, in like manner, who possessed a naturally powerful and highly poetical intellect, with a fund of activity and industry, which would have carried him to the first rank in any profession, as it did in that which he pursued, after offering his youthful vows at the shrine of the Muses in 'Greenfield Hill' and the 'Conquest of Canaan,' gave up his riper years to the serious labors of his sacred calling, and of public instruction; in which he shone beyond comparison the brightest name of his day; while he published writings analo-

gous to these occupations, that are justly esteemed as among the most valuable of their class.

Active life, in short, absorbed the whole talent of the country. It is of little importance to the general truth of these remarks, whether there be or be not one or two names, in the course of the two centuries to which our history extends, that can fairly be cited as exceptions. If there be such, the men who bore them were isolated beings, who belonged to another world and a future age. They formed no school, they left no intellectual progeny to perpetuate their fame; the public taste was not prepared to feel and appreciate their merit, and they lived and died almost unknown to their contemporaries. If the Muses did in fact carve the name of *Philenia* upon every laurel in the grove of fame, as one of her admirers assures us, this same grove was at that time so little frequented as a public walk, that the circumstance passed almost without notice. Dr Franklin is entitled to the praise of a first-rate writer; but he has no pretensions to the poetical garland, which he voluntarily relinquished, like the other persons we have mentioned, for the purpose of devoting himself to the public service and the cultivation of science. Charles Brockden Brown has perhaps the best claim to rank as an exception from the general rule, and to assert the character of a really powerful and original writer in the department of polite literature. His works still retain their hold upon the public attention, and have rather risen than declined in reputation since his death. And his case singularly exemplifies the observations made above, in regard to the few persons who might be viewed as exceptions to our remarks. He lived, as it were, unknown to the public. His works were widely circulated and read; but, as we are told, generally received as of foreign origin. Finally when he had at last fought his way into some degree of notoriety at home, and begun of course to partake the feelings of the world around him, he seems like the rest to have been swept away from his original bias towards letters and poetry, into the large stream of active life. The last of his productions was a political journal entitled 'The American Register,' and had his days been prolonged, he probably would have devoted the rest of them to the party controversies of the time. Dennie, another natural poet, published, under the name of a literary journal, only a more refined and elegant political newspaper; and our townsman Paine, singularly gifted

as he was with all the elements necessary to the constitution of a real poet, generally devoted the few intervals, which he could spare from his pleasures for labor of any kind, to the establishment of a new newspaper. Such, up to the close of the last century, was the all-absorbing influence of the attractions of active life upon the whole mass of mind existing among us. The period when the three last writers lived, approached, however, so nearly to the present, that had any one of them possessed the vigorous moral constitution, which is indispensable to the full activity and effect of literary talent under any circumstances, and especially when a new course is to be struck out, he would probably have seized the palm that was reserved for another brow, and marked the opening of our Western school of polite literature. But these three gifted spirits, all of celestial mould, were like the falcon in Shakspeare, hawked at and killed, while towering in their pride of flight, by the devil of sensual indulgence, and thus failed of accomplishing their high vocation. Their immature and unfinished productions, though glowing at times with life and energy, can only be viewed as the first faint streaks of light, that preceded and announced the approach of day.

Finally however, in the rapid progress of our population, wealth, and literary advantages, the period arrived, when the calls of business no longer absorbed all the cultivated intellect existing in the country; when, after these were fully satisfied, there remained a portion of taste, zeal, and talent to be employed in purely literary and scientific pursuits; when the public mind was prepared to acknowledge and appreciate any really superior merit, that might present itself, in those departments; when in fact the nation, having been somewhat galled by the continual sneers of a set of heartless and senseless foreigners upon our want of literary talent, was rather anxious to possess some positive facts, which could be offered as evidence to the contrary, and was prepared of course to hail the appearance of a writer of undoubted talent, with a kind of patriotic enthusiasm; when finally, for all these reasons, the first example of success, that should be given in this way, would naturally be followed by an extensive developement of the same sort of activity, throughout the country, in the persons of a host of literary aspirants, sometimes directly imitating their prototype, and always inspired and encouraged by his good fortune, who would make up together the front rank of what is com-

monly called a school of polite literature. To set this example was the brilliant part reserved, in the course of our literary history, for Mr Washington Irving. His universal popularity among readers of all classes, on both sides of the Atlantic, resting exclusively on the purely literary merit of his productions, wholly independent of extraneous or interested motives, attested by repeated successes, in various forms of composition, and stamped by the concurrence and approbation of the most acute, judicious, and unsparing critics, justifies, beyond a shadow of doubt, his pretension to be viewed as the valorous knight, who was called, in the order of destiny, to break the spell, which appeared, at least to our good natured European brethren, to be thrown over us in this respect; to achieve the great and hitherto unaccomplished adventure of establishing a purely American literary reputation of the first order; and demonstrate the capacity of his countrymen to excel in the elegant, as they had before done in all the useful and solid branches of learning. To have done this is a singular title of honor, and will always remain such, whatever laurels of a different kind may hereafter be won by other pretenders. Thoroughly labored and highly finished as they all are, Mr Irving's works will hardly be surpassed in their way. Other writers may no doubt arise, in the course of time, who will exhibit in verse or prose a more commanding talent, and soar a still loftier flight in the empyrean sky of glory. Some western Homer, Shakspeare, Milton, Corneille, or Calderon, may irradiate our literary world with a flood of splendor, that shall throw all other greatness into the shade. This or something like it may or may not happen; but even if it should, it can never be disputed that the mild and beautiful genius of Mr Irving was the Morning-Star, that led up the march of our heavenly host; and that he has a fair right, much fairer certainly than the great Mantuan, to assume the proud device, *Primus ego in patriam.* To have done this, we repeat, is a singular triumph, far higher than that of merely adding another name to a long list of illustrious predecessors, who flourished in the same country. It implies not merely taste and talent, but *originality*, the quality which forms the real distinction, if there be one, between what we call *genius* and every other degree of intellectual power; the quality, in comparison with which, as Sir Walter Scott justly observes, all other literary accomplishments are as dust in the balance. It implies moreover the possession of high and honorable moral

qualities; the bold and daring resolution, that plans with vigor and decision; the unyielding firmness of purpose, that never tires or falters in the task of execution. These qualities, which are obviously necessary to such success as that of Mr Irving, have also, as exemplified in his writings, been carefully kept within bounds, and have not only been prevented from running into their kindred excesses, but, on the contrary, have been judiciously and gracefully veiled from the public eye, by the outward forms that rather belong to a character of an opposite cast; a modesty, that has never deserted him under all his popularity, and a scrupulous regard for decorum and propriety as well as the higher principles of morals, from which the dazzling success, that has unfortunately attended a different line of conduct in some contemporary writers, has never for a moment induced him to deviate. This combination of estimable and in some respects almost contradictory moral qualities, with a high intellectual power and fine taste, tends to render the influence of Mr Irving's example not less favorable to the country, in a moral point of view, than it is in a purely literary one.

The great effect which it has produced, in this latter respect, is sufficiently evident already, in the number of good writers, in various forms of elegant literature, who have sprung up among us within the few years which have elapsed since the appearance of Mr Irving, and who justify our preceding remark, that he may fairly be considered as the founder of a school. We have already a novelist of extraordinary power and facility, decidedly original, although in form an imitator; and second only in popularity, among contemporary writers of his class, to his celebrated model. We have a second novelist of gentler mien, as beseems her sex, whose rapid and constantly progressive improvement seems to indicate, that she is destined one day to approach, if not to equal or surpass, the merit of her amiable sister of the Emerald Isle. We have several youthful poets, who have already earned, by the best and purest arts, an early reputation, which the labors of their riper age will no doubt extend and enlarge. To these distinguished examples might be added a long list of other aspirants of various, in some instances perhaps, not inferior degrees of excellence; and when we take into view, at the same time, the remarkable developement of literary taste, the increased demand for books and journals, the improvements in the modes and means of education, and the augmented attention which is given, in every

way, to science and letters, we have a full right to assume that a decided change has taken place, in this respect, in the state of the country within the last fifteen or twenty years. We mean not of course to say, that this change is entirely owing to the example and success of Mr Irving. We have on the contrary already explained, in sufficient detail, that his appearance was in itself one of the results of the same general causes, that produced the other effects to which we have alluded. We only intend to intimate, that he has the peculiar merit and fortune of having taken the lead, under the influence of these causes, in a course, in which he could not but be followed and sustained by numerous successors, who would of necessity be more or less affected by the form and character of his productions. The fact that several of the more distinguished writers, who have since appeared, are from his own state,—while it is partly accounted for by the vast extent, population, wealth, and generally thriving situation of that 'empire in embryo,' New York; circumstances which all tend very strongly to stimulate every form of intellectual activity,—must nevertheless be regarded in part, as a proof of the direct operation of the success of Mr Irving.

Having thus noticed the circumstances, that attended the appearance of this writer in the literary career, we shall now offer a few observations on the character and value of his works. We trust that, in treating this subject somewhat fully, we shall not be considered, by our readers, as giving it a disproportionate importance. Independently of the fact, that discussions of a purely literary character form an agreeable variety in a journal intended for readers of various descriptions, and are perhaps (as far as respects the topic) not less acceptable to many than the essays on the graver themes that generally occupy our pages, we may add that their real importance is not to be measured by the extent of their influence on passing events. Science and letters touch the secret springs, that regulate the whole complicated movement of the political machine; while the business of administration, with all its bustle and parade, and in all its different departments of war-making, peace-making, speech-making, tax laying and gathering, office seeking and holding, and so forth, can only terminate at best in winding up the said machine, and keeping it in action. Hence it is, that in civilized periods, the literature of one age determines in a great degree the history of the next. *Voltaire*, said his

friend Condorcet at the hottest epoch of the French revolution, *n'a pas vu tout ce qu'il a fait, mais il a fait tout ce que nous voyons.* The nature of the operation of the writings of one generation on the form and spirit of society in the next, depends very much on the manner, in which they are received as merely literary productions by contemporaries. Literary and critical discussions are not therefore, as some suppose, merely valuable as the elegant recreations of opulent leisure, but are essentially connected with interests of deep and lasting importance.

If we examine the works of Mr Irving, with reference to the usual division of manner and substance, we may remark, in the first place, that his style is undoubtedly one of the most finished and agreeable forms, in which the English language has ever been presented. Lord Byron has somewhere spoken of him, as the second prose writer of the day, considering Sir Walter Scott as the first; but with due deference to his lordship's judgment, which was far from being infallible in criticism or anything else, we cannot but consider Mr Irving, as respects mere style, decidedly superior to Sir Walter. The latter, no doubt, has exhibited a greater vigor and fertility of imagination, which, with his talent for versification, entitle him to a higher rank in the world of letters; but viewing him merely as a prose writer, his style, when not sustained by the interest of a connected narrative, will be found to possess no particular merit, and in some of his later writings is negligent and incorrect to an extent, that places it below mediocrity. That of Mr Irving, on the contrary, is, in all his works, uniformly of the first order. Its peculiar characteristic is a continual and sustained elegance, the result of the union of a naturally fine taste, with conscientious and unwearied industry. His language is not remarkable for energy, nor have we often noticed in it any extraordinary happiness or brilliancy of mere expression. Though generally pure and correct, it is not uniformly so; and there are one or two unauthorized forms, which will be found by a nice observer to recur pretty often. Its attraction lies, as we have said, in the charm of finished elegance, which it never loses. The most harmonious and poetical words are carefully selected. Every period is measured and harmonized with nice precision. The length of the sentences is judiciously varied; and the *tout ensemble* produces on the ear an effect very little, if at all, inferior to that of the finest versification. Indeed such prose,

while it is from the nature of the topics substantially poetry, does not appear to us, when viewed merely as a form of language, to differ essentially from verse. The distinction between verse and prose evidently does not lie in *rhyme*, taking the word in its modern sense, or in any particular species of *rhythm*, as it was understood by the ancients. *Rhyme*, however pleasing to accustomed ears (and we 'own the soft impeachment' of relishing it as much as others), is, we fear, but too evidently a remnant of the false taste of a barbarous age; and of *rhythm* there are a thousand varieties in the poetry of every cultivated language, which agree in nothing, but that they are all harmonious arrangements of words. If then we mean by rhythm or verse merely the form of poetry, and not any particular measure or set of measures to which we are accustomed, it seems to imply nothing but such a disposition of words and sentences, as shall strike the ear with a regular melodious flow; and elegant prose, like that of Mr Irving, for instance, comes clearly within the definition. Nor are we quite sure that this delicate species of rhythm ought to be regarded as inferior in beauty to the more artificial ones. The latter, which are obvious and, as it were, coarse methods of arrangement, are perhaps natural to the ruder periods of language, and are absolutely necessary in poems intended for music; but for every other purpose it would seem, that the most perfect melody is that, which is most completely unfettered, and in which the traces of art are best concealed. There is something more exquisitely sweet in the natural strains of the Eolian harp, as they swell and fall upon the ear, under the inspiration of a gentle breeze, on a fine moonlight evening, than in the measured flow of any artificial music. But we must leave these considerations, which would admit of some developement, and return to our author.

If the elegant prose of Mr Irving be, as we think it is, but little inferior in beauty to the finest verse, and at all events one of the most finished forms of the English language, the character and the substance of his writings is also entirely and exclusively poetical. It is evident enough that 'divine Philosophy' has no part nor lot in his affections. Shakspeare, though he was willing to 'hang up philosophy,' out of compliment to the charming Juliet, when he chose to take it down again, could put the Seven Sages of Greece to the blush. But such is not the taste of Mr Irving. His aim is always to please; and nev-

er to instruct, at least by general truths. If he ever teaches, he confines himself to plain matter of fact. He even goes farther, and with the partiality of a true lover, who can see no beauty except in the eyes of his own mistress, he at times deals rather rudely with philosophy, and more than insinuates that she is a sort of prosing mad-cap, who babbles eternally without ever knowing what she is talking of. Now we hold this doctrine to be clearly heretical. We conceive that the universe is not less worthy of being studied as an expression of the pure and glorious *ideas* or images that dwell eternally in the Supreme mind, than when viewed merely as a pleasing and varied panorama, or moving picture; and that it even acquires, in the former case, a sublimity and beauty, of which it is not susceptible in the latter, and which, in all ages, have exalted and ravished the souls of the best and greatest men, the Platos and Ciceros of the olden time, and the Miltons and Newtons of the modern. But though we think Mr Irving heretical on this head, we can hardly say that we like him the less for it, being always pleased to see a man put his heart and soul into his business, whatever it may be, even though he may, by so doing, (as often happens) generate in himself a sort of hatred and contempt for every other. Within the domain of poetry, taking this word in its large sense, to which he religiously confines himself, Mr Irving's range is somewhat extensive. He does not attempt the sublime, but he is often successful in the tender, and disports himself, at his ease, in the comic. Humor is obviously his *forte*, and his best touches of pathos are those, which are thrown in casually, to break the continuity of a train of melancholy thoughts, when they sparkle in part by the effect of contrast, like diamonds on a black mantle. But it is when employed on humorous subjects, that he puts forth the vigor of a really inventive genius, and proves himself substantially a poet. 'Knickerbocker,' for example, is a true original creation. His purely pathetic essays, though occasionally pleasing, are more generally somewhat tame and spiritless. As a writer of serious biography and history he possesses the merit of plain and elegant narrative, but does not aspire to the higher palm of just and deep thought in the investigation of causes and effects, that constitutes the distinction of the real historian, and supposes the taste for philosophical research, which, as we have said before, is foreign to the temper of our author.

Such, as we conceive, are the general characteristics of the

style and substance of the works of Mr Irving. We notice their deficiencies and beauties with equal freedom, for such is our duty as public critics, and we have too much respect for our friend to suppose, that his appetite for fame requires to be gratified by unqualified praise. This can never, in any case, be merited, and is therefore always worthless; while the favorable effect of just and candid criticism is heightened, by a discriminating notice of the weak points, that are of course to be found in all productions. We shall now proceed to offer a few more particular observations upon the separate works, dividing them, for this purpose, into the two classes of those that were written before and after the author's departure for Europe. Although the general characteristics, which we have pointed out, are common to both these classes, there are some differences of manner between them, that are worth attention. The 'Life of Columbus,' again, varies materially from any of the preceding publications, and will naturally be considered by itself, as the immediate subject of this article.

The former class comprehends *Salmagundi* and the *History of New York*, besides some smaller and less important productions. These exhibit the talent of the author, in the full perfection of its power, developing itself with a freshness and freedom, that have not perhaps been surpassed, or even equalled, in any of his subsequent writings, but directed, on the other hand, by a somewhat less sure and cultivated taste. There is a good deal of inequality in 'Salmagundi,' owing probably in part to a mixture of contributions by other hands; but the better pieces are written in Mr Irving's best manner. Take it altogether, it was certainly a production of extraordinary merit, and was instantaneously and universally recognised as such by the public. It wants of course the graver merits of the modern British collections of Essays; but for spirit, effect, and actual literary value, we doubt whether any publication of the class since 'The Spectator,' upon which it is directly modelled, can fairly be put in competition with it. We well remember the eagerness, with which the periodical return of the merry little yellow dwarf was anticipated by all classes of readers, and the hearty good will, with which he was welcomed.

> 'Sport that wrinkled care derides,
> And Laughter holding both his sides,'

uniformly followed in his train. So irresistibly attractive and amusing were the quips and cranks of the odd group of mum-

mers that moved under his management, that our grave, business-loving, and somewhat disputatious citizens were taken, like Silence in the play, ere they were aware; and when the show was over, were surprised, and in some cases rather chagrined, to find that they had been diverted from their habitual meditations on the Orders in Council and the New England Platform, by the unprofitable fooleries of the Cockloft family and the Little Man in Black, the state of the Tunisian Ambassador's wardrobe, and the tragical fate of poor Aunt Charity, who died of a Frenchman. Mr Irving appears to have had no other object in view, but that of making a sprightly book and laughing at everything laughable; but the work necessarily assumed, to a certain extent, the shape of a satire on the abuses of popular government; since the administration of the public affairs is the great scene of action, upon which the attention of the community is always fixed, and which must be treated, in jest or earnest, by all who mean to have an audience. The vices and follies, that most easily beset our practical statesmen, their endless prolixity in debate, their rage for the bloodless glory of heading the militia in a sham fight, their habitual waste of dollars in attempting to economize cents, are hit off in a very happy manner; but as the satire is always general, and the malice at bottom good-natured and harmless, nobody took offence and we all laughed honestly and heartily; each, as he supposed, at the expense of his neighbor. Nor are we to conclude that because Mr Irving has made the abuses of popular government, and the weaknesses incident to those who administer such a system, the objects of his satire, that he is a political heretic and a secret foe to liberty. The best human institutions are of course imperfect, and there is quite as much advantage to be derived from a just and good-humored exposition of the weak points of our own government, as from a continued fulsome and exaggerated panegyric on its merits. Mr Irving, we may add, was probably directed in the choice of the subjects on which to exercise his pleasantry, by the mere force of the circumstances under which he wrote, and not by any general views of the theory of government.

The decided success and universal popularity of his first attempt naturally encouraged him to repeat it, and 'Salmagundi' was pretty soon followed by the *History of New York.* This we consider as equal to the best, and in some respects perhaps superior to any other of our author's productions. It is the

one, which exhibits most distinctly the stamp of real inventive power, the true test, as we have hinted, of genius. The plan, though simple enough, and when hit upon sufficiently obvious, is entirely original. In most other works of the same general class of political satire, such as those of Rabelais and Swift, the object of the work is effected by presenting real events and characters of dignity and importance in low and ludicrous shapes. 'Knickerbocker' reverses this plan, and produces effect by dressing up a mean and trifling fund of real history, in a garb of fictitious and burlesque gravity. The conception is akin, no doubt, to the general notion of the mock heroic, as exemplified, for instance, in Pope's 'Rape of the Lock,' but the particular form, in which it is applied by the learned and ingenious Diedrich, is not only unusually happy, but wholly new; and the work possesses of course a character of complete originality, which does not belong to any of the others. *The Stout Gentleman* is a second application of the same principle, still more exquisitely wrought up and only inferior in the comparative smallness of the canvass. The execution of 'Knickerbocker' corresponds in felicity with the merit of the plan. The graphic distinctness, with which the three Dutch governors, whom nobody ever heard of before, are made to pass before us, each endowed with his appropriate intellectual, moral, and personal habits and qualities, is quite admirable; and the political satire is conveyed with great effect, and at the same time in a very fine and delicate manner, through the medium of these remote characters of the old world. There are some ineffectual attempts at wit in particular passages, and here and there a little indelicacy, which is the more objectionable, as it is inconsistent with the plan of the mock heroic, and in place, if admitted at all, only in the *travestie*. There is also a somewhat uncouth display of commonplace historical learning in the first book, where the author, while in the act of ridiculing pedantry, as he supposes it to be exemplified in the person of the worthy 'Diedrich,' betrays, we fear, a slight shade of the same quality in himself. But notwithstanding these blemishes, which are indeed so trifling, that we are almost ashamed to have mentioned them, the execution of the 'History of New York' is in the main completely successful. If we were called on to give a preference to any one of our author's productions over all the rest, we should with little hesitation assign the palm to this.

These, with some smaller pieces to which we shall briefly advert hereafter, are all the works, which were published by Mr Irving before his departure for Europe, and which belong to what may be called his first manner. Soon after their appearance, he visited England, where, and in other parts of Europe, he has resided ever since; and we heard nothing of him for several years, until at length he brought out the *Sketch Book*, which first made him known to the literary world abroad. In the long interval which had elapsed, since the appearance of his former productions, a 'change had come over the spirit of his dream.' Advancing years had probably a little moderated the exuberant flow of his youthful spirits, and the natural effect of time had, we fear, been increased by other causes; if it be true, as we have reason to suppose, that our amiable countryman had in the interim taken some lessons in the school of that 'rugged nurse of virtue,' so beautifully celebrated by Gray, who has in all ages been but too much accustomed to extend the benefit of her tuition to the votaries of polite learning. Whether under the influence of these causes, aided perhaps by the wholesome terror, which an American candidate for European favor might be expected to feel of the iron rod of the ruling critics, or for whatever other reason, certain it is, that the genius of Mr Irving appeared to be a little rebuked at this his second apparition, and spoke in a partially subdued tone. The characteristics of the 'Sketch Book' are essentially the same with those of the preceding works; but, with somewhat more polish and elegance, it has somewhat less vivacity, freshness, and power. This difference constitutes the distinction between Mr Irving's first and second manner, the latter of which is preserved in all his subsequent publications, excepting the one now immediately before us. Of these two manners the one or the other may perhaps be preferred by different readers, according to their different tastes. We incline ourselves to the former, conceiving that spirit and vigor are the highest qualities of style, and that the loss of any merit of this description is but poorly compensated by a little additional finish. The change would have been however of less importance, had it appeared only in the language, but it is also displayed in the substance of the second series of publications; and it is here particularly, that we discover what we deem the unpropitious influence of a residence abroad on our author's talent. Not only is his language less free and sparkling, but the reach of his

inventive power seems to be reduced. The Crayons and Bracebridges, including Master Simon, are Sketches indeed, and in water colors, compared with the living roaring group of Cockloft Hall; and although we find occasional returns of the author's best manner in 'The Stout Gentleman,' 'Rip Van Winkle,' 'Sleepy Hollow,' 'The Money-diggers,' and so forth, the rich material employed in these pieces is not, as before, the staple of the work, but a passing refreshment, that serves excellently well to remind us of what we wanted, but from the smallness of its quantity rather awakens than satisfies the appetite.

As it is difficult or rather impossible to suppose any actual diminution of power in the author, we must take for granted, that the difference in question is owing to the change in the general character of his subject. Humor and satire are, as we said before, evidently his *forte* and these compose the substance of the preceding works. There is but little attempt at the pathos in 'Salmagundi,' and none in 'Knickerbocker.' The subjects of satire are principally the abuses of government and the follies of leading characters and classes; and hence these works, though light in form, have an elevated object, which gives them dignity and solid value. Looking at them in a literary point of view, the circumstance of writing upon subjects actually before his eyes gives his pictures the truth to nature, which is the chief element of all excellence in art. Had the author proceeded on the same plan in his latter publications, he would have taken for his subject the abuses of government and the follies of leading classes and characters, as exemplified in the old countries. This again would have opened a field for the exercise of his peculiar talent, still more rich and various than the former one. Into this, however, whether from a terror of criticism, a wish to conciliate all parties alike, a natural modesty, a want of acquaintance with foreign manners and institutions, or for whatever reason, he did not choose to enter. Indeed the task of satirizing the manners and institutions of a country, in which one is at the time residing as a guest, is so ungracious, that we can neither wonder nor regret, that Mr Irving should have shrunk from it with instinctive disgust. It is nevertheless certain, that the subjects alluded to are the best, indeed almost the only good ones, for lively and pungent satire; and that in voluntarily resigning them, our author was compelled to deprive himself almost wholly of the use of his favorite and most efficient instrument. He still, it is true, ex-

ercises it with no little skill and success, upon subjects afforded by the fund of vice and folly common to all nations, as in the story of the Lambs and the Trotters, but we think with less effect, than when following his original instinct, and laughing *con amore* at the peculiar foibles of his own dear countrymen. Conscious probably that the field for satire, which he felt himself at liberty to explore, was less rich and productive than he could have wished, he calls in the aid of the pathetic and sentimental; in which departments, though, as we have said before, occasionally successful, he is seldom eminently so,—seldom exhibits the bright, sharp, true expression of nature, which we see in his best comic pictures. In other portions of these works, such as the whole description of Bracebridge Hall, as it appears in the 'Sketch Book,' and the work of that name, the tone wavers between the sentimental and the comic, and we hardly know whether the author meant to ridicule or eulogize the manners he describes; which, however, are in either case evidently manners of his own creation, having no prototype in this or any other period of English history. Bracebridge Hall with its Christmas sports and its Rookery, its antiquarian Squire, and its Master Simon, is as much a castle of fairy land, as the one in which the Fata Morgana held entranced for six hundred years the redoubtable champion of Denmark. The British country squire is now, as he ever was, and probably ever will be, either a fox-hunter or a politician. Western and Allworthy are the only two varieties of the species; and the squire of Mr Irving, with his indifference to politics, and his taste for black-letter lore, is as completely a fancy-piece, as the Centaurs and Harpies of the ancient poets. These castles in Spain occupy a considerable portion of the second series of works; and we really cannot but wonder how Mr Irving, generally so just and acute an observer of nature, should have failed so completely in seizing the true aspect of rural life in England, or why, if he saw it as it is, he should have given us an unreal mockery of it instead of a correct picture. It is refreshing and delightful to find how, under all the disadvantages of writing on domestic subjects in a foreign land, he recovers his wonted power, and disports himself with his pristine grace and sprightliness, the moment that he lays the scene of his fable at home. No sooner does he catch a glimpse of the venerable Kaatskill, lifting his shaggy head over his white ruff of ambient clouds, and frowning on the glorious Hudson as it rolls

below; no sooner do the antique gable-roofed domes of the Manhattoes, and Albany, and the classic shades of Communipaw rise upon his fancy, than 'his foot is on his native heath and his name is M'Gregor.' When we think of this, although we rejoice that Mr Irving has been able, as he might not otherwise have been, to levy a large and liberal golden contribution from the superfluity of the mother country, this being, as it were, a spoiling of the Egyptians, we sometimes regret, for his own fame, that he ever left America. There was a fund of truth, as well as ill nature, in the remark of one of the paltry, scandal-mongering novelists of the day, that Mr Irving would have done better to stay at home, and pass his life among the beavers.

We have stated above, that the sentiment, which probably induced Mr Irving to refrain from exercising his satirical talent upon the institutions and public characters of Great Britain, was a natural and highly laudable one; but we cannot conscientiously speak with the same approbation of his apparent disposition to represent the British aristocracy under a favorable point of view, as compared with the other classes of the people. If this representation were true, we should not object to it, although the sort of complacency, with which it is put forward, would still, in a foreigner and a republican, be somewhat ungraceful. But the worst of it is, that it is obviously and notoriously the reverse of the truth. Let us take as an example the account given in the 'Sketch Book' of the author's attendance on public worship at a village church, where he met with the family of a nobleman and that of a wealthy merchant. The former, especially the young men and women, were all attention, candor, simplicity, and true moral dignity; the latter all bad taste, affectation, and vulgarity. Now every one, who has seen anything of Europe, knows perfectly well, and Mr Irving certainly by this time, whatever he may have done when he wrote the 'Sketch Book,' better than any body, that if there be a class of persons in that part of the world, who as a class may be said to be more deficient than any other in simplicity, candor, and a correct notion of true moral dignity, it is precisely this very British aristocracy, especially in its younger branches, to which our author attributes these virtues. We should say no more than might be inferred from that portion of the popular literature of the day in England, which illustrates the manners and morals of fashionable life, did we assert, that,

if there be, in the known world, an animal, who by the general consent of all who are acquainted with his habits, realizes the idea of complete *puppyism* and is in the strict sense of the term *insupportable*, it is the young Englishman of rank and fortune. His candor, simplicity, and notion of moral dignity are exhibited in a drawling, affected pronunciation; a foppish dress; manners at once awkward and impertinent; the habitual use of the grossest and most profane language; an ignorant and contemptuous disregard for religion and morality, for the noble pursuits of philosophy, literature, science, and the elegant arts, even for politics, the regular occupation of his order; and an exclusive devotion to coarse and rude sports, gaming, and licentious indulgence of the lowest and foulest kind, for he has not even elevation enough to be refined in his vices. We know that there are honorable exceptions to this remark. Such was the late amiable and excellent Earl of Guildford, the founder of the University of Corfu. Such were the four young gentlemen, members of parliament, who lately honored this country with their presence. Such have been and are several others of those, who have visited this country on official errands, being naturally gentlemen selected for their talent, industry, and capacity for business. But such as we have stated, is the character of the class. It was lately held up, in bold relief, to the horror and disgust of the world, by Lord Byron, who combined a genius of his own with some of the moral qualities of his order. Such is the generation which Mr Irving represents as models of simplicity, candor, and moral dignity. On the other hand, the wealthy merchants of England and other parts of Europe, with their families, afford perhaps on the whole the most favorable specimen that could be selected from the educated classes, of those very virtues, with which our author compliments the aristocracy at their expense. They are distinguished by intelligence, information, activity, application to business, and as a natural consequence, correct and decorous habits; and if not a deep sense of the importance of religion and morality, an external regard at least for their practical injunctions. These valuable qualities are often united with a love for polite literature and the fine arts, as in the case of Mr Roscoe, or a successful cultivation of the more solid branches of science, as in the honorable example of the late Mr Ricardo. The vulgar, purse-proud, ignorant merchant of Mr Irving, is an exception or a fancy-piece, probably in him a reminis-

cence of the false tone, on this subject, that pervaded the polite literature of England a century or two ago; and his candid young nobleman is merely a little Sir Charles Grandison in a blue frock and white pantaloons, at whose formal manners, and patriarchal ignorance of the world, the real dandy of the present day would be the first to shrug up his shoulders with ineffable contempt, and a perfect conviction of own superiority.

While we have felt it a duty to point out this error in the tone and spirit of Mr Irving's later works, we must add, that we do not, as some have done, attribute it to any hankering in him after the aristocratic institutions and habits of Europe. We acquit him entirely, as we have said before, of political heresy; and without supposing him to be deeply versed in the theory of government, we have no doubt that he is strongly and sincerely attached to the republican institutions and forms established in his country. Neither do we believe, that he was influenced in making this representation, by an interested wish to conciliate the British aristocracy, for the purpose of obtaining their patronage as a writer, or admission into their circles as a gentleman. We have too high an opinion of Mr Irving's independence, delicacy, and elevation of mind, to suspect him for a moment of such baseness. We think it probable, that he wrote the parts of his work to which we now allude, under the influence of an illusion, resulting naturally from his former situation and literary habits. Without having studied the subject of government very deeply in the abstract, or possessing probably any very precise general notions respecting it, he was led by the original bent of his mind and his local and social position, to employ himself, for several years, in ridiculing the abuses of popular institutions, and the peculiar follies and weaknesses of republican statesmen. Thus far he kept himself within the line of truth and nature; for popular governments, however valuable, certainly have their defects, and republican statesmen, like all other mortals, their besetting sins and characteristic foibles. Now, although it does by no means follow from this, that monarchy is a perfect system, or an established aristocracy *ex officio* a corps of Lord Orvilles and Sir Charles Grandisons, it was perhaps not unnatural, that Mr Irving, habitually gathering his impressions more from impulse and feeling than argument, should, by constantly looking at the ridiculous features of one form, be led to take up a too flattering idea

of the other. Some such mental operation as this appears to have been the source of the illusion under which, as we conceive, he was at one time laboring; and when he wrote the 'Sketch Book,' where the error in question is most apparent, he probably had not had much opportunity to bring his ideal picture to the test of comparison with real life, for it was not, we believe, until he had acquired a high reputation in England, by the publication of this work, that he frequented very intimately the circles of the British aristocracy. We have reason to suppose that he has since reformed his theory on this subject, and we mention the fact with pleasure, as a proof that the opportunities he has had for actual observation, have not been lost upon his naturally acute and sagacious, as well as sensitive mind.

Having thus cleared our consciences (we trust without doing injustice to our author) by pointing out certain particulars, in which we consider his European manner inferior to his American one, we return with pleasure to the remark we made before, that the former has somewhat more of elegance and polish than the latter; that the characteristics of both are (with the deductions we have specified) substantially the same; that all his productions are among the most agreeable and attractive, as they certainly have been among the most popular of the time; that they do the highest honor to himself and through him to his country; and that he has already secured and will permanently maintain, in our literary annals, the brilliant position of the harbinger and founder of the American school of polite learning.

We come now to the 'History of the Life and Voyages of Columbus,' which has furnished the immediate subject and occasion of the present article. This work differs essentially in manner, as we have already said, from any of the preceding. It exemplifies on a larger scale, and in a more complete and finished way, the plan of the short biographical sketches, which the author published before his departure for Europe, principally of contemporary officers of the navy. We shall first endeavor to ascertain the class of historical writing to which it belongs, and then make a few remarks upon the merit of the execution and the general value of the work.

The great division of this department of literature, is into the two classes of philosophical and purely narrative history. They are not, it is true, separated by a very strict line, but on

the contrary run into each other, each possessing to a certain extent the peculiar characteristics of both; but the distinction is nevertheless real, and whenever a writer has talent enough to give his work a marked character, it is evident at once, to which of the two classes it belongs. The object of philosophical history is to set forth, by a record of real events, the general principles, which regulate the march of political affairs; that of purely narrative history, to give a correct and lively picture of the same events, as they pass before the eye of the world, but with little or no reference to their causes or effects. It is obvious, that these two sorts of history are not only essentially different, but that they belong respectively to two very different and in some respects opposite departments of literature. The distinction between them is the same as that between Laplace's 'Exposition of the System of the Universe,' and a description in words of the various constellations and planets that are laid down in the charts of the celestial sphere, as they appear in the blue vault of heaven to the ordinary observer. The same facts undoubtedly form the groundwork of both, but the object, the mode of execution, the peculiar capacity and disposition respectively supposed in the authors of each, and the pleasure afforded by each, when the plan is executed with talent and success, are very different; and that to such a degree, that the two works appertain to the adverse domains of philosophy and poetry. History, therefore, which Lord Bacon describes as a third department of learning, entirely separate from the two just mentioned, seems to be in fact a divided empire, situated between the others, and acknowledging, in the part bordering upon each, the jurisdiction of its more independant neighbor. Philosophical history is properly a branch of philosophy, since its purpose is to teach general truths in the form of narrative; while purely narrative history, which merely offers a picture of the outside of passing or past events, is, when properly written, substantially poetry. To inquire which of these two sorts of history has the superior rank, would be in one respect to compare things which admit of no comparison. Who can pretend to say whether a brilliant thought is more beautiful than a bright eye, or whether Newton's 'Principia' is a greater work than the Iliad? Nevertheless, as history occupies a middle region between the two great adverse realms of learning, and partakes, in some degree, of the characters of both, we may, in this instance, institute such a comparison with less

impropriety, and the palm would perhaps be assigned, without much hesitation, to the philosophical over the merely narrative historian; for the poet, by restricting himself within the limits of real facts, loses for the time the use of his highest attribute, and that which properly gives him his name, original creation or invention, and thus voluntarily places himself on a secondary line, in the scale of his own art; while philosophy, when 'teaching by example,' without abandoning any of her peculiar advantages, borrows, for the occasion, the airs and graces of her more attractive sister, since the facts which she relates, with whatever purpose of instruction, may and must be told with elegance and spirit. In other words, a first-rate philosophical history can only be written by a person, who combines most of the essential talents and accomplishments of the philosopher and the poet; while a purely narrative history of corresponding merit in its way, might be produced by a poet of a secondary order who had no tincture of philosophy. The former, taken in the abstract, must therefore be considered, on the whole, as the decidedly superior form of writing.

Mr Irving's present work, if technically classed according to the general principles just stated, belongs to the lower species of history, and is so described by himself in his preface. 'In the execution of this work,' he remarks, 'I have avoided indulging in mere speculations or general reflections, excepting such as naturally arose out of the subject, preferring to give a minute and circumstantial narrative, omitting no particular that appeared characteristic of the persons, the events, or the times; and endeavoring to place every fact under such a point of view, that the reader might perceive its merits, and draw his own maxims and conclusions.' The omission of all general speculation is indeed a good deal more complete than this preliminary declaration would have necessarily led us to suppose it, since the exception of 'such reflections as naturally arise out of the subject' would admit almost any degree of latitude in this respect. In point of fact, there is no political speculation whatever, the very few reflections that are interspersed being on matters of ordinary private morality. In giving this color to his work, Mr Irving doubtless followed instinctively the natural bent of his genius, which does not incline him, as we have repeatedly observed, to philosophical researches; but he has thereby produced a much more valua-

ble literary monument, than with his peculiar taste and talent, he could have done in a different way. In estimating the positive worth of particular works, we must take into view the merit of the execution, as well as the dignity of the class to which they belong; and if the latter be, in the present instance, of a secondary order (though still secondary only as compared with the very highest and most glorious exercises of intellect), yet such have been the good taste and felicity of our author, in the selection of his subject; such his diligence, research, and perseverance in collecting and employing his materials; and such his care in giving the highest finish and perfection to the style; that he has been able to bring out a work, which will rank with the very best histories of any age or nation, which will take a permanent place in the classical literature of the language, which is, in fact, one of the most agreeable, instructive, and really valuable productions to be met with any where, and one that, as we remarked above, does, on the whole, more honor to the learning of our country, than any previous work written on this side of the Atlantic.

For the particular kind of historical writing, in which Mr Irving is fitted to labor and to excel, the 'Life of Columbus' is undoubtedly one of the best, perhaps we might say without the fear of mistake, the very best subject afforded by the annals of the world. While his discoveries possess the importance belonging to political events of the first magnitude, the generous elevation of his mind, the various fortunes that chequered his course, and the singularity, the *uniquity* rather, if we may be allowed to coin a word, of his achievements, throw a sort of poetical and romantic coloring over his adventures, and render him of all others the fittest hero for a work of this description, which, as we have shown above, is essentially a poem. The only objection, that could possibly be made to the choice of the subject, would be, that it was before exhausted; and this has in fact been said, by some of the newspaper critics of the mother country. The assertion is however quite groundless. Before the publication of the work before us, there was no satisfactory account of Columbus in any language. The one given by his son is, as is well known, merely a brief and imperfect sketch; and the portion of Robertson's 'America' which is devoted to him, though as large as it could be with propriety, considering the author's plan, did not allow a detailed and accurate investigation of the events of his life. Into this

and other general histories, Columbus enters partially as one of the leading personages of the age, and is treated in connexion with the rest; but the singular splendor and prodigious permanent importance of his actions, as well as the moral grandeur and sublimity of his character, entitled him fully to the honor of a separate and detailed biography. How much finer and loftier a subject is he, than his contemporary Charles the Fifth, who has yet furnished a theme for one of the best histories in the language! The materials, printed and manuscript, were ample, but not accessible in their full extent, excepting to a person resident, for the time, in the capital of Spain. We consider it therefore as a singularly fortunate circumstance, that Mr Irving should have been led, in the course of his pilgrimage abroad, to visit this, on some accounts, unattractive part of Europe. Thus favorably situated, and possessed of all the talent and industry necessary for the purpose, he has at length filled up the void, that before existed, in this respect, in the literature of the world, and produced a work, which will fully satisfy the public, and supersede the necessity of any future labors in the same field. While we venture to predict that the adventures of Columbus will hereafter be read only in the work of Mr Irving, we cannot but think it a beautiful coincidence, that the task of duly celebrating the achievements of the discoverer of our continent, should have been reserved for one of its inhabitants; and that the earliest professed author of first-rate talent, who appeared among us, should have devoted one of his most important and finished works to this pious purpose.

> 'Such honors Ilion to her hero paid,
> And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade.'

In treating this happy and splendid subject, Mr Irving has brought out the full force of his genius as far as a just regard for the principles of historical writing would admit. This kind of history, although it belongs essentially to the department of poetry, does not of course afford any room for the display of the creative power in the invention of facts or characters; but, in this case, the real facts and characters far surpass in brilliancy any possible creation of mere fancy, and in the other requisites of fine poetry, a judicious selection and disposition of the materials, a correct, striking, and discriminating picture of the different personages, a just and elevated tone of moral feeling, and above all, the charm of an elegant, perspicuous, and flowing style, Mr Irving leaves us nothing to desire, and with all, who

can look beyond mere forms and names into the substance of things, sustains his right, which he had before established, to the fame of a real poet. To say that this work is superior to any professed poem, that has yet been published, on the life of Columbus, would be giving it but poor praise; since the subject, although attempted by bards of no slight pretensions, has not yet been treated in verse with eminent success. We would go farther than this, and express the opinion, that Mr Irving's production may be justly ranked with the fine narrative or epic poems of the highest reputation. A polished and civilized age may well be supposed to prefer, especially in a long composition, the delicate melody of flowing prose, setting forth a spirited and elegant picture of actual life, to the 'specious wonders' of Olympus or fairy land, expressed in artificial measures, strains and subjects that seem more naturally adapted to a yet unformed, than to a mature and perfect taste. Hence a fine history and a fine novel may perhaps with propriety be viewed as the greater and lesser epic (to use the technical terms) of a cultivated period, when verse is better reserved for short poems accompanied by music. But however this may be, and with whatever class of compositions we may rank the work before us, its execution entirely corresponds, as we have said before, with the beauty of the subject, and leaves of course but little room for the labor of the critic. The interest of the narrative is completely sustained from the beginning to the conclusion, and is equal throughout, for any mature mind, to that of the best romance. Instinctively pursuing the bent of his genius, the author has everywhere brought out into full relief the most poetical features of the story. He dwells, for instance, with peculiar pleasure on the golden age of innocence and happiness, that reigned among the natives of Haiti before the arrival of the Spaniards. The careless and luxurious indulgence, in which they passed their peaceful hours beneath 'the odorous shade of their boundless forests,' under the amiable sway of a beautiful Queen, who is represented as charming their leisure with her own sweet poetry, seems to realize the notion of an earthly elysium; and if there be, as there probably is, some little exaggeration in the coloring of the picture, it must be viewed as a natural effect of the just indignation and horror, with which we contemplate the devilish malice which afterwards carried death and destruction through these bowers of simple bliss. The two leading personages are happily con-

trasted, not by labored parallels, but indirectly by the mere progress of the story. The towering sublimity and bold creative genius of the Admiral; the sagacity, activity, and dauntless courage of the Adelantado; the faithful and tender attachment with which they stood by each other, through a long life of labor, danger, and suffering; these are moral traits, that furnish out another picture, not less beautiful and even more edifying, than that of the Indian Paradise.

We are grateful to Mr Irving, for bringing particularly into view the high religious feeling, which uniformly governed the mind of Columbus, which led him to consider himself as an agent, expressly selected by Providence for the accomplishment of great and glorious objects,—and how, but by a poor quibble upon words, can we refuse him that character?—which induced him finally to look forward to the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, as the last labor of his life, to be undertaken after the complete accomplishment of all his projects in the New World. If there be any error in the passages, which treat of this particular, it consists in underrating the merit of this conception of Columbus, which appears to be viewed by Mr Irving as the effect of an amiable, but somewhat visionary and mistaken enthusiasm. The plan was no doubt, as entertained by Columbus, the result of a high religious enthusiasm, and so was that of his grand discovery; but this feeling acted, in both cases, under the direction of an extraordinarily sound and acute judgment, and with the aid of all the learning of the age. The recovery of Palestine was a project not only dear to every Christian heart as such, but recommended by the strongest motives of state policy, at a time when the Ottoman Power was developing itself in the plenitude of life and vigor; already overshadowing Christian Europe, and from year to year menacing its whole commonwealth of nations, with complete subjugation. Let it be remembered, that it was not till half a century after the death of Columbus, that the sea-fight of Lepanto broke the naval power of the Turks; that as lately as the year 1688, their armies invested Vienna, which would undoubtedly have fallen and left the road open to Paris, had not the siege been raised by the timely arrival of the king of Poland; let these facts, we say, be remembered, and we shall not probably consider the scheme of the Admiral so visionary, as it might be thought upon a merely superficial view of the present state of the world. The religious enthusiasm, which has more or less inspired the Europe-

ans in their wars against the Turks, has in fact, from the commencement of these wars up to the present day, coincided with the suggestions, not so much of good policy, as of strict self-defence. The Mahometans have been throughout the aggressors. They subdued the whole of Christian Asia and Africa (which they still retain in brutal oppression and debasement), subdued some of the fairest portions of Christian Europe, such as Spain, Greece, and parts of Italy, and had pushed their arms into the very heart of France, when they received the first check, from Charles Martel, at the battle of Tours. All these aggressions on the Christians were entirely unprovoked. When the tide of invasion was once checked, the only skilful and scientific plan of conducting the war was, of course, to carry it back into the enemy's territory, in which Palestine, from its central position, was the proper point of attack. Such was the principle of the long series of wars denominated Crusades, which occupy two or three centuries of the history of Europe; nor, although the danger of any farther progress on the part of the Turks has for some time past disappeared, will they ever cease to be regarded as public and permanent enemies, until the present or some future generation shall have completely recovered from them the lost domains of Christendom, and planted the standard of our religion on every fortress from the Indus to the Senegal.

It would give us pleasure to expatiate at greater length upon the merit of the beautiful and valuable work before us; but we perceive that we have reached the proper limit of an article, and must here close our remarks. We cannot however refrain from expressing our satisfaction, at the very favorable manner with which Mr Irving's 'Life of Columbus' compares with one or two works of a similar kind, that were published about the same time by the best writers of the mother country. The 'Life of Napoleon' by Sir Walter Scott, and the 'Life of Sheridan' by Moore, particularly the former, resemble it so nearly in plan and form, that, coming out, as they all did, about the same time, they exhibit in a manner a trial of skill between three of the most elegant writers of the day. We feel a good deal of pride as Americans in adding, that our countryman appears to have retired from this dangerous contest with a very decided advantage, we think we might say a complete victory, over both his competitors. We mean not to deprive these illustrious transatlantic bards of any fame, to which they may be justly entitled,

by the productions in question; nor do we mean to represent Mr Irving's general reputation as at present superior or equal to theirs. We simply state the fact as it is, considering it to be one highly honorable to our countryman and our country. We shall even go farther, being in a patriotic vein, and while we freely admit that Mr Irving's fame is and ought to be at present inferior to that of the two British poets abovementioned, we shall take the liberty of adding, that we are not quite sure whether it will always remain so. Moore and Scott have already done their best, and from the character of their productions for some years past, as compared with those of earlier date, it is evident that they will not hereafter excel or perhaps equal their past efforts. Mr Irving's talent seems to us, on the contrary, to be in a state of progress; for although his second manner be, as we think, inferior, on the whole, to his first, the difference is not, as we have already expressly stated, owing to any decay of genius, but to an unfavorable change of scene and subject; and in this first specimen of a *third* series of publications, we recognise, though under a somewhat graver form, a developement of power superior to that which is displayed by any of the preceding ones, even should the 'History of New York' as a bold original creation, be considered as belonging to a higher class of writings. We also recognise in the selection of the subject, the persevering industry with which the work has been executed, and the high tone of moral feeling that runs through the whole of it, the symptoms of a noble spirit, on which the intoxicating cup of public applause acts as a stimulant rather than an opiate. Mr Irving is still in the vigor of life and health; and when we see him advancing in his course in this way, with renovated courage and redoubled talent at an age when too many hearts begin to wax prematurely faint, we are induced to anticipate the happiest results from his future labors; and are far from being certain, as we said above, that he may not in the end eclipse the most illustrious of his present contemporaries and rivals. We rejoice to find, from the selection of the subject of the work now before us, that though long a wanderer, his thoughts are still bent on the land of his birth. Although we wish not to hasten his return before the period when he shall himself deem it expedient, we indulge the hope that he will sooner or later fix his residence among us, and can assure him that whenever he may think proper to do so, he will be welcomed by his countrymen as a well deserving

citizen and a public benefactor. When he shall be seated again upon his native soil, among his beavers, if Mr D'Israeli pleases, when he shall again apply to those subjects of strictly native origin, in which his genius seems to take most delight, the force of his mature talent, and the lights of his long and varied experience, we think we may expect with reason a *fourth* series of publications, that shall surpass in value all the preceding ones, including even that, which he has now so honorably opened with the work before us.

ART. VII.—*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.* In Two Volumes. By MOSES STUART, Associate Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 288. Andover. Mark Newman. 1827.

THE volume before us is an elaborate and luminous critical Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and is intended to prepare the way for the Commentary, contained in the second volume. The subject, even to the general reader, we have considered of sufficient importance, to devote a portion of our pages to its consideration.

Who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews? this is one of the inquiries on which Professor Stuart enters, with his usual ardor and diligence. He takes no superficial or partial view of the subject; and after a most laborious examination of all the evidence in the case, he comes to the conclusion that the writer was the Apostle Paul. He exhibits the various points of ancient testimony, and internal evidence; and he meets the objections of opponents with fairness and christian dignity. We hesitate not to pronounce his work the best defence of the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that can be found in the English, or in any other language. Hereafter, no one, we hope, who makes any pretensions to candor or to scholarship, will venture to reject the apostolic authority of this Epistle, without having read with care the profound discussion of it which is contained in the present volume. It is a light against which one cannot, with a good conscience, close his eyes.

The work indeed is adapted, not so much to popular use, as to the instruction and assistance of the learned. The nature of the investigations compelled the author to address those chiefly who are extensively versed in sacred literature and the principles of sacred criticism. But though such readers will the most easily feel the full force of the whole, yet others that are zealously seeking for the truth, need not be appalled. They will, without much difficulty, be able to follow him in the general scope of his arguments. And they will be willing, for the satisfaction of the more learned, to let the witnesses, that are summoned from distant ages and countries, appear in their own antique dress, and speak in their own language; the rather, as a faithful interpretation of their testimony is also, for the most part, given in English.

We proceed to lay before our readers a statement, as concise and simple as we can make it, of some of the principal facts and considerations which regard the authorship of this epistle.

Pantænus, who flourished about A. D. 180, and was the principal of the Christian school at Alexandria in Egypt, is the first writer, whose testimony on this subject has descended to us; and he speaks of the epistle as being certainly Paul's, and endeavors to account for that apostle's not having prefixed to it his name. The remarks of Pantænus were inserted in a work entitled *Sketches*, by his disciple and successor, Clement of Alexandria. The work, as a whole, is now lost; but an extract, embracing what was cited by Clement, from Pantænus, is preserved by Eusebius, in his 'Ecclesiastical History,' (b. vi. ch. 14.) This fragment, which has so narrowly escaped the ravages of time, shows unequivocally, that Pantænus regarded it as an established point, that the epistle proceeded from Paul.

Clement of Alexandria became the successor of Pantænus, near the close of the second century. He had travelled in Greece, in Italy, in the East, and in Egypt; and he speaks most highly of Pantænus. He says, 'he was, indeed, a Sicilian bee, that had gathered flowers from the prophetic and apostolic meadows; and he filled the minds of his hearers with pure knowledge.' *

Clement, with his extensive reading, and his personal know-

* See his 'Stromata,' p. 274, or Lardner's 'Credibility,' vol. I. p. 393.

ledge of the state of opinions in various countries, could not well have been ignorant of the general usages and sentiments of the churches, respecting the books that were received as of apostolical authority. His testimony, like that of Pantænus, is preserved by Eusebius. This writer, in his 'Ecclesiastical History' (b. vi. ch. 14.), says; 'In his book, Clement affirms that Paul is the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.'

Origen, who was the successor of Clement at Alexandria, and distinguished as a critic and as a man of much general learning, about A. D. 220, is the next witness to be examined. His most explicit testimony is preserved by Eusebius, who says, (*Eccles. Hist.* b. vi. ch. 25.) 'In respect to the Epistle to the Hebrews, Origen decides thus in his Homilies upon it; "The character of the style of the Epistle to the Hebrews has not the unpolished cast of the apostle's language, who professes himself to be a man unlearned in speech, that is, in phraseology. Besides, this epistle, in the texture of its style, is more conformed to the Greek idiom; as every one must confess, who is able to distinguish differences of style. Moreover, the ideas in this epistle are admirable, and not inferior to those which are confessedly apostolic; and this every one must concede is true, who has attentively read the writings of the apostles." A little farther on he adds, "If I were to give my opinion, I should say, the phraseology and the texture belong to some one relating the apostle's sentiments, and, as it were, commenting on the words of his master. *If any* [or *whatever*] *church therefore hold this to be an epistle of Paul, let it receive commendation on account of this; for it is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as being of Paul.* But who committed the epistle to writing, God only knows with certainty; the report, however, which has reached us, is, that some affirm it to be written by Clement, bishop of Rome; and some, by Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts."'

With this important passage our readers will be pleased to connect the following reflections.

'(1) It is plain, that Origen felt the force of objections against the authorship of Paul, drawn from the style and manner of the epistle; and, to meet them, he supposes it to have been for substance delivered, dictated, or spoken by the apostle, and penned down by some one who used his own diction, commenting, as it were, on the words of his master. In this way, the *sentiments* are regarded as apostolic and authoritative; while the *diction* is con-

sidered as arising from one not an apostle; and thus the full *credit* of the epistle is maintained, while the objection to this credit, drawn from the diversity of style, is apparently removed.

'(2.) It should be noted, that Origen does not say whether the objections against the Epistle to the Hebrews, being the production of Paul, arose from his own mind, or from the allegations of others. Most probably from both sources. He appears to have had a full conviction, that there was a diversity of style in it; and to remove the difficulty about the credit of the epistle, which arose in his mind from this circumstance, he resorted to the supposition just mentioned. We can have no reasonable doubt, that, at this time, there were some who alleged that this epistle did not come from the hand of Paul; as Pantænus and Clement had, before this, made an effort to remove objections against it.

'(3.) The very manner in which Origen attempts to remove objections, shows that he gave full credit to the *apostolic origin* of the epistle. "The *thoughts*," he avers, "are apostolic, and worthy of an apostle; but the *diction* is derived from another." And when he says, "*It is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as belonging to Paul;*" and then adds, "but who wrote it, God only knows with certainty, some attributing it to Luke, and some to Clement;" nothing can be plainer than that he means here to suggest, that he considers it to be uncertain, who *penned* it, i. e. *reduced it to writing;* for he had just asserted that the *thoughts* were *suggested* by an *apostle*, while the *diction* arose from him who reduced them to writing. To suppose (as has been supposed), that Origen means to assert that God only knows from whom the *sentiments* of the epistle sprung, or who the author was in this sense, is to suppose that Origen has directly contradicted himself, in the same paragraph. Therefore,

'(4.) When Origen says, that some attribute it to Luke, and some to Clement; the probability clearly is (from the connexion in which this stands), that he means to say, "Some attribute the penning or writing of it down to the one or the other of these persons." If this be so (and it appears to be plain that it is), it only serves to show that Origen did not consider the tradition about Luke and Clement as well established; and especially so, as the traditionary reports were not agreed respecting the amanuensis or recorder of the epistle.' pp. 105, 106.

That the interpretation here given is correct, and that Origen regarded Paul as, in reality, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, is evident from other passages in his writings.

'In his commentary on John (II. p. 18. ed. Huet.) he remarks, "According to this the apostle says," and then quotes Heb. v. 12. That by this apostle he meant Paul, other passages in the same

commentary clearly show. For example, "In the Epistle to the Hebrews, the same Paul says," p. 56; again, "Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews," p. 162. In his book against Celsus, he says, "For it is written by Paul, in his letter to the Corinthians, ... and the *same apostle* says;" and then he quotes Heb. v. 12.* In his treatise on prayer, he quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews, as an epistle of the same apostle who wrote the Epistle to the Ephesians.† In a homily preserved in a Latin translation, he says, "Paul himself, the greatest of the apostles, writing to the Hebrews, says;" and then he quotes Heb. xii. 18, 22, 23.' p. 109.

The opinion at Alexandria concerning this epistle, continued always substantially the same, as we have seen it in the foregoing authorities.

Leaving Egypt, we next inquire what is the testimony of the Eastern churches. Justin Martyr, who was a native of Samaria, and who, in the meridian of life, came to Rome, and afterwards distinguished himself by his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, and by his Apologies or Defences of the Christians, alludes manifestly to this epistle; and he alludes to it as he would to an authoritative book, about A. D. 140.‡

Methodius, who presided over the church at Olympus, in Lycia, and afterwards at Tyre, about A. D. 290, very clearly alludes to this epistle, when he speaks of *a race set before us*, 'according to the teacher Paul,' and of the Jewish law as *figurative of things to come*, 'according to the apostle.'§

Pamphilus, about A. D. 294, a learned presbyter or elder of the church at Cesarea, doubtless regarded the epistle as Paul's; for in a manuscript which he wrote with his own hand, and deposited in the library of Cesarea, he places the Epistle to the Hebrews in the midst of the other epistles of Paul. The order is this; to the Romans; the first and the second to the Corinthians; to the Galatians; to the Ephesians; to the Philippians; to the Colossians; the first and the second to the Thessalonians; *to the Hebrews;* the first and the second to Timothy; to Titus; to Philemon.‖

Eusebius of Cesarea, about A. D. 315, the well known ecclesiastical historian, was unwearied in his investigations con-

* Contra Cels. p. 482. ed. Bened.

† De Oratione. I. p. 250. ed. Bened.

‡ See Lardner's 'Credibility,' 4to. vol. I. p. 347.

§ See Heb. xii. 1, x. 1, and Lardner's remarks; 'Credibility,' vol. II. p. 106.

‖ See Lardner's 'Credibility,' vol. II. p. 121.

cerning the canon of sacred Scripture. He asserts (b. III. ch. 3.) 'Fourteen epistles are clearly and certainly Paul's; although it is proper to be known that some have rejected that which was written to the Hebrews, alleging, with the church at Rome, that it is spoken against, as not belonging to Paul.' In ch. 25, he reckons among the books acknowledged, (that is, by general consent), *the epistles of Paul.* Among these he must have included the Epistle to the Hebrews; for when he particularizes the books that were *contradicted* or *called in question*, he says nothing of this epistle. In ch. 38, after speaking of Clement of Rome, as having made free use of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he proceeds; 'Wherefore, not without reason this epistle is reckoned among the writings of Paul. For when Paul had written to the Hebrews,' &c.

Eusebius was conducted to the firm conviction that the Epistle to the Hebrews belongs to Paul, though he knew well what was said against it in the western part of the Roman empire. For (b. VI. ch. 20.) he himself states, that 'Caius, in a dispute against Proclus, held at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus,' about A. D. 212, 'blames the temerity and audacity of his opponents in composing new writings, and mentions only thirteen epistles of Paul, not numbering that which is inscribed to the Hebrews. Moreover, even to the present time, this epistle is reckoned by some of the Romans, as not belonging to Paul.'

The opinion embraced by Eusebius is found to have been, and to have continued to be, altogether the prevalent one throughout all the East. Among all the distinguished writers in that vast region, not one has denied the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It remains to examine the testimony of the Western churches. In the latter part, and near the close of the apostolic age, the Epistle to the Hebrews, like the other sacred writings, was quoted by Clement of Rome. It was comprised, along with the other authoritative writings of the New Testament, in the old Latin version, which, doubtless, was made as early as the first half of the second century. But it seems probable that Irenæus, who was bishop of Lyons in France, and who wrote about A. D. 178, did not admit this epistle to be Paul's; and Hippolytus, a disciple of his, about A. D. 220, is said to have expressed the same opinion, in a work which he compiled from a work of Irenæus against Heresies.

In the fragments, published by Muratori, of an anonymous

author, who probably wrote near the close of the second century, a catalogue of sacred books is given. This catalogue does not contain the Epistle to the Hebrews; nor does it contain those of Peter and James, and the third of John; but it does contain some which are known to be apocryphal. Its testimony, therefore, cannot be of much weight.

The assertion of Caius has been mentioned in connexion with the statement of Eusebius.

Tertullian, about A. D. 200, says; 'There is an epistle of Barnabas, inscribed to the Hebrews; therefore by a man of such authority, that Paul placed him next to himself in respect to abstinence; "Am I and Barnabas only without power to do this?"'

Cyprian of Carthage, A. D. 248, speaking of the number *seven*, says; 'The apostle Paul, who was mindful of this authorized and well known number, writes to seven churches.' But, manifestly, it cannot be inferred from this, with certainty, that Cyprian did not consider Paul to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; for this epistle has in it no such address at the beginning, as is found in his epistles to seven of the churches; and therefore it might well be omitted in this fanciful illustration. The fact, however, that he has never quoted this epistle may be considered as making it probable that he was either ignorant of its existence, or not favorably impressed in regard to its authority.

Novatus, a presbyter of Rome, A. D. 251, does not quote this epistle in support of his peculiar sentiments in regard to such as had fallen away; but his followers, the Novatians, about thirty years afterwards, are known to have admitted the epistle as canonical. It was received as Paul's by Hilary of Poictiers, about A. D. 351; by Lucifer at Cagliari, 354; by Victorinus, the rhetorician, at Rome, 360; by Ambrose, at Milan, 374; by Philaster at Brescia in Italy, 380, though he states that some were not of the same opinion; by his successor Gaudentius, 387; by Jerome, 392; by Rufinus, and by the council at Carthage, 397. *

Jerome says, 'This is to be maintained, that this epistle which is inscribed to the Hebrews, is not only received by the churches of the East as the apostle Paul's, but has been in past times,

* Sunt autem canonicæ Scripturæ ..... Pauli epistolæ tredecem, ejusdem ad Hebræos una. Can. 47.

by all ecclesiastical writers in the Greek language; although most [Latins] think that Barnabas or Clement was the author.' * In another place he says, 'Which Epistle to the Hebrews all the Greeks receive, and some of the Latins.' † With this corresponds the testimony of Augustine, A. D. 400; 'The greater part say that it is Paul's; but some deny it.' ‡

The substance of the various testimonies of the ancient churches and writers we have now laid before our readers; and we see not how any can deny the correctness of the conclusion to which Professor Stuart has come, that, so far as this kind of evidence is concerned, it preponderates decidedly and greatly in favor of ascribing the epistle to Paul.

'In the Egyptian and Eastern churches,' he remarks, 'there were, it is probable, at a pretty early period, some who had doubts whether Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews; but no *considerable* person or party is definitely known to us, who entertained these doubts; and it is manifest, from Origen and Eusebius, that there was not, in that quarter, any important opposition to the general and constant tradition of the church, that Paul did write it. . . . . What Jerome avers, appears to be strictly true, namely, that *by the churches of the East, and by all the ecclesiastical writers in the Greek language, it was received as the apostle Paul's.*

'In the Western churches, a diversity of opinion prevailed; although the actual quantity of negative testimony, that can be adduced, is not great. Yet the confessions of Jerome and Augustine leave no room to doubt the fact, that the *predominant* opinion of the western churches, in their time, was in the negative. In early times, we have seen that the case was different, when Clement of Rome wrote his epistle, and when the old Latin version was brought into circulation. What produced a change of opinion in the West, we are left to conjecture. The scanty critical and literary records of those times afford us no means for tracing the history of it. But this is far from being a singular case. Many other changes in the opinions of the churches have taken place, which we are, for a similar reason, as little able to trace with any certainty or satisfaction.' pp. 129, 130.

As illustrations of this remark, we might mention the change, which occurred extensively, at an early period, in regard to admission into the church, and the application of ordinances; the multiplying of ceremonies; and other departures from the

* Epist. ad Dardanum.
† Epist. ad Evagrium.
‡ De Civitate Dei. xvi. 22.

manifest usages of the apostolic age. It may be impossible, at this late day, to tell how an error in respect to some of these subjects came to be introduced and cherished. To abandon it, we need only to know that it is an error. But in regard to many of the changes now alluded to, as well as to the one concerning the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we think that an account may be given which will go far towards satisfying the curiosity of the inquirer. Professor Stuart has himself mentioned *the zealous disputes at Rome against the Montanists*, as being probably a cause of this change.

'The Montanists strenuously opposed receiving again into the bosom of the church, those persons who had so lapsed as to make defection from the christian faith. The passages in Heb. vi. 4–8, and x. 26–31, at least seem strongly to favor the views which they maintained. The church at Rome carried the dispute against the Montanists very high; and Ernesti and many other critics have been led to believe that the Epistle to the Hebrews was ultimately rejected by them, because the Montanists relied on it as their main support. As a matter of fact, this cannot be supported by direct historical evidence. But in the absence of all testimony in respect to this subject, it must be allowed as not improbable, that the Epistle to the Hebrews may have, in this way, become obnoxious to the Romish church. Many such instances might be produced from the history of the church. The Ebionites, the Manicheans, the Alogi, and many ancient and modern sects, have rejected some part of the canon of Scripture, because it stood opposed to their party views. The Apocalypse was rejected by many of the ancient churches, on account of their opposition to the Chiliasts, who made so much use of it. And who does not know that Luther himself rejected the Epistle of James, because he viewed it as thwarting his favorite notions of *justification?* . . . . It cannot be at all strange, then, that the Romish church, exceedingly embittered by the dispute with the Montanists, should have gradually come to call in question the apostolic origin of our epistle; because it was, to their adversaries, a favorite source of appeal, and because (unlike Paul's other epistles) it was anonymous.' pp. 130, 131.

The more we have examined the subject, the more have we been convinced, that if 'this cannot be established by direct historical evidence,' it will, nevertheless, be found to be probable in the very highest degree.

Philaster, bishop of Brescia in Italy, A. D. 380, acknowledges in his work concerning Heresies, that one of the reasons of this epistle's not being generally read in public as Paul's,

was its being considered as favorable to the opinions of the Novatians, or successors of the Montanists. He says, 'There are others also, who do not allow the Epistle to the Hebrews to be his; but say it is either an epistle of Barnabas the apostle, or of Clement, bishop of Rome; but others say it is an epistle of Luke the evangelist . . . . . But in the church are read to the people his thirteen epistles only, and that to the Hebrews sometimes; and because in this [the author] has written in a rhetorical manner, with a persuasive style, they think it not to be that apostle's; and it is not read, because also he says in it that Christ was *made;* moreover, this is equally *on account of the Novatians concerning repentance.*' *

This frank acknowledgment of Philaster makes it cease to be a wonder, that Cyprian, who contended for receiving again such as had fallen away, should be so silent in regard to this epistle.

There was extant in the time of Eusebius, † a little work of Irenæus, entitled, *Concerning Various Discourses*, 'in which he makes mention of the Epistle to the Hebrews,' and quotes some passages. But whether he named the author or not, and whether he quoted it as authoritative or not, we are uninformed. It is remarkable, however, that in his books against Heresies, he has avoided the use of it, so that scarcely a trace of his having read it can be found. How shall this be accounted for?

Irenæus was closely connected, in various ways, with the Western or Romish church; and this church was warmly engaged in a contest with the Montanists. His work against Heresies was written partly in the latter years of Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, who died A. D. 192, and partly in the time of his successor Victor. The Montanists, for their principle that none who had apostatized should be received again into the church, relied greatly on the passages that have been referred to in the Epistle to the Hebrews. That here was one of their main proofs, is evident from the manner in which Jerome speaks of Montanus and Novatus in connexion with Heb. vi. 4, 5. ‡ And Epiphanius, speaking of substantially the same people, under the sarcastic name of *the Pure*, represents a mis-

* Phil. de Hær. cap. 89.

† See his Eccles. Hist. b. V. ch. 27.

‡ Heb. vi. 4, 5. Lib. II. adv. Jovinian. n. 3.

taken view of the same passage as the source of their error. * Theodoret also censures them for perverting this passage. He says, they employ these words as weapons against the truth. † And he, like the other writers of the East, disarms them of these weapons, by explaining the passage, and showing that in fact it does not support the doctrine which it has been employed to support.

But in the West, at Rome, the opposers of the Montanists seem not to have relied on this resort to interpretation. They were not so well skilled in the original Greek as the eastern writers; but they generally used a Latin translation; and, in any case, it is evident that the most obvious import of the words must have given them great difficulty. They knew not well how to avoid the force of the argument, if they admitted the epistle to be Paul's. We have already adverted to the vehement language of Caius relative to this subject, about A. D. 212. On what occasion was it that he so indignantly denied the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews? It was in a theological controversy. With whom? With Proclus, a patron of the Montanist heresy.

Tertullian did not become a Montanist till just after the close of the second century. He lived at least twenty or thirty years after this event. And there is no proof that it was till after the dispute of Caius with Proclus that he wrote the work in which he defends the Montanist doctrine, with great zeal and ingenuity, from the passage which has so often been named, Heb. vi. 1–8. But, as we have already mentioned, he speaks of it as having been written by Barnabas. Why, it may be asked, did he not ascribe it directly to Paul? Obviously because he knew that they, against whom he was arguing, would not admit it to be Paul's. They had for many years been pressed and harassed with the argument, till, as the epistle had no name prefixed to it, and the sentiment, in this instance, seemed to them inadmissible, they had concluded it could not be Paul's; and in the heat and rancor of dispute, they were unwilling to concede to an opponent what they were not clearly obliged to concede. In reasoning with them, Tertullian, if he meant to produce conviction, must argue from premises which they admitted. Besides, he had continued in the cath-

* Hæres. LIX. de Cathar.

† Comment. in Epist. ad Heb. c. vi.

olic church till he was more than forty years of age; and his earliest opinion, in regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, was doubtless formed amidst the representations, unfavorable to the acknowledging of Paul as the author, which had grown out of the contest with the Montanists. And now, without altering his preconceived opinion on this point, he might come to adopt their leading sentiments.

In the work alluded to, he says; 'Yet I am willing, over and above, to superadd [to all the other arguments] the testimony also of a companion of the apostles, adapted to confirm with the next highest authority, the discipline established by the masters. For there is Barnabas's epistle inscribed to the Hebrews; therefore by a man of such authority that Paul placed him next to himself in respect to abstinence; "Am I and Barnabas only without power to do this?"' He proceeds to remark, that this epistle is certainly more received among the churches than the apocryphal work called the 'Shepherd of Hermas,' which he considers as too lenient to such as fall into gross sins. And, after quoting Heb. vi. 1–8, he adds, 'He who learnt this from the apostles, and taught this with the apostles, never knew of a second repentance promised to the unchaste offender.'*

Such was the state of the controversy. The Montanists urged the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Latins, pressed and vexed by the argument, refused to admit the authority of the epistle, as it had not the signature of Paul. And then the Montanists still urged it as certainly of the very next authority to that of the apostle. The Greeks were at a happy distance from the field of theological contest; and, in every respect, they were better qualified than either of the Western parties, to form an impartial judgment. What now *was* their judgment? It was, that *the epistle is Paul's;* but that *the Montanists and their successors did not rightly interpret the passage.* And at length, after the pressure of circumstances had ceased, after the storm of controversy had passed away, this judgment was acquiesced in and adopted by the Western churches themselves; and they, in the council at Carthage, in the year 397, as we have already mentioned, restored the epistle to the rank which had been constantly claimed for it by the great body of the Greek or Oriental Christians.

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* De Pudicitiâ, c. 20.

Here it ought to be borne in mind, that not one who rejected this epistle, so far as we know, produced any historical witnesses or attestations against its being Paul's, or in favor of its being any other author's. Instead of making reference to the testimony of the early churches, as was usual and requisite in settling questions of this nature, the impugners of the epistle opposed it only on the ground of its form and character. It exhibited not the name of the writer, contrary to the custom of Paul. It was, they said, written with more elegance of diction than belonged to him; or it was only a translation; or it contained sentiments that must not be admitted; or it referred to sayings of the prophets that cannot be found.

Such were the principal objections. None were drawn from the documents left by the ancient writers; and no appeal was made to the earliest testimony of the churches; sources of information, which would not have been omitted, had they been unfavorable to the reception of the epistle as Paul's. The historical evidence, then, which has been mentioned in its favor, remains unaffected. It was not met and counterbalanced by opposing historical evidence, but only by critical considerations. And, obviously, we at the present day possess more ample means of judging correctly in regard to these, than were possessed by the opposers of the Montanists in the Latin church. We have the epistle itself, and all the other writings of the apostle with which it was ever brought into comparison.

Near the close of the epistle, the author has mentioned circumstances, which must have presented him as the apostle Paul to the minds of those who had any acquaintance with his situation. He promises to come with Timothy, his well known pupil and helper, and one who had been with him in his confinement at Rome. He speaks of him as set at liberty, or rather, as *sent away*, doubtless on some service such as Timothy was in the habit of performing for the apostle. He says, 'They of Italy salute you'; and so Paul, writing at Ephesus, the capital of another country, says to the Corinthians, 'The churches of Asia salute you.' They who had known his circumstances would readily recognise the communication as coming from Paul; and, besides, they could easily ascertain any desirable additional facts from the messenger by whom it was borne.

Still it may be asked, *Whence did the Epistle to the Hebrews derive the character of its diction?* alleged to be different from that of Paul's epistles by those who deny that it was written by him.

In the writings of Paul there prevails indeed the same spirit, but not entirely the same tone. In the communications addressed to the Corinthians, we hear the injured teacher, in the consciousness of his worth and his services, with a circumspective glance, and with benevolence, earnestness, and promptitude; in the Epistle to the Romans, the learned and dignified counsellor; in that to the Galatians, the language of paternal superiority addressed to an unpolished people. How different is the tone of the apostle to the Romans from that which he uses to the Galatians upon a very similar subject. His Epistle to the Ephesians has a peculiarly solemn air of deep-toned piety; that to the Philippians is distinguished for affection and friendly dignity; that to the Hebrews, for elegance, and for elevation of spirit. The circumstances in which he was, especially the relations in which he stood to the churches, clearly exhibit themselves in each of his communications.

Do we contemplate him in his relation to the Christians of Palestine? He was no teacher nor father of their societies. He could not, therefore, adopt that tone which it was natural for him to use in addressing the churches, which he himself had planted, and cherished, and reared.

Do we look at his own situation? We can perceive why his letter to the Hebrews is distinguished by a pleasing and courteous style; why it begins in an oratorical manner, and throughout has the structure of a work of eloquence. At this time joyful in possessing anew, or in the near anticipation of possessing anew, his life and his liberty, he reflects not a little of the buoyant feeling upon the composition of the epistle. He had, during his long confinement, as well as previously, been brought into the company of persons of taste and high station, and he was obliged to be his own pleader. On these occasions, so far as they are recorded, we see him acquitting himself in such a manner as shows how easily he could adapt his style to his circumstances; and, for aught we know, he might, by frequent practice, have increased the facility with which he could make a neat and persuasive appeal.

Do we view the object which engaged him, namely, to weaken the impression of the pompous temple service in Palestine, of the solemn offerings, and splendid feasts, by showing that Christianity contains all this, not in an outward and perishing form, but in spirit and in the highest perfection, and thus to prevent apostacy? The elevated nature of the subject leads him to the tone of the treatise or address.

If we extend our view to the whole of the contents, they required a higher tone than usual. The author, in the beginning, speaks of Jesus as the shining forth of Deity; of his height above angels, and above the whole creation. Then he proceeds to speak of the founder of Judaism, of Moses and his institutes for the founding of a religious state; then of the high-priesthood, and of all that makes religion splendid externally, and dear for the consolation it brings to the heart. He speaks of everything that was regarded by the Jew as most elevated; and he shows that, for each object of this kind, there was something still more elevated in Christianity.

Paul could not, in the choice of his manner, have exercised the sound judgment for which he is so much distinguished, if he had adopted any other than an elevated mode of representation; a mode which, manifestly, demands some special attention to the language. And what is there to prevent the supposition that he availed himself of the skill of Luke, or of some other literary friend, in preparing the epistle? He often employed an amanuensis; and Luke was at this time so high in the confidence of the apostle, that we can easily conceive of his being invited to assist in polishing the style, had Paul needed any such assistance.

The language is Paul's; but it is his more elevated language, to which he was led by his situation, and his subject, and the nature of the human mind.

From his labors abroad he went to Jerusalem, at a time when the teachers of Christianity had to bear long and struggle hard with Jewish prejudices. The thousands even of believing Jews in that city, and, it is probable, in Palestine generally, were 'all zealous of the law.' Report had represented him as a decided innovator and the opposer of Moses, and had excited general displeasure. He was seized in a riot, conveyed to Cesarea, and kept in custody, till he was brought to Rome, in order there to receive his trial. At length he was acquitted. His character in civil life was no longer doubtful; and it was a fruit of his acquittal that now he might speak of his doctrine again to those who had before viewed it as presumptuous and meriting punishment. Christianity in Palestine had before it a perilous crisis. He assumed his former energy, and sought to meet the increasing evil, to strengthen the wavering, and to encourage the faithful.

It was a most difficult task that he undertook. He might

easily have stirred up the old complaints against himself, had he in the very outset, and in a direct manner, asserted the uselessness of the Jewish rites. And then, considering the impressions of his readers, it was necessary to take care lest he should bring upon himself their disgust for ever, and hasten the step which he wished to prevent. He departed not a moment from his convictions and his former doctrine; and yet he yielded to the Jewish Christians everything that they demanded. They might desire offerings and days of atonement, sacrifices, and altars, and high-priests. He so little questioned the rightfulness of their demands, that he seemed to consent to every thing; but, on the other hand, he showed that they already possessed all in the religion of Christ; that Christianity, indeed, was the consummation of all that was excellent and glorious in Judaism.

Here can we fail to recognise the discreet manner, as well as the sentiments of Paul, who, with a conscientious regard to truth, it is well known, was accustomed to adapt his addresses most skilfully to the characters of all men?*

The *internal evidence* that the epistle is Paul's, is very naturally divided into two kinds, that which arises from *the circumstances which it mentions or adverts to*, and that which arises from *its style and manner*. But our limits do not permit us to touch this most important and satisfactory part of the discussion. We have only to request that our readers look at the evidence which Professor Stuart has presented, and that they examine and judge for themselves before they reject his conclusion. After dismissing this topic, he next proceeds to a minute and laborious examination of objections by Bertholdt, Schulz, and others. These he meets fairly and fully; and he proves them to be groundless. We cannot now enter this field of controversy. But we may be permitted to mention, as specially deserving the thanks of all the friends of patient investigation, his comparison of the objections made against the genuineness of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with those which may be made against the First Epistle to the Corinthians, one of the well known and acknowledged writings of Paul; a comparison which exhibits, in the clearest manner, the utter insufficiency

* See Hug's Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, Zweyter Theil. § 135. u. s. w., where a similar representation may be found.

of objections, which have been urged most confidently by critics, whose opinions we have been accustomed to respect.

The subject of this article we must now dismiss. It is one in which every considerate reader of the Scriptures and of literary history must feel a lively interest; and the work which we have been reviewing, is no ordinary production. It will stand a monument of distinguished industry, and of honest and successful inquiry after truth, when the author shall have ceased from his labors, and when critics who are now unborn shall look back upon the controversies of the present generation. We hope, indeed, we doubt not, that the work of Professor Stuart will be translated into the language of Germany, and will have in that country, as well as in ours, and in England, a wide and salutary influence.

Since the foregoing remarks were written, Professor Stuart has published a second volume, containing a new version of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a Commentary upon the same, and a series of essays, under the name of 'Excursuses,' on the more difficult and important passages. Our limits forbid the extension of our remarks to this second volume; which also, as covering ground, in some degree, controverted among the different schools of interpreters, does not properly fall within the province of this journal.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Present State of Hayti, with Remarks on its Agriculture, Commerce, Laws, Religion, Finances, and Population.* By JAMES FRANKLIN. London. 1828.

2. *Histoire d'Hayti, depuis sa Découverte, jusqu'en* 1824. Par M. CHARLES MALO. Nouvelle Edition. Paris. 1825.

WE place at the head of our article two late publications on the subject of Hayti, which are essentially different from each other in character and plan. M. Malo's work is an enlarged edition of a book first published several years ago, and professes to give a summary history of the island from the time of its discovery, down to the temporary suspension, in 1824, of the negotiations undertaken by Boyer for obtaining a recognition of its independence. It is compiled with much appearance of

candor and impartiality, being free at any rate from the influence of those strong prejudices which the ex-colonists have been too prone to indulge; and contains internal evidence of having been prepared from authentic materials. But it is purely a political history of the country. Mr Franklin takes a wider range. His work contains not only a sketch of the revolution, but a great body of statistical details upon the present condition of the island, as compared with what it was previous to the insurrection of the blacks. His statements concerning the productions, commerce, resources, population, and government of Hayti, are minute and particular, and were obtained by personal inquiry during a residence in the West Indies. Many of his individual facts, and the general conclusion to which he arrives, being such as other sources of information afford, we feel inclined to repose a great degree of confidence in his representations of matters of fact within his own knowledge. But Mr Franklin has a theory to support; and we are disposed to think his main object, in composing the book, was to maintain this theory, which is, the necessity of some coercion to procure the proper cultivation of lands in the West Indies. In short, although such a purpose is not expressly declared in his work, yet it is evidently written throughout, so as to have a bearing upon the questions now in agitation between Great Britain and her West India colonies. Making all the abatement from Mr Franklin's credit, which such a consideration may require, and setting off his national prejudices against those of M. Malo, we may gather, from both publications together, a pretty correct idea of the state of the island under President Boyer's administration.

Before entering upon this topic, we will premise a brief account of General Boyer's career, previous to his succeeding to the presidency. Jean Pierre Boyer is a native of Port au Prince, and about fifty years of age. His father was a French trader and tailor of that city, of good character, and possessed of some property; and his mother a Congo negress, and a slave; so that Boyer himself is a mulatto, although somewhat darker than the generality of his class. When the commissioners, Santhonax and Polverel, arrived, he joined their standard, with the rest of the free people of color; and after they retired from the island, he attached himself to the mulatto general Rigaud. In the sequel, Toussaint Louverture, the leader of the negroes, having acquired a complete ascendency over the

whole island, and being acknowledged in his authority by the successive French governments of the period, Rigaud resolved to withdraw to France, and Boyer still followed his fortunes. On his voyage to Europe, Boyer was captured by the Americans, between whom and the French republic a state of hostilities at this time existed; but was soon released, and continued his voyage. He resided in France, until the expedition under Le Clerc was organized. He returned to St Domingo in the train of Le Clerc, lending himself to an armament destined for the subjugation of his country, and for once again reducing the men of his race to servitude. Upon the death of Le Clerc, he united with the other mulattoes, first under Clervaux, and subsequently under Petion, who, after the assassination of Dessalines, secured the southern part of the island, as Christophe did the northern districts. Petion appointed him successively to be his aid-de-camp, private secretary, and chief of his staff; and at the time of his patron's death, Boyer was general of the *arrondissement* of Port au Prince.

Petion is universally characterized as an amiable man, of a sensible and humane character, with a mind enlarged by European education, and a polished, affable address, that would have distinguished him in the most refined courts. Although brave, enterprising, and active, when the exigencies of the occasion required it, he was of a temper too easy and lenient for the duties which devolved upon him, and wanted that vigor of character which was requisite for governing the half civilized inhabitants of Hayti. The circumstances of his death, which happened March 29th, 1818, are so peculiar and singular, that we extract the account as given by each of our authors.

'La mort du président de la République fut, dit on, volontaire; sa maladie ne dura que huit jours, pendant lesquels il refusa constamment tout remède, tout aliment, et jusqu'à de l'eau même; en un mot, il mourut d'inanition. C'est ce que déclarèrent les médecins après avoir ouvert son corps, qu'ils trouvèrent très-sain et sans aucune trace de maladie. Le bruit courut d'ailleurs qu'on lui avait souvent entendu dire qu'il était las de vivre.'

Malo, p. 347.

'It was generally admitted that the state of his country had produced an extraordinary depression of spirits, which no exertions of his most intimate friends could remove. Medical aid became unavailing; he lingered, but without, it appears, enduring any pain, and at last sunk under the weight of accumulated dis-

tress of mind, brought on by the deranged state of his finances, and the impoverished condition of his country.'

Franklin, p. 227.

Dessalines, it is to be remembered, was assassinated on account of his tyrannical conduct in 1806; and upon his decease, a desperate and bloody contest ensued between Christophe and Petion, the former occupying Cap Français and the North, and the latter Port au Prince and the South, and each contending for the sovereignty of the island. Christophe's followers consisted chiefly of the negroes, Petion's of the mulattoes. In this long struggle, Christophe gained some advantages over his rival, but none sufficiently decided to promise a speedy termination of their quarrel. At length the contending parties began to consider, that by prolonging the war, they should only produce a mutual prostration of strength, and finally become the common victims of their ancient masters. Hostilities were suspended, therefore, as by common consent; and without the conclusion of any treaty of peace, or any armistice, perfect tranquillity was restored throughout the island. Commencing with the year 1811, improvement made a rapid progress among the Haytians. Christophe and Petion both exerted themselves to encourage industry, morals, and intelligence in their respective states, without neglecting the means of defending their own independence.

But the policy adopted by Christophe, was radically different from that of Petion. The former possessing more energy of character, and less disposition to regard the wishes and inclinations of his people, took measures to concentrate all the powers of government in his own person, established a rigorous system of subordination and responsibility among his agents, put in force the most decisive measures to counteract and break up the indolent habits of the laboring population, and with characteristic determination of spirit, subjected everything to his individual inspection. The immediate consequence of all this was a great and striking melioration in the condition of his dominions, accompanied with a flourishing commerce and overflowing public coffers. But these effects could not be produced without the exercise of a grinding despotism, which sacrificed all the comforts of individuals to the successful march of a system; and at length came to exceed all bounds of reasonable endurance, and to create symptoms of discontent

among the oppressed people and harassed troops, which gave sure presage of an approaching storm.

Petion erred in the opposite extreme. Although possessed of admirable talents, accomplished by an European education, and incomparably superior to Christophe in every noble and estimable quality of the human character, yet he was wanting in determination and energy of temper. His disposition was thoroughly amiable, and this notwithstanding he was brave, enterprising, and bold. Mildness, indulgence, and humanity, formed as prominent a trait in the character of Petion, as relentless and uncompromising decision did in that of Christophe. Hence it followed that Petion, with the best possible intentions, and the sincerest desire to promote the welfare of his country, had not sufficient nerve, and was too sensible to the finer feelings of our nature, to adopt forcible measures to raise it to opulence.

Such was the state of things in Hayti, when Boyer succeeded to the government of the republican part of the island. Christophe had pushed his despotism to a point, at which patience in the minds of an oppressed people terminates, and resistance begins, for the reason, that the uncertain evils of change and revolution are then more welcome to them than the absolute wretchedness of their actual condition. And Petion had held the reins of government with so slack a hand, that his sensibility could not endure the prospect of public penury, which stared him in the face, and sought refuge from his embarrassments in voluntary death. Petion had in his last illness designated Boyer for his successor; and the nomination was unanimously confirmed by the legislative body, no other chief showing any desire to dispute with him the supremacy, or oppose any obstacles whatever to his elevation. Christophe proposed to the citizens of the republic to submit to his rule, and constitute but one people as in the days of Dessalines; but his offers were promptly rejected. On the contrary, Boyer, by the advice of his friends, lost no time in freeing himself from the constant inquietude, which the intrigues of Christophe in the district of Grande-Anse occasioned, where Gomar, an insurgent chief, continued in arms, and formed a *point d'appui* for the enemy in the very heart of the republic. Competent forces under the command of Generals Lys, Fracisque, and Borgella, by means of active and spirited movements, and a sufficient show of strength, finally succeeded in the winter of 1819–20,

in dispersing the bands of Gomar, and restoring tranquillity to the territory of Grande-Anse. While he was thus consolidating his power in the South, the tyranny of Christophe was preparing for him additional triumphs in the North.

Since the death of Petion, both parties had maintained, with respect to each other, a purely defensive attitude; but many months elapsed, during which a definitive declaration of war between the two rivals was daily to be expected. But Christophe's system of government growing more and more tyrannical, discontent went on augmenting among his subjects, who could not fail to contrast the oppressiveness of his rule, with the gentle and scarcely sensible sway of Petion and Boyer. His soldiers, finding themselves treated with extreme rigor for the slightest fault, and weary of a master who no longer consulted their feelings, or testified any sense of his obligations to them, conspired at length to throw off the yoke which weighed them to the earth. With the military, therefore, as in so many of the revolutions in those countries which maintain a large standing army, the movement commenced.

On the evening of the sixth of October, 1820, the inhabitants of the Cape were alarmed by the beat of drums sounding the call to arms. They soon learned that a whole division of the army, cantoned at St Mark, consisting of six thousand men, had raised the standard of revolt, killed their general, and sent a deputation to Boyer to announce this event, and assure him of the universal desire of the people of St Mark to place themselves under the government of the republic whose protection they claimed. This intelligence produced the greatest agitation among the inhabitants, and especially the soldiers of the garrison. At length, all the military took arms, and a large portion of the citizens followed their example; and the insurgents in spite of the efforts of the officers of government, set out for Sans-Souci in quest of the king. They were met and joined by the royal guard. Satisfied by the defection of the latter that resistance was impossible, Christophe desperately resolved to anticipate the blow intended for him, and shot himself with his own hand. Not satisfied merely with the death of the despot, the soldiers slaughtered his two sons, with several of his officers of state, who were obnoxious to the people, and completely sacked and dismantled the splendid palace of Sans-Souci. Meanwhile Boyer had entered St Mark with a powerful force of eighteen thousand men, and was received with

the unanimous acclamations of the people and the army. Some negotiations followed between him and a portion of the officers at the Cape, who, unable to lay aside at once their animosity against the mulattoes of the South, proposed to establish an independent republic in the North, with General Paul Romain for president. Boyer turned a deaf ear to every proposition of this kind; and the imposing force which he had under his orders rendered opposition to his will unavailing. Romain and his associates, therefore, submitted with a good grace to necessity, and issued a proclamation, in concert with the principal persons at the Cape, signifying their unqualified submission to Boyer, who entered the city on the twenty-second of October, and reunited the kingdom and republic of Hayti into a single government. Anxious to stifle all symptoms of jealousy among the blacks, he protected the widow and daughter of Christophe from the fury of the people, and confirmed the former general officers in their military rank, abolishing, of course, the titles of nobility which they bore, with the other appendages of the fallen monarchy.

Thus by singular good fortune, and by the demerits of his rival rather than by any remarkable address or conduct on his own part, Boyer was placed at the head of the entire population, which Christophe and Petion, with all their superiority of talents, had vainly endeavored to unite. This event was soon followed by another equally signal instance of good fortune. In the Spanish part of St Domingo, which covered more than half of the island, there were, at this time, many Haytians, who had established themselves as cultivators; and these, with the mulattoes, composed a majority of the population. Most of the clergy and men of property and influence had emigrated from the island in 1795, with their slaves and moveable effects, when the Spanish territory of Hispaniola was ceded to the French republic by the treaty of Basle. This emigration is said to have embraced one third of the whole population, who chose to abandon their possessions, and seek new homes in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Spanish Main, rather than pass under a strange system of laws and a government foreign to their education, habits, and feelings. In 1809 the French held but two ports in the Spanish part, Samana, and St Domingo. Christophe furnished the inhabitants with assistance in arms and munitions of war; and aided by an English fleet from Jamaica, they succeeded, in the course of 1810, in obliging the French

to capitulate, and abandon the island. Thus affairs remained until after the death of Christophe. When Boyer had united the whole of the French part of the island into one republic, the blacks and people of color, who predominated in the Spanish territory, began to testify a willingness to place themselves under his government. They found no difficulty in prevailing upon the principal persons in the city of St Domingo to acquiesce in their views; and in December, 1821, they sent a deputation to Boyer, soliciting his consent that the eastern part of the island might also be incorporated into the republic. Of course, Boyer received the submission of the inhabitants with great satisfaction, and immediately proceeded in person, accompanied with a sufficient force to put down any opposition which might chance to occur, and peaceably took possession of the country. Leaving general Borgella in command at St Domingo, he returned to Port au Prince, highly elated at this unprecedented success, which left him without any competitor to thwart his views, or disturb the internal repose of the island, now wholly independent in fact, of any foreign power, and placed under a ruler in a certain sense of its own voluntary appointment.

Being undisputed master of the whole of Hayti, with nothing to interrupt the peaceful avocations of his people, or divert their attention from the pursuits of industry, Boyer had an opportunity of enforcing such necessary and judicious measures for the prosperity of the commerce and agriculture of the country, as its condition demanded. By stimulating the exertions of the cultivators so as to restore the agricultural prosperity of the island, once the garden of the West Indies; by adopting a system of regularity and economy in his financial affairs; by maintaining such an army merely, as the defence of the country against foreign aggression made requisite; by encouraging the intercourse of the Americans with his dominions, and forming those intimate commercial relations with the English, to which the latter invited, and thus securing a permanent demand and profitable exchange for the great staples of Hayti; —by pursuing such a course, indifferent to the hostility, but not averse to the friendship of France, he might before long have placed the island in such a state as to be universally respected abroad, and prosperous and contented at home. France would, in the end, have submitted to the force of events, and the example of Great Britain and Portugal, by giving the seal of re-

cognition to the independence of a colony, which for twenty years had enjoyed all the benefits of independence in fact. The interested friendship and protection of England would have had the same effect upon the external politics of Hayti, which it has exercised upon the Spanish American states. France and the other nations of Europe, would eventually have sacrificed the scruples of legitimacy, for the sake of participating with Great Britain in the advantages held out by free commercial intercourse with Hayti. Unfortunately for himself, and the country under his control, Boyer was blinded to the obvious maxims of good sense and public policy, either by reason of narrowness and want of comprehensive views in himself and his advisers, or by the force of the prejudices of birth and education, which created in his mind an exaggerated idea of the importance of instantly concluding a treaty with France.

On the first restoration of the Bourbons, Louis the Eighteenth was prevailed on by the ex-colonists of St Domingo to undertake measures for regaining the colony. Accordingly in June, 1814, Messrs Dauxion-Lavaysse, Medina, and Draverman, were commissioned to investigate the state of things in Hayti, and feel the pulse of the two chiefs. Medina repaired to Cap Haytien to conduct the negotiation with Christophe; but his mission came to a speedy termination. Christophe finding that Medina was born and had served in the island, and had betrayed the blacks, proceeded, with his accustomed decision, to arrest the unfortunate commissioner. His papers contained evidence that he intended to tamper with the blacks; he was ordered to be tried by a military commission, and summarily condemned as a spy. Petion, however, civilly received the communications of Lavaysse at Port au Prince, having for their object the immediate acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Louis the Eighteenth. This of course Petion refused; declaring that the Haytians would never resign their independence, but that, actuated by motives of justice, he was disposed to enter into friendly relations with France on the basis of a pecuniary indemnity to be paid by him for the benefit of the ex-colonists. This naturally put an end to the commission of Lavaysse; and the French government thought it necessary to declare, officially, that he had exceeded his authority, and to disavow the propositions he had submitted to the Haytians. Afterwards, in 1816, a new effort was made by the French to attain their object; and new commissioners, MM. Esmangart

and de Fontanges, endeavored, without any useful result, to persuade the Haytians to resume their chains.

Here the negotiations were suspended, until after those events, which produced a revolution so complete in the internal politics of Hayti. At this epoch, Boyer appears to have taken pains to intimate his desire of coming to an arrangement with France, which the latter saw could be more easily accomplished, than during the life of Petion and Christophe, especially of Christophe, whose summary mode of dealing she now understood too well, and whose forecast and sagacity she had been taught to respect. Negotiations were therefore again opened, in 1821, under the auspices of M. Esmangart. His agent, M. Aubert du Petit-Thouars, repairing to Hayti, proposed to Boyer to acknowledge the independence of Hayti, subject to the *simple suzeraineté* of Louis, or admitting a right of protection, such as England exercises in the Ionian isles. Boyer promptly informed M. Aubert that he should not treat or the basis of admitting any *suzeraineté* direct or indirect, on the least shadow of a protectorate in any shape whatever; and renewed at the same time the offer of a reasonable indemnity.

This *ultimatum* of Boyer's remained without reply on the part of the French. At length, he himself renewed the negotiation in May, 1823, appointing general Boyé his plenipotentiary, with instructions to confer with persons properly authorized, in France, or in some neutral country, for the purpose of terminating the difference between the two governments. M. Esmangart and general Boyé held repeated interviews at Brussels accordingly, in August, 1823; but the parties could not agree on the nature of the indemnity to be made; the French negotiator demanding the payment of a positive sum, the Haytian proposing only certain commercial privileges, deemed by him equivalent to an indemnity. In consequence of this, MM. Esmangart and Boyé parted without effecting anything; and M. Esmangart immediately despatched M. Laujon to Port au Prince to solicit a renewal of the intercourse. Yielding to his representations, Boyer commissioned Larose, a senator, and Rouanez, a government notary, to repair to Paris, with very full instructions for their guidance in their important mission. They reached Havre in June, 1824, and soon afterwards entered into conference with M. Esmangart at Paris. Their instructions were to require a royal ordinance, recognis-

ing the independence of Hayti; in return for which they were authorized to offer a pecuniary indemnity and certain commercial privileges, in favor of France. They soon discovered that a new difficulty was to be made by M. Esmangart concerning the eastern part of the island, as to which France declared she had no authority to treat, it being legally subject to Spain. In addition to this, they were given to understand that the king would not issue the royal ordinance required, without a clause reserving to himself the *exterior sovereignty* of Hayti. These intimations brought the conferences to a close abruptly, and the Haytian commissioners returned to Port au Prince.

The rupture of the negotiations at this point very naturally produced great disappointment in France, as well among the ex-colonists as the mercantile and manufacturing classes, who were counting upon the advantages of an extensive and favored trade with Hayti. The uneasiness of the latter was increased, by the prevalence of a rumor, whether well or ill founded we know not, that an English company had set on foot a scheme for interposing between the Haytian government and the ex-colonists, by purchasing of them a renunciation of their rights for a specific payment in the nature of an indemnity, and thus quieting their claim on Boyer. Certain it is, that England made overtures to Boyer towards the arrangement of a commercial treaty upon a fair basis of reciprocity; for of these overtures Mr Franklin says he himself was the bearer. Urged to the adoption of some decisive measures by these indications, and by the knowledge also that Boyer had granted to an English company the privilege of working the mines in the eastern part of the island, the French government despatched the Baron de Mackau, an intelligent officer in the navy, to bring the negotiations with Hayti to a termination favorable to France. The whole transaction was a masterly movement in diplomacy, wherein the unwary Boyer was taken by surprise, and completely outwitted.

The Baron de Mackau sailed from Rochfort in May, 1825, in the frigate Circe, it being arranged that he should join Admiral Jurien, who commanded a powerful fleet on the West India station, and enter Port au Prince, without giving Boyer any previous intimation of his intention, at the head of such a force that the Haytians should be intimidated into accepting the terms of recognition to be proposed. M. Mackau arrived off Port au Prince, on the third of July, and caused the French squad-

ron to be moored abreast of the harbor in a state of preparation to strike a decisive blow at the city in case of need, well knowing that its fortifications were in no condition to resist an attack, and that Boyer possessed no naval force capable of coping with Admiral Jurien. Boyer and his people were filled with consternation at the appearance of the French ships, whose arrival was a most unlooked for event, and their precise object entirely unknown to them. Boyer immediately sent two officers of his staff on board the flag ship to the commander in chief, to ascertain his purpose; and was greatly relieved on learning that the nature of his mission was professedly pacific, notwithstanding its formidable and hostile aspect. Baron Mackau landed the next day under a salute from the forts, and was received in state at the government-house by Boyer, who proceeded the same evening to enter upon the business of the mission.

It appears that the French minister came provided with *ordonnances*, adapted to propositions of different degrees, any of which he could employ as occasion might require. Boyer must have perceived many objections to the arrangement finally adopted; and it is alleged that he acceded to the conditions offered, from want of firmness to break with the French, and take the hazard of hostilities. At all events, his conduct was that of one submitting to conditions from a victorious enemy, rather than of a sovereign power treating with another in time of peace. Under such conditions, the business was brought to a close in a few days, and he accepted an ordinance so artfully worded, that, if he did not punctually comply with its provisions, Hayti was admitted to be still a colony of France. It is of the following tenor, dated April 17th, 1825.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, &c.

'We have ordained and do ordain as follows.

'Art. 1. The ports of the French part of the island of St Domingo are open to the commerce of all nations. The duties levied in the ports, whether upon vessels or merchandise, whether entering or going out, shall be equal and uniform for all flags, except for the French flag, in favor of which those duties shall be reduced one half.

'2. The present inhabitants of the French part of St Domingo, shall pay into the *caisse*, &c. of France, in five equal instalments, from year to year, the first of which will become due December 31st, 1825, the sum of one hundred and fifty millions of francs,

destined to indemnify the ancient colonists who shall claim an indemnity.

'3. We grant, on these conditions, by the present ordinance, to the actual inhabitants of the French part of the island of St Domingo, the full and entire independence of this government.'

This, it will be perceived, is no treaty. There is no party to the instrument but the king of France, who grants terms of indulgence to Boyer and his people in the same form that he would to any other rebellious subjects. All the stipulations of a treaty containing reciprocal guarantees were left for future negotiations, Boyer placing himself entirely at the mercy of his more sagacious antagonists. Nevertheless, the senate confirmed his doings; and great rejoicings took place at Port au Prince, on occasion of proclaiming the independence of Hayti, the citizens exerting themselves to entertain Baron Mackau, Admiral Jurien, and the officers of the squadron, with splendid *fêtes*, during their short stay in the island. It was necessary, however, that commissioners should immediately proceed to France, to conclude a definitive treaty, and provide means for paying the first instalment of the indemnity. This mission was confided to MM. Daumee, Rouanez, and Frémont. Daumee, the most capable of the commissioners, died soon after his arrival in France; and the business devolved upon his associates, who negotiated a loan for paying the first instalment upon terms extremely unfavorable to Boyer, but were unable to conclude a satisfactory treaty. They returned, therefore, bearing only the articles of a proposed convention, which, if received, would have compromised the honor and independence of the republic still more deeply.

Aware of the dissatisfaction which the arrangement with France would produce among the inhabitants of Hayti, Boyer had been careful not to allow the ordinance to be circulated or discussed in print, among the cultivators in the interior of the island. They had no distinct knowledge of the terms of the recognition of independence, until the members of the chamber of *communes* returned to their respective parishes, and explained the nature of the transaction. Everywhere murmurs of indignation were heard, at the foolish, the infatuated conduct of Boyer. The cultivators foresaw that new burdens must be imposed upon their labor, to raise means to pay off the enormous pecuniary obligations he had contracted. They reflected that their lands, their industry, themselves in fact, were

mortgaged to France, for more than the whole island could pay. The military, and the retired soldiers, who for more than twenty years had witnessed the growth of independence, which they had fought for and actually possessed to every intent, were indignant at the dishonor implied in the payment of an enormous price for the empty, unreal boon of a recognition of it on the part of France. This feeling was particularly strong in the North, where Dessalines and Christophe had nourished among their subjects a spirit of distrust and hatred of their ancient masters, and where the black chiefs saw, in the present step, the realization of the prophecies of Christophe, who always accused Boyer of being more or less subservient to the views of the French. Nor was less indignation expressed in the eastern part of the island, whose inhabitants remonstrated against being called upon to contribute for the payment of an indemnity, when they themselves were expressly excluded from the beneficial operation of the arrangement. In short, the population throughout the island, exasperated alike at the exclusive commercial privileges promised the French, and at the magnitude of the indemnity to be paid, signified their determination to resist any attempt to obtain money to discharge it by means of a levy, which they were neither willing nor able to raise.

We may add that, in other countries, Boyer's conduct was very severely condemned, and the view taken of the subject in France implied the strongest censure on his pusillanimity and want of discernment. It was said, with great justice, that the king had not in fact parted with his claims of sovereignty over the island. The grant of independence was, not to the *country* but to the *government;* nor to the government perpetually, but only to the government of the *actual inhabitants.* How much or how little these extraordinary phrases comprehended, might become a fruitful subject of future dispute. For the rest, France had made sale of the soil for as much as it was worth, and had obtained highly valuable commercial privileges besides. The amount of the latter consideration may be estimated from the following facts. When Esmangart treated with General Boyé at Brussels, the latter offered, in lieu of an indemnity, the free admission of French goods into Hayti, for five years, and the exaction of only half duties (six per cent.) afterwards. Boyé stated the total exemption as equivalent to three millions of francs annually, and the half duties to a mil-

lion and a half annually.* If so, the condition of the ordinance was worth the latter sum, in the advantage it gave to the commerce of France. Of course, the Americans, English, and others, by means of whose trade chiefly, the Haytians had disposed of their crops and procured their foreign supplies, complained loudly of an arrangement, which, in respect of all the operations of commerce, was likely to place Hayti precisely in the condition of any other French colony in the West Indies.

It is easy to see the unhappy dilemma into which Boyer has thrown his country, without any safe means of extricating himself from the difficulties in which he is involved. Mr Franklin minutely describes the present state of the island, deriving his knowledge from personal inspection of the plantations and settlements in the interior, as well as of the towns on the coast. The result of his examination is expressed in the following passage.

'Oppressed with the weight of an overwhelming debt, contracted without an equivalent; with an empty treasury, and destitute of ways and means for supplying it; the soil almost neglected, or at least but very partially tilled; without commerce and credit; —such is the present state of the republic, and it seems almost impossible that, under the system which is now pursued, there should be any melioration of its condition, or that it can arrive at any very high state of improvement. Any change from the present, would in all probability, be worth the experiment; but the existing inefficiency of the government precludes the chance of a beneficial alteration being effected. Hence there appears every reason to apprehend that it will recede into irrecoverable insignificance, poverty, and disorder.' *Franklin*, p. 265.

We cannot follow Mr Franklin through the instructive details which he has collected, respecting the internal economy of Hayti. Instead thereof, we have prepared, from the documents he furnishes, a tabular view of the exports of the island, at several successive periods. The periods selected are 1791, 1802, 1804, and 1822, answering respectively to the best years of the Colony, of Toussaint, of Dessalines, and of Boyer; it being observed that the three first years give the returns for the French part of the island only, while the last comprises both the French and Spanish, and therefore ought to be proportionably larger. We add, also, the amount of the black and colored population of the several years, employed in cultivation.

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* Malo, p. 391.

Government.	France.	Toussaint.	Dessalines.
	1791.	1802.	1804.
Sugar	163,405,220 lbs.	53,400,000 lbs.	47,600,000 lbs.
Coffee	68,151,180 lbs.	34,370,000 lbs.	31,000,000 lbs.
Cotton	6,286,126 lbs.	4,050,000 lbs.	3,000,000 lbs.
Cocoa	not stated	234,600 lbs.	201,800 lbs.
Indigo	930,016 lbs.	37,600 lbs.	35,400 lbs.
Molasses	29,502 hhds.	9,128 hhds.	10,655 hhds.
Rum	303 pnch.	not stated	not stated
Lab. Pop.	455,000	290,000	290,000

In 1822, the first year after the union of the island under Boyer, the exports stood thus;

Coffee	35,117,834 lbs.
Sugar	652,541 lbs.
Cotton	891,950 lbs.
Cocoa	322,145 lbs.
Logwood	3,816,583 lbs.
Mahogany	20,100 feet.
Estimated value	9,030,397 dollars.
Export duty	1,365,402 do.

In order to appreciate the great falling off in the produce of the island since the time of Toussaint, we should compare the population of the two periods, as collected from the best authorities.

	1802.	1822.
French part	375,000	661,500
Spanish part	95,000	54,000
Total	470,000	715,500

There has been a gradual diminution in the amount of the products of Hayti since 1822. It is estimated that in 1825, the whole value of the exports was about 8,000,000 of dollars; the revenue from customs on imports and exports 2,200,000, and from other sources about as much more, making in all about 4,400,000, which fell short of the estimated public expenditure.

Art. IX.—1. *Report of the Engineers on the Reconnoissance and Surveys made in reference to the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road.* Baltimore, William Wooddy. pp. 189.

2. *Second Annual Report of the President and Directors, to the Stockholders of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company;* and *First Annual Report of the Board of Engineers to the Board of Directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company.* Baltimore. William Wooddy.

In the fifty-sixth number of this journal, we took some notice of a project then recently set on foot, for constructing a Railway from the city of Baltimore to some point on the Ohio river. Besides the importance of such an enterprise to the Union at large, more especially to the flourishing states of the West, the bold design of constructing a rail road of such extent, and through a region apparently so difficult, at a time when the experiment of this mode of transportation had been made only for small distances, led us to expect with some interest, the farther proceedings of the projectors. Since the period of our first notice, the examinations of the country, originally commenced with a view to the construction of a canal between the same points, have been continued, and their results exhibited in the publications named at the head of this article; the last of which more particularly draws our attention, as it announces the actual commencement of the work, and holds out a flattering promise of its eventual completion. As various projects of the same or a like character are agitated in several parts of the Union, and especially in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, some farther particulars may be acceptable to our readers, relative to the enterprise in question; certainly one of the greatest ever projected in this,—we may add, in any country.

Indeed, the impulse lately given to schemes of this nature in the United States, and the rapid increase of the capital embarked in interior transportation, are among the most signal manifestations of the augmenting force and wealth of the nation. A glance at the map of the country discovers the greatest facilities for multiplying the channels of internal trade. Not only do our great rivers and lakes already afford to the vast surface which they drain, an extensive carriage of their products to some one market or other, but it is found that, by means of

the frequent connexion of their head streams, this advantage may be very greatly increased and diffused. As the Erie canal may be said to have turned the northern lakes into the Hudson and the bay of New York, rendering us thus far independent of the navigation of the St Lawrence, so the Ohio canals will open the same outlet to the interior of that state, and to the districts bordering on the Ohio river. Meanwhile, this magnificent tributary of the Mississippi, together with the Mississippi itself, wafts the products of their two wide and fertile basins to New Orleans, whence a great inner coastwise navigation may be continued, at a cost comparatively small, through the sounds, bays, and inlets of the coast of the Floridas, of Georgia, and the Carolinas, and through the Chesapeake and Delaware bays, and across Jersey, to New York. The lines thus described, encircle, with the exception of New England, the whole of the inhabited parts of the United States; an immense extent of inland navigation, destined, together with the numerous works in progress or contemplated in various parts of the interior, to confer the greatest benefits on the most important branch of the commerce of all countries, the home trade. The route of the intended Baltimore and Ohio rail road is a line bisecting, from east to west, the area inclosed within the limits above described; and, when completed, will possess the advantage of being the shortest line by which it can ever be bisected. The geographical circumstances which thus approximate Baltimore to the country watered by the Ohio, have been described by us, on a former occasion; the advantages to be derived from this proximity are sufficiently obvious.

The statesman cannot be indifferent to these multiplying facilities of communication, which ensure the union of the members of the confederacy, by identifying their respective interests with each other. This, in free communities at least, is the true bond of empire; and those who remember the irritations excited in the Western states on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi, will be disposed to attach more weight to this opinion. Nor are these avenues of transportation less important in another aspect. A country so extensive as ours, so various in climate and soil, and so rapidly increasing its population, grows necessarily less dependent, every year, on foreign markets and manufactures, and must eventually be itself the great mart of its own products, and the great workshop of its own raw materials. But this result can in no way be so effect-

ually hastened, as by the improvement of roads and canals. The early civilization of most maritime countries shows, how necessary to commerce this facility of communication and transportation is; nor is it to be doubted, that it is among the most efficient of the causes, which have given to the manufactures of Great Britain the market of the world. If many branches of manufacture, to which we seem otherwise entirely competent, have hitherto made small progress among us, it must be imputed in no small part to the want of quick and easy transportation, since the other elements of success are possessed by as in a preëminent degree; abundant genius and activity in the people, a vast amount of water power, inexhaustible supplies of fuel, cheap and plentiful subsistence, and light taxes. Perhaps the roads and canals now in progress, will more efficiently foster our manufactures, than any bounties or protections ever could; and thus the great question which divides the country, be settled by a policy equally acceptable to both parties.

If any one part of the Union can be said to be more interested in this policy than another, it is the Western states, both on account of their distance from a market, and of the vast amount of their disposable produce. From various causes, their exports, with equal facilities of carriage, would also more naturally seek an Atlantic port than that of New Orleans. The communication about to be opened to these states with New York, through the Ohio canal, lake Erie, and the Erie canal, and perhaps with Philadelphia, through the Pennsylvania canals, will doubtless be a most important acquisition to them, as an avenue both for their downward and their return trade. But during a considerable portion of the year, the rigor of the climate must close these canals, and that at a season, at which the farmer might prefer to take his produce to market. A transportation exempt from this obstruction, by a rail road, for example, on which neither drought nor frost can cause any delay, and conducting them, at the same time, to a port considerably nearer than either of the others, seems to promise such important advantages as to justify some labor and expense in procuring it, and has led the citizens of Maryland, of Baltimore principally, to the scheme of connecting their emporium with the West by a road of that sort. We could hardly give a stronger evidence of the progress of the nation, than by mentioning in connexion with such a scheme, that within the mem-

ory of many inhabitants of the West, all their salt, brandy, and many other articles, used to be brought across the mountains packed on horses.

The aspect of the country to be traversed by the railway, seems at first view little favorable to such an enterprise. The great range of the Allegany, rising to a height of twenty-five hundred and three thousand feet above tide, and the various subordinate ridges parallel to it, all lying in a transverse direction to the general course of the road, are so many barriers to be surmounted by it in its progress westward. The control, so to speak, of this principal range over the subordinate ridges, appears not only in the more important of them, as the Catoctin, the South Mountain, and the Blue Ridge on the east of it, and the Laurel Hills and others on the west, but in the lesser hills and collections of rocks occurring in the same region. The ridges interposed between Baltimore and the Potomac, which are found to be much higher than was commonly supposed (having an elevation of eight or nine hundred feet), preserve, with the same obstinacy, this direction transverse to the intended route. Even where these mountain barriers have been worn away, or broken through by the large rivers, the Potomac on this side of the mountains, the Cheat river, the Youghagany, and Casselman's river on the other, the change has been wrought with such violence, as to leave the surface extremely rough and broken and to render much labor necessary, to accommodate it to the road. It may be remarked, however, that in the event of completing the railway across these ridges, the intermediate valleys will offer great facilities for the construction of lateral roads, leading into the main trunk, and swelling its trade, by the products of a proportional extent of country.

But, though such is the general character of this region, a more particular examination demonstrates it to be penetrable to a railway, through its whole extent. Indeed, as far as Cumberland, a town on the Potomac, near the foot of the Allegany, (a point of great importance from the exhaustless quantities of the best coal which are found in its vicinity) there may even be selected a route of extraordinary facility. An avenue being thus found to the base of the great ridge, dividing the eastern and western waters; and the country westward of that ridge towards the Ohio, either presenting a surface of gentle undulations, or having its rocky ridges penetrated by the action of

the rivers; it is on the Allegany alone that serious difficulties may be expected to occur. But, as this region, after a minute survey by the United States' Board of Internal Improvements, has been pronounced by them to be practicable for a canal, 'we may,' say the Engineers, in their Report, 'conclude *a fortiori* that a rail road may be made over the same ground.' But that our readers may estimate for themselves the probability of this bold enterprise being brought to a successful issue, we shall, from the materials furnished in the Reports named at the head of this article, give a description somewhat more particular of the proposed route of the road, and of the country which it traverses, beginning at Baltimore.

The construction of the road was commenced, at the western limit of that city, on the fourth of July last, with a pomp indicative of the general confidence of that community in the practicableness of a scheme, in which its prosperity is very deeply concerned. The venerable Mr Carroll, the only signer of the Declaration of Independence now alive, laid the first stone. Its whole route may be considered in three divisions, including the country between Baltimore and the base of the Allegany, that comprehended in the Allegany and the two great ridges parallel to it on the west, and that lying beyond the foot of the latter to the Ohio, respectively.

The distance between Baltimore and Cumberland, the extreme points of the first of these divisions, is, by the present turnpike road, one hundred and thirty-seven miles. The character of this extensive district is broken, hilly, and sometimes mountainous, being crossed by a number of those elevated ridges, which we have described as subordinate and parallel to the Allegany. But it has been ascertained that, by following the direction of the tributaries of the Patapsco and of the Potomac, and then the Potomac itself, these may either be entirely avoided, or, at least, gradually surmounted, without any great deflection from a straight line. The only one which must unavoidably be crossed, is the 'Parr's Spring Ridge,' dividing the waters of the Patapsco and the Monocacy, the former of which streams empties, as is well known, into the harbor of Baltimore; the latter is a tributary of the Potomac. The eastern foot of this ridge may be approached along the western branches of the Patapsco, and from its western base run the tributaries of the Monocacy, by means of which the Potomac may be reached at the 'Point of Rocks,' a promontory, which ter-

minates the Catoctin mountain on that river. By passing round this promontory by the margin of the stream, the Catoctin ridge is avoided, and the road enters the valley of the Potomac, at a point, distant from Baltimore, by the ordinary route, fifty-five miles. Hence to Harper's Ferry, is found either a *flat* sufficiently wide for a road, or a moderate slope to the river; and like facilities occur from Harper's Ferry to Antietam, a distance of eight miles, there being everywhere sufficient space between the hills and the river except in one or two places, where cliffs of limestone, nearly perpendicular, rise fifty and seventy feet from the water. Within four or five miles of Antietam, wide and beautiful bottoms offer every facility for the cheap and easy construction of the road. Beyond that point, the sinuosities of the Potomac become so numerous, that a departure from its course is necessary in order to diminish the distance; but fortunately the face of the country allows this abandonment of the stream, and the road may be carried with no difficulty to the Conococheague at Williamsport, in a line nearly direct, and not exceeding sixteen miles, little more than half the distance by the river. To attain, however, the general level of the country beyond the Antietam, where the road thus diverges from the Potomac, an elevation of one hundred and fifty feet must be overcome, though this may be effected pretty gradually through some one of the numerous ravines which occur at that point. The elevation thus reached may be sustained by moderate cuts and embankments till the road descends again to the valley of the Conococheague, at Williamsport. This point is about seventy miles from Baltimore, by the ordinary road.

Proceeding beyond Williamsport, we begin to encounter the more considerable of the subordinate ridges parallel to the Allegany, and consequently to find the surface more rough and broken. The road, therefore, will conform pretty generally to the immediate bank of the Potomac, the great objection to which is the sinuosity of the stream, while the ground intervening between the bends is generally too high to be crossed. For several miles, however, before approaching Hancock, twenty-four miles beyond Williamsport, the river pursues a very straight course, presenting banks, at the same time, remarkably favorable for the work. West of Hancock, the valley of the river must of necessity be pursued, as the numerous mountain ridges crossing the route, of which Sideling Hill is the princi-

pal, are unbroken by any gaps, or even depressions, but such as have been made by the Potomac. Supposing this plan to be pursued, the distance from Williamsport to Cumberland, may be estimated at eighty-four miles, with an ascent of two hundred and seventeen feet.

Cumberland, we have said, is one hundred and thirty-seven miles from Baltimore. In the whole of this distance, which conducts us to the base of the Allegany, over a country so unpropitious at first view, there occurs no obstacle of serious magnitude, to the construction of the contemplated road, on principles too, the most convenient to the passage of the downward and upward trade respectively. At one place only, we believe, will it be necessary to employ stationary power; at the point where the road will cross the Parr's Spring Ridge.

We have now to consider the second division of the route, namely, the region of the Allegany, and its parallel ridges, as the Briery and Laurel Hills, westward of which last, as we have already mentioned, the country presents a much more practicable aspect, indeed a character altogether opposite. Commencing then, at Cumberland, two routes present themselves by which to traverse the Allegany region, and reach the western waters. The first, which was examined before the rail road company had obtained permission of Pennsylvania to enter her territory, continues up the valley of the Potomac as far as the mouth of Savage river, a tributary of that stream, and thence, by means of the ravines of the Savage, and of one of its tributaries, Crabtree creek, ascends the Allegany mountain, and so passes over to the tributaries of Cheat river. The stream last named is a principal branch of the Monongahela, which, as the reader knows, enters the Ohio at Pittsburg. From the Cheat and the Monongahela, this route would have passed to the Ohio by means of the valley of some one of the several tributaries of that river, which it would have struck at some point, between the little Kenahwa and the southern boundary line of Pennsylvania. The second route from Cumberland, which would immediately enter that state, proceeds up the valley of Will's creek (also a tributary of the Potomac), to some point where the ascent of the Allegany may be made to advantage, and then strikes over to the valley of Casselman's river, a stream flowing into the Youghagany, which itself runs into the Monongahela, a few miles above Pittsburg. The valleys of Casselman's river and the Youghagany open a passage

through the Briery Hill and the Laurel Ridge; and it is believed, that the superior facilities of this route to the Ohio will cause it (now that the company may enter Pennsylvania) to be selected for the extension of their road. We return, however, to the description of the first route we have mentioned across the Allegany region, that our readers may perceive what difficulties it was designed and deemed practicable to surmount.

From Cumberland to the mouth of the Savage, the rapidity of the Potomac is very considerably increased, there being a fall of not less than three hundred feet in twenty-nine miles. The valleys of the Savage and of Crabtree creek are extremely rough and wild, and the ascent very great, exceeding sixteen hundred and eighty feet in sixteen and a half miles. This ascent overcome, and the summit of the Allegany and the Glades attained, the next difficulty is to descend into the valley of Cheat river, a stream buried in high mountains, throwing their steep slopes close to the water's edge, and hardly accessible to human foot. These precipices rise from the brink of the stream at an angle of forty or fifty degrees, to the height of seven or eight hundred feet. Such is the wildness of this tract, that the Engineers were three days industriously employed, in making a distance of sixteen miles. Our limits will not allow us to describe the various routes by which the descent to the valley of the Cheat, down these rugged precipices, was proposed to be accomplished. The most precipitous of them, which was in other respects, however, the most favorable, would have presented a declivity of one thousand one hundred and ninety-six feet in four miles and a half. The Cheat, as we have said, is a tributary of the Monongahela. In order to reach the latter, the alternative was presented of either crossing the peninsula which divides them, or of pursuing the Cheat to its confluence with the principal stream. The most favorable route across the peninsula presented an aggregate ascent of one thousand one hundred and thirty feet, and a descent of one thousand two hundred and sixty, in a distance of thirty-three miles and a quarter. These obstacles surmounted (which, though by no means invincible, appear, it must be confessed, sufficiently formidable), we have traversed the Allegany, with its parallel ridges, the Briery and Laurel Hills, the second of the divisions under which we purposed to consider the route of the railway. Fortunately, the direction of Will's creek, Casselman's

river, and the Youghagany, presents the means of doing this with much less labor and expense. The distance from Cumberland to the junction of the Cheat with the Monongahela, just beyond the western foot of the Laurel Hill, may be estimated at ninety-eight miles.

Having cleared the defiles of the great Back-bone of the United States, the passage of the road to the Ohio, along the valleys of its tributary waters, is easy enough. Of the route through Pennsylvania, by the Youghagany, the Engineers speak thus. 'After passing the Laurel Ridge by the valley of the Youghagany, we may,' say they, 'from the favorable direction of the different tributaries of the Monongahela and the Ohio, prolong the rail road to a point on the latter as far south as the Pennsylvania line, or even to the mouth of the Little Kenhawa; or we may continue down the valleys of the Youghagany and Monongahela, to the city of Pittsburg.' This route has been shown, on surveys made by them on a former occasion, to be practicable for a canal. We need not enter into a particular description of it, as a more minute survey will be made hereafter. So, too, the prolongation of the road from the Monongahela to the Ohio, by the more southern route of the valleys of Buffalo and Fishing creeks, forms a strong contrast with its passage across the summit level, by the Savage, the Crabtree and the Cheat, to the Monongahela. Buffalo and Fishing creeks, the former of which runs into the Monongahela, and the latter into the Ohio, are divided from each other by a narrow ridge only a quarter of a mile wide at its base, and only eighty or ninety feet high; an elevation so moderate that it is a little singular that the Monongahela did not break through it to join the Ohio, instead of being thrown so far north, through much greater obstacles, to meet that river at Pittsburg. The probability of the road's entering Pennsylvania, renders it unnecessary to describe minutely the route by Buffalo and Fishing creeks, or another by the valley of the Cheat and the Monongahela, to the Ohio. Nor shall we notice the examinations detailed in the Engineers' Report, of the country in the direction of the Great Kenhawa, by the way of the Shenandoah, and the South Branch of the Potomac, to the Greenbrier, farther than to mention the practicability of rail roads through these extensive districts, rich in agricultural and mineral products, that naturally tend towards the valley of the Potomac in search of a market.

The general direction of the route of the railway, as thus described, is, from Baltimore to the 'Point of Rocks,' a little south of west; thence to Hancock, approaching north-west. From Hancock to Cumberland, the general direction is very little south of west, though there is a great circuit in consequence of the direction of the river. Beyond Cumberland, by way of the Cheat, to the western base of the Laurel Ridge, the course, though winding, is included between south-west and west. Thence to the Ohio, the direction is nearly west. Should the route by Casselman's river and the Youghagany be adopted, the general direction from Cumberland to the mouth of Casselman's river, and thence by the Youghagany to Pittsburg, would be north-west.

From this necessarily brief description of the three regions through which the rail road is to pass, our readers will have perceived, however, that in its whole extent, its practicableness is beyond doubt. In the western division, extending from the base of the Laurel Hill to the Ohio, there is, on any of the routes, so little serious difficulty to be apprehended, that the ground, on the contrary, is in a high degree favorable. The character of the Allegany, and the other ridges forming with it the height of land between the eastern and western waters, is certainly very different. But of the two principal routes across it, one is by no means impracticable; the other is expected to afford much greater advantages. Of the eastern division, the examinations are already so accurate as to evince the perfect facility of its construction. We shall here add some particulars of this last section of the route, embraced between Cumberland and Baltimore, as it has received a more minute examination than the others, and as an actual commencement has been made on a part of it, the twenty-four miles between Baltimore and the fork of the Patapsco above Ellicotts' Mills.

The definitive *location* of these twenty-four miles was begun on the south-west boundary of the city, on the seventh of July last. At the very edge of the town runs a primitive ridge, which though narrow, extends through several of the middle states, in a direction from south-west to north-east, upholding, as it were, the country beyond it, and giving to the streams which cross it that very rapid fall, which forms a great part of the water-power in the neighborhood of Baltimore. This topographical circumstance, besides the consideration of introducing the road into that part of the town already built on (em-

bracing some considerable eminences), rendered expedient the adoption of a great elevation through the first twelve miles, no less than sixty-six feet above tide. This elevation, though it is so much gained, in reference to the subsequent part of the route, involved an extraordinary expenditure in the outset of the work, two sections alone, not exceeding one thousand three hundred yards in length, and including the 'deep cut' of seventy-eight feet depth, costing one-third of the total expense of the first twelve miles, which however, notwithstanding this accumulation of expense on a particular point, will not average for graduation and bridging, more than seventeen thousand dollars a mile, though they include a viaduct of two hundred feet across the Patapsco. It was never anticipated by the Engineers that the graduation and bridging of this portion of the route could be executed for less than double the cost of any other equal distance of the whole route, so far as it has been examined, or indeed, as they confidently assert, throughout the whole extent between Baltimore and the Ohio. On the twelve miles next above Ellicotts' Mills, the graduating and bridging may be effected for one-fifth of the average cost per mile of the portion between these mills and Baltimore; and it is added that the entire cost of the twenty miles along the Patapsco above the mills, will not exceed that of half a mile at the deep cut already mentioned. The Engineers allege that the extraordinary cost of the few sections nearest to Baltimore, has arisen from circumstances wholly unlikely to recur on any future parts of the route.

Besides the great elevation adopted, it was determined, in order to avoid any inclined plane on this part of the route, to maintain a *level* from the city to the valley of the Patapsco; to which must be added the distance of the materials from some part of this section of the road (stone not being at hand, and timber procurable only through importation by water); and also the inexperience of the workmen, and the general want, and even ignorance, of the machinery and tools best adapted to road-making. In fine, however, the average cost of preparing the first forty miles for the reception of the rails, will not exceed eight thousand dollars a mile; and with the most liberal allowance for laying the road with double tracks, and completely fitting the rails for the reception of carriages, and the application of the moving power, the total cost per mile throughout that distance, is not expected to exceed seventeen thou-

sand dollars. The computed cost, we believe, at the inception of the enterprise, was twenty thousand dollars.

The contractors have commenced work on the section between Baltimore and Ellicotts' Mills, and are rapidly advancing. A part is already finished for the reception of the rails, and there is every reason to expect that the graduation and masonry of the whole of it, together with some farther portions, will be completed by the first of June next. The contracts, notwithstanding the shortness of the notice, were readily taken, at fair prices; and the improvements already introduced in the performance of the work, such as temporary railways for the removal of the earth, with others, will not only reduce the cost to the contractors, but will be beneficially felt in future contracts. Meanwhile, surveys are in progress, in order to a final location of the road. These have already been made on the principal points, as far up the valley of the Potomac as Cumberland.

The localities, through which the above surveys have been conducted, are found, so far as the surveys are complete, highly favorable to the structure of the road. The natural surface in the immediate vicinity of the route, is generally firm, and well adapted to its support. Quicksands never occur; the hills are never so abrupt as to require tunneling; and though the course of the road, in order to preserve a level, is necessarily serpentine, the distance on the most favorable routes is far less augmented than might be supposed. Cliffs and precipices sometimes present themselves; but none of such extent or difficulty as not to be overcome at an expense comparatively moderate. The necessary timber is found in most parts beyond the immediate vicinity of Baltimore; but locust, though it abounds in some places, is not generally near at hand. The valley of the Potomac, frequently bounded indeed by rugged precipices, passable only by means of artificial road-ways, cut into the cliffs, or supported by walls reared from the bed of the river, is for the most part, nevertheless, easy of passage. The rocky *débris* at the base of the river hills not only afford a foundation, but supply the materials for constructing the bed of the road at a cheap rate, as also for the numerous small bridges and culverts that will be required. Good building stone is found almost universally. Stone rails can be delivered on the route at the moderate price of eight cents the running foot; locust sleepers for the same purpose, at twenty-five cents each;

white or rock oak for much less; and yellow pine for three cents the running foot. The timber for the wooden bridges, necessary in a few places, may be procured for eight dollars the thousand feet. Brick clay of uncommon excellence is obtainable in every part of the country. It deserves a particular mention, that between Baltimore and Cumberland, a distance by the rail road of one hundred and eighty miles, there occurs but one point, namely, Parr's Spring Ridge, where resort to an inclined plane, with stationary power, is absolutely necessary; for though it may be found convenient to employ a small stationary power on entering the valley of the Potomac, and near Williamsport, it is by no means inevitable. A like instance is wholly unparalleled in the history of works of this nature. The elevation to be thus overcome at Parr's Spring Ridge, is about five hundred and fifty feet. We may add another circumstance of no small moment; that, as the downward trade between Baltimore and Cumberland is so vastly more bulky than the upward, the acclivity towards the west is not an obstacle, but so much actual power gained. It is, indeed, not only an advantage fully countervailing the partial use of stationary power, but is more propitious to the exchange of commodities between these two points, than a perfect level through the whole distance.

A very important point of construction, is the proper graduation of the road. If the trade on it travelled all one way, this would be simple enough. But as this is not the case, and as the bulk and weight of the commodities are very different in the downward and in the return trade, it is necessary, in order to the just employment of the moving power, to adapt the graduation, as nearly as may be, to the relative amount of transportation from Baltimore westward, and from the Ohio to Baltimore, respectively. The route which connects them may, as regards this view of the subject, be divided into two sections, of which the point of division is the extensive coal region near Cumberland, whence a great amount of that article may be expected to travel eastward, and very little westward. At the same time, large quantities of iron and marble will probably be carried westward, thus counterbalancing in a great degree the heavy produce conveyed eastward, and contributing to render the reciprocal traffic more equal on the western than the eastern section, on which last the principal articles carried upward, will be groceries, dry goods, and other commodities,

light in proportion to their value. To adjust the relative weight of the commodities thus exchanged, involves, it is manifest, some nice calculation. The Engineers have assumed, however, that every ton conveyed from Baltimore to Cumberland, will be equal in value to five tons in the opposite direction; and every ton from Cumberland to the Ohio, worth two tons the other way. Hence, were it possible, such a uniform inclination should be given to the road that a given power should be sufficient to propel on the eastern section, in addition to the carriage, an amount of tonnage in the direction of the heaviest trade, five times as great as in that of the lightest; and on the western section, double the amount. This indeed, from the varieties of surface, is impossible; and a more complicated system of graduation, having reference to the different localities, must be resorted to, on the basis, however, of the principle just described. There are three elements that enter into a calculation of this sort; the proportion spoken of between the outward and return transportation; the proportion of the weight of the carriage to that of its full load, which is estimated as one to three, that is, that a carriage weighing one ton may be made strong enough to convey three tons; and the ratio of the load to the propelling power, assumed to be one hundred and fifty to one, that is, that a traction of one pound will draw on a level rail road one hundred and fifty pounds. The result deduced from these *data* is, that the inclination of the road, ascending from Baltimore towards Cumberland, should be at the rate of 15·086 feet per mile; and of 8·12 feet per mile, ascending from Cumberland towards the Ohio. Tables accompany the Report, exhibiting the graduations conformable to these principles, and to the various localities occurring.

The road will be constructed in the following manner. The usual width of rail-tracks in England is about five feet *from out to out* of the rails, or four feet six inches between the rails, with the addition of one inch for play between the flanges of the wheels and the rails. The width of the Quincy railway is about five feet between the rails; that of the Mauch Chunk three feet and seven inches. On the present road, four feet six inches and a half are suggested for the width between the rails, half an inch of which is allowed for play between the rails and flanges. The width of each rail is proposed to be two inches and a quarter, making the aggregate width of the rail-track four feet and eleven inches. A double railway, of

course, requires double the width just mentioned, together with a space of at least two feet between the inner rails of the two tracks; making the width of the double railway twelve feet. The road-way, besides, should be formed outward from the tracks about three feet on each side, in order to give a firm support to the road. Thus, the entire width of the road will be eighteen feet, which will admit loads occupying a width of seven feet, to pass each other on the rail-tracks; and there must be added six feet and a half for every additional track, turn-out, or *viafuge;* which may be made at intervals not exceeding a mile. Two modes of construction are proposed; one applicable to situations affording a solid foundation; the other, where, embankments being necessary to form the bed of the road, much time will be required for its settling and consolidating.

The former consists in forming the bed on the natural surface, or excavating so as not to disturb its solidity; or by constructing the bed of stone, so as to make at once a stable foundation. The bed being prepared, trenches eighteen inches or two feet wide are to be formed for the reception of stone rails, resting on broken stone. The rubble stone is to be laid in the trenches to the depth of six or eight inches, and stone rails, three, six, or eight feet long, and twelve, fifteen, or eighteen inches broad, with a thickness of six or eight inches, (undressed except at the ends, which must be made to form a square juncture, at least at their upper edges,) are then to be laid edgewise in the trenches, and so adjusted as to bear fully and equably on the rubble stone. Paving stone, of the size proper for a *McAdamized* road, is then to be thrown into the trenches on both sides of the rails, and on the road-bed, to the entire width mentioned above, raising it nearly to the level of the upper edge of the rails. This pavement, by ramming and rolling, is then not only to be made solid, but impervious to water, which last is to be effected by the detrition of stone to fill the interstices; and the stone rails are then to be dressed on their upper surface, to the width of about two inches and a half, in exact conformity to the plane of the road. To these are to be applied plate rails of wrought iron, from eight to twelve feet long, two inches and a quarter wide, and half an inch thick, confined by iron rivets. To obviate the effects of the expansion and contraction of the metal, the rivet holes are to have an elliptical form. Scuppers for draining the water will

be formed at intervals of three or four hundred yards, and bridged by iron plates. In situations where a temporary structure is advisable, wooden sleepers will be substituted for the trenches. These will be laid transversely to the road, at distances corresponding to the length of the rails, and furnished with notches for wooden rails of oak, hard pine or chestnut, faced with iron plates as before, and connected by ties extending across the road. The spaces between the sleepers are to be filled with rubble stone or gravel, so as to form a road-bed. When the embankments settle, and the wood shall have decayed, stone rails will be substituted, after the mode first described.

Some particulars taken from the Engineers' Report, will show the various impediments occuring in the construction of a rail road, and in what manner it is designed to overcome them. The first are the undulations of the surface. It is a principle, that horizontal flexures are admissible, but that vertical ones are to be avoided; that is, that a serpentine road is better than one of alternate ascents and descents. But to preserve the same plane, the inequalities of surface must be avoided either by making a circuit round them, or by deep cuts, embankments, or bridges leading across them. Several obvious considerations render the first of these preferable at this time, and it is accordingly recommended by the Engineers, more especially on account of the facility which railways afford of making improvements in both their location and construction at any subsequent period. The subject of curvatures in these roads seems seldom, say the Engineers, to have attracted the notice of writers upon them. Any curvature whatever must necessarily be a defect, because, in addition to the increase of distance, there arises, from the difference of the length of curve in the interior and exterior rails, a sort of longitudinal sliding, or friction equal to that of dragging half the load without wheels through a distance equal to the difference spoken of. It is believed, however, that this difficulty may be almost entirely obviated by a different construction of carriages from that now in use. In Great Britain curvatures are frequently met with, of a radius not exceeding three hundred, or even two hundred and fifty feet. The former is the least radius of curvature at Quincy; the least at Mauch Chunk is four hundred and thirty-seven feet. The surveys of the experimental lines on the present road have been conducted on the assumption that no curvature with a radius of less than four hundred feet is

admissible. Another impediment in construction is the passage of ravines and water-courses, which must be effected either by culverts or bridges. Here the culverts are to be of stone, with a span not exceeding ten feet; those of six feet and upwards, to be formed of abutments and arches constructed in the usual manner; and those of less span, like the Gothic culverts on the national road west of Wheeling. The bridges will be built of yellow pine, resting on stone abutments; the mode of construction that of Burr. Wooden bridges are preferred, their first cost being so much less than that of stone bridges, that the interest on the additional capital required for the latter is sufficient to keep those of wood in complete repair. Stone bridges are more liable to injury from frost, the dilapidating effects of which are unavoidable in the climate of the country to be traversed by the railway. Derangements in the line of the road, occasioned by the settling of the abutments and piers, can be more easily rectified when the bridges are of wood; and the necessary repairs more readily made, and with less obstruction to the transportation.

That the Allegany ridge can be crossed by any road of this nature without serious impediments from the abrupt slopes and precipices of that region, is of course not to be expected. The most formidable of these are the steep and rocky river-banks, which often present perpendicular fronts of great height, while their bases are washed by copious streams, occasionally swelling into torrents. To the difficulty of forming the road-bed in such situations, must be added that of securing it from avalanches of earth and stones, which can be effected by hardly any other means than by increasing its width. Side walls, of greater or less height, must be erected for the support of the road, and a broad drain formed between it and the hill-side, for the reception of the earth and stones that may be detached from the latter. A yet greater difficulty is to raise the road above the reach of freshets, and secure it from violent currents of water. Over low grounds, often inundated, it must be conducted at a considerable elevation; and along precipitous slopes, against which the currents, in high water, impinge with violence, strong walls of heavy stones must be built on the bed of the stream, and raised beyond the utmost height of freshets ranging often from ten to forty feet.

But the greatest impediments of all are such hills and mountains as are of too great extent and elevation either to be trav-

ersed by a deep cut, or perforated by a tunnel. In ascents where part of the gravity of the load must be overcome in addition to the friction, the power required for locomotion must be increased in proportion to the angle of ascent; in descents, again, where there is an excess of gravitation beyond the friction, the too rapid descent of the load must be prevented by suitable *brakes* or *convoys*. In respect, also, to the former, the advantage of a railway over an ordinary turnpike road decreases with the increase of the angle of ascent; and when the descent exceeds an angle of three degrees, brakes attached to the carriage will not adequately retard the descent, and stationary brakes and convoys must be resorted to. The expense of overcoming ascents will of course vary with their height, except where adequate water-power is attainable; that of descending involves only the cost of suitable convoys, and of conveying down the motive power. That cost would be considerable if horses were employed; but could be avoided by stationary machines, whether moved by water, steam, or horses.

In regard to the latter power, the Engineers' Report contains the following estimates. The force or traction of a horse, moving at the rate of two miles an hour during ten hours of the day, is commonly computed to be equal to one hundred and twelve pounds. When the daily duration of his labor is less than ten hours, the degree of traction will be proportionably greater, till it amounts to about two hundred pounds; and so, when his movements are accelerated beyond two miles an hour, it will be proportionably diminished. A horse therefore, moving two miles an hour, will communicate a force twice as great as when he moves four miles; or the number of horses requisite to propel a given load, must be doubled when the speed is doubled. This rule, however, is applicable only to velocities beyond that at which a horse can exercise his full strength to the greatest advantage, namely, two miles an hour. A somewhat analogous reasoning, it is added, is applicable to ascents where a portion of the horse's gravity forms a part of his load; and when the angle of ascent equals eight degrees, his power, over and above what is necessary to his own progress, vanishes altogether. However seemingly discordant these conclusions with common experience, they must, says the Report, be taken into account in every question as to the application of animal power. Again, if steam power be employed, its effect on the load will be in direct proportion to the velocity, and, in contrast with

animal labor, affords the following results. A steam power equivalent to that of one horse *actually hitched*, or a traction of one hundred and twelve pounds, and moving at the rate of four miles an hour, will be equal to that of two horses moving at the same rate; and the same steam power, with a velocity of eight miles an hour, will be equivalent to that of four horses laboring in a manner to produce the greatest useful effect.

It appears, when steam is employed, that the quantity of coal requisite for surmounting heights, is at the rate of one pound per ton for every 35·2 feet of elevation, in addition to what may be required for any given distance forward. It is not doubted that water power may often be advantageously substituted for stationary steam power on the route of the intended road. Coal will be abundant, as the road itself passes through districts where it is inexhaustible, and of the best quality. The use of locomotive engines is likely, we believe, to be recommended by considerations of both rapidity and economy in the carriage. The engineers who, as will be seen, have recently been sent out to England, will collect everything new on this subject; and, in the mean time, the road is so constructed as to allow of the employment of either horse or steam power. But we must quit these details, concluding with the remark of the Engineers, that while they have no reason to question the justness of the views they have given on these various subjects, they cannot pretend that their opinions are fully matured, and will be wholly sustained by future experience. A wide, and comparatively new field of investigation is to be explored. The Board of Directors, under this conviction, despatched, in October last, to England, Captain McNeill, of the United States' Engineers, Mr Knight, civil engineer, and Lieutenant Whistler, also of the United States' Engineers, to possess themselves of accurate information respecting all recent improvements in the construction of rail roads, and the application of moving power upon them, so as to complete their work in a manner the most economical and efficient. It is their purpose, on the return of these gentlemen, to prosecute their enterprise on a still more enlarged scale.

We have incidentally mentioned some of the productions of the country which is to be traversed by the road, when speaking of the materials of its construction. These must also become articles of trade, in the event of its completion. Nature seems to pursue a kind of compensatory system in depositing

her greatest mineral wealth where the surface is most rugged. The marble, the lime, the slate, the lumber, &c. of this region, only want convenient access to market in order to become highly valuable. Inexhaustible beds of iron ore, already worked to a considerable extent, have been found on all the routes examined for the road; and when there shall be a facility of transportation both for the coal used in its preparation, and the commodity when manufactured, this branch of industry must be greatly augmented. So abundant is the coal, and so easily procurable, in the vicinity of Cumberland, that it is used for fuel in places where the timber lies rotting on the soil. Its fitness for the manufacture of iron has been tried with success. To the point where this most important mineral is found so abundantly, there seems no reason to doubt the quick and easy construction of the road; and the results to Baltimore must necessarily be important. On this part of the subject it must be added, that the region on and contiguous to the Potomac and its waters, is highly agricultural, and already abundant in the wealth of the soil. Ellicotts' Mills, so often mentioned in describing the course of the road, is a flourishing village, on the Patapsco, which affords a large water power. Important manufactures exist at this spot, which contains a population of one thousand five hundred souls. But the road once opened to the Ohio, the products of that vast and fertile region must inevitably swell the trade of the rail road to a vast amount. A sense of their interest in the present undertaking has awakened the attention of the whole country along the route, and caused the actual or promised donation of the land necessary for the road, through the greater part of its course. An actual cession, without charge, of the necessary quantity has been made on that part of the line under contract, as also the right of quarrying for stone. The Company are assured that a similar disposition generally prevails on the route between Ellicotts' Mills and the Potomac. From the point where the road intersects that river, as far as Cumberland, they already hold deeds or full relinquishments at nearly all the important points.

The present stock of the Company is four millions of dollars, of which the state of Maryland and the Corporation of Baltimore hold each half a million. The talent and experience which have been employed, give assurance that this fund is not likely to be thrown away in an idle and fruitless scheme. The Company possess, in Philip E. Thomas, Esq. of Balti-

more, a very active and efficient president. Their board of Engineers consists of Colonel Long, J. Knight, Esq., and Captain McNeill. Dr Howard, of the United States' Engineers was engaged in the *reconnaissance* and preliminary surveys on which the first report of the Engineers is founded; and the Engineer Department liberally gave the assistance of a number of the officers of the army. The Superintendent is Casper Weaver, Esq. Arrangements are making to complete forthwith the construction of the first twelve miles of the road, and place carriages on them, that there may be a return to the Company on its expended stock with the least possible delay. There are at present about two thousand laborers engaged on the road. The Directors assure the stockholders of their unabated confidence of success; and that, with a judicious application of their funds, they shall achieve the timely completion of a road that will secure the utmost facility of intercourse between Baltimore and the Ohio.

Art. X.—1. *History of the States of Antiquity.* From the German of A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of History in Göttingen, and Member of the Royal French Academy of Inscriptions. 1 vol. 8vo. Northampton, Mass., and New York. 1828.

2. *History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies, from the Discovery of America to the Independence of the American Continent.* From the German of A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of History in Göttingen, and Member of the Royal French Academy of Inscriptions. 2 vols. 8vo. Northampton, Mass., and New York. 1828.

Although the name of the translator of these works does not appear upon the titlepage, and accordingly is not placed at the head of this article, yet we do not scruple to make use of it here, in order that our readers may be assured, from the first, that the work is executed by an accomplished hand. Besides, the translation does not claim to be anonymous, and we are justified in the license we take, if it be a license, by the fact that the name of Mr Bancroft is affixed to the Preface; a gen-

tleman to whom the lovers of learning have long felt under obligations, for the various exertions he has made to introduce the knowledge of German literature among us. Of this literature we have never entertained but one opinion, and that is, that the hours, which the scholar devotes to it, are among the most delightful and profitable of his life. We rejoice, therefore, that the necessity of translations is every day growing less, by increased facilities for acquiring the language. Among these, one which deserves especially to be mentioned, is an admirable German Grammar, lately prepared by Dr Charles Follen, of Harvard University, of which we regret that it would here be out of place to speak more at large.

If the work before us were a translation from any other department of literature than history, we should admit the objections commonly urged against translations, in their utmost extent. The works of imagination come to us, through the medium of a foreign tongue, disrobed of half their native attractions. They wither under the influence of the translator's pen, like plants transferred from their proper soil, or beauties carried to an ungenial clime. But history feels this blighting influence slightly, if at all. The historian does not address our fancy, but our reason, and reason has little regard to the outward appearance. If the language be correct and perspicuous, truth, which is the historian's single aim, requires no more. The style of narrative is nearly the same in every language, and Heeren speaks through the medium of a translation, in nearly the same manner as in his native dialect. The only reason, therefore, why we should have preferred an original work of equal merit with the one before us, instead of a translation, is that our national pride would have been gratified, in claiming the author of such a performance for our countryman.

It is certainly a subject of regret that, in a country which has furnished such ample and interesting materials for history as ours, so little should have been done by our countrymen to illustrate them. The thought is indeed humiliating, that the best history which has yet appeared of our glorious Revolution, should have been the production of a foreigner. But we deem it a subject of still deeper regret, that so little provision is made in our systems of education, for the study of history. Our public seminaries have almost totally neglected it. The oldest and the most amply endowed institution in the land, has no professorship of history. Under these circumstances, we

cannot wonder, however much we may regret, that the United States have produced no distinguished historians. Our Humes and our Gibbons must be self-taught geniuses, or a radical change must be made in systems of instruction.

It is not our intention to enter into an elaborate argument in favor of the study of history. It would seem that few men could require any other motive, provided external circumstances throw no obstacle in the way, than that which their own bosoms furnish, in the strong and universal feeling of curiosity implanted there. In the complete abstraction of all views of utility, one might suppose that the mere thirst for knowledge would bring men to the sweet fountains of history, and that the more copiously they drank, the more earnestly they would long to come and drink again. And if ever this intellectual spur should cease to prove sufficient, we should look with confidence to the aid of that all-pervading sympathy, which men feel in the interests of their race. This would bring them to search in history, as the great biography and obituary of nations, for the records of what man has already done and suffered. And as the light of the past sends its rays into the future, the same expansive feeling, running forward, as well as backward, would once more bring them to history, for the means of predicting the lot of succeeding ages.

But another motive, of a higher character than any we have mentioned, is a love of truth. What Lord Bacon has said of this most exalted attribute of intellectual beings, will not be deemed extravagant. 'Truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it; the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it; and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it; is the sovereign good of human nature.' This is the language of one who was as competent to judge concerning truth, as ever mortal was; and none will question his sincerity, who thinks of the labyrinths of subtilty and sophistry, through which *he* was compelled to seek this 'sovereign good.'

But here perhaps we shall be charged with taking for granted what requires to be proved; namely, that truth is to be found in history. We should dislike to incur the imputation of credulity, but, though it be at the hazard of this, we must confess that we do not belong to that class of skeptics, who from Horace Walpole downward, have taken delight in assailing the credibility of historians. The author of 'Historic

Doubts' may have been sincere in his unbelief, and not less so his renowned father, Sir Robert Walpole; of whom it is somewhere related, that when, in his last illness, he was asked if he would have some book of history read to him, he answered, 'No; it was now too late to be amused with works of fiction.' But such sneers as these never prove anything. If they did, where would our belief in Christianity now be? No doubt they exercise an influence upon the opinions of many men; but if they do, it is only because a sneer cannot be refuted, otherwise than by a sneer; and the advocates of truth disdain such means of defence.

The whole tribe of skeptics in history seem to have acted upon the maxim, that every historian should be deemed a liar, until it is proved that he tells the truth. Now this, to say the least, is very disingenuous dealing. For it is easier to doubt the truth of a hundred narratives, than to establish, by proof, independent of the testimony of the historian, the truth of one. Thus the contest is far from being waged on equal terms; for to doubt is level to the capacity of every one, but to believe and justify belief often requires the highest wisdom. Nor is such skepticism disingenuous only; we believe that it is also unphilosophical. The maxim by which our historic faith is regulated, is directly the reverse of the one just mentioned. We hold it reasonable to confide in the veracity of the historian, until evidence be found to convict him of falsehood. If a narrative, purporting to be true, carries strong marks of improbability upon the face of it; or if it be contradicted by other more weighty and independent testimony; then we would withhold our belief; for belief under such circumstances would be worse than credulity. But when neither of these causes of disbelief exists, we are contented to rest our faith upon the bare assertion of the historian. For, on the one hand, we cannot perceive what possible inducement he can have to deceive posterity; and we do not believe than any man will forego the solid satisfaction there is in uttering what is true, unless he is under some immediate and powerful temptation to the contrary. But, on the other hand, we can perceive motives in favor of truth, which, if moral considerations be not a dream, must operate upon the historian with peculiar force. If he be worthy of his high employment, he must feel at the moment he is writing, that the accounts he gives may determine the belief of millions yet unborn; and that too, in relation to the most

momentous events with which mankind are concerned; to the origin, the growth, and the downfall of empires; in one word, to all that rises and all that disappears, as destiny's vast wheel rolls over the nations. Upon such themes as these, and under such responsibility, we cannot easily be brought to believe that historians will trifle with truth.

Let it not, however, be supposed from what we have said, that we lay an equal stress upon the narratives of all historians indiscriminately. In our view, the best commentary upon a historian's works, is the history of his own life. Without questioning his veracity, we still require some knowledge of his means and opportunities, before we yield him our implicit confidence. Accordingly we regard the Memoirs of Gibbon, written by himself, and accompanying his history, as operating like a letter of credit with posterity; at the same time that it affords the reader as rich a banquet of amusement and instruction, as he can anywhere find within the same compass. The same may be observed of that beautiful miniature, which Hume sketched of himself in the last days of his life.

Those who agree with us in the sentiments just expressed, will hear with pleasure, that Heeren has not left us ungratified in this particular. Under the form of a letter to a friend, prefixed to the first volume of his works, we have an agreeable account of the whole course of his studies. It is written with peculiar modesty, and constantly impresses the reader with a conviction, that he claims far less than he deserves. As this letter, so far as we know, has never been translated into English, and as the author is an ardent admirer of our institutions, as well as one of the most distinguished scholars of the age, we trust that a brief abstract of his life will not be unacceptable to the readers of this journal. Besides we know not how we can better commend his history to the extensive circulation which it merits, than by exhibiting the unwearied labor and vast research, by which the author prepared himself to write it.

Arnold Herrmann Lewis Heeren, was born in Arbergen, a small village near Bremen, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1760. He was born in the same house, in which Dr Olbers, the celebrated discoverer of Pallas and Vesta, was born three years before. Two special advantages attended his birth, for which he always expressed gratitude to the Author of his being. One was, that he belonged to that happy mediocrity of rank, which is equally removed from the pressure of poverty

and the temptations of superfluity. The other, that he inherited a constitution so sound and vigorous, that, during a period of sixty-eight years, his labors have hardly been twice interrupted by a transient disease. His first fifteen years were passed at Arbergen, where his father was settled as a preacher. The first instruction he received was in Latin and geometry, and was given by his father, who was himself a distinguished scholar. Soon, however, the official labors of his father made it necessary to employ private instructers, one of whom, namely Hasselmann, is mentioned with gratitude, as the man who first excited in the future historian a fondness for history. This fondness soon became so great, that nothing could find favor with him, which did not come in the form of narrative; though as yet he had not learned to discriminate between fiction and truth. Robinson Crusoe had now greater charms than Nepos; but it was in reading a translation of Paradise Lost, and following Satan in his passage through the boundless void, that his mind first caught a glimpse of the grand and sublime. As might be expected from the circumstances of his family, his mind, during this period, was deeply imbued with religious impressions.

'I had learned,' he says, 'that the prayers of the pious never rise unheard. An inundation of the Weser threatened to destroy the dikes; on my knees I prayed that it might not happen, and they were saved. Could I doubt that my prayer was the cause? This was harmless, for I was yet too young for religious vanity. But I have learned from experience how circumspect parents and teachers should be in their religious instruction. The words that were read to me before my confirmation, "Whosoever eateth and drinketh unworthily," etc. threw me into most fearful consternation and perplexity.'

At the age of fifteen, his father being called to officiate in the cathedral at Bremen, he entered the first class in the cathedral-school in that city. Of his progress in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, while at this school, he speaks disparagingly. But every Saturday morning two hours were given to a Latin disputation, which to Heeren was worth more than all his other exercises. We shall translate his own words.

'That was my field. Now as opponent, and now as respondent, I was always upon the arena; and soon I made such progress, that, lover of peace as you are wont to call me, there were few who would venture to contend with me. These exercises were afterwards continued without interruption at the University. And if

there be clearness in my ideas, or fluency in my discourse, to them especially I owe it; and I bless the hours which I devoted to them.'

Heeren's mind was precisely of that sagacious and inquisitive character to be benefited by the change from a quiet country village to an enterprising commercial city. Nothing escaped his notice. Till now he had been entirely destitute of that kind of miscellaneous information, which floats, as it were, upon the surface of society. Whatever related to commerce he seized with avidity; and the world, which had before appeared to be composed of insulated tribes and nations, now presented itself to his mind as one great family, whose members mutually supply each other's wants. How little did the future historian of commerce foresee the purpose to which this knowledge was to be applied! But there was another subject of still higher interest, concerning which he was now to receive his first impressions. The American Revolution had just commenced. Bremen felt its influence more perhaps than any other city in Europe. The great questions of liberty and equality were agitated in the circles where our young philosopher was introduced. From the first he embraced the liberal side, and has ever since shown himself the uniform advocate of political liberty. That which was at first only the generous sentiment of a fervent spirit, became matured, by subsequent study and reflection, into a governing principle of thought and action. Would you estimate its effect upon the historian? Then compare the picture of Greece, in the days of her glory, as sketched by Heeren, glowing with admiration of her free institutions, with the dark caricature of Mitford, who abominated the very name of a republic.

The period had now arrived for entering the University. In 1779, at the age of nineteen, he went to Göttingen, with the design of studying theology. If we admit his own statement, his knowledge of the languages was so limited, that he was in danger of profiting little by his first half year. But chance brought him to the lecture-room of Heyne, the man who, in every respect, had the greatest influence upon his future life. Heyne was then delivering his celebrated lectures upon Grecian antiquities, and under their influence the taste of Heeren at once took a new direction. Without immediately renouncing all thoughts of theology, he yet resolved to make himself a profound Greek scholar. He commenced with the Odyssey, at

the same time reading portions of Plato and Plutarch. 'With the Lexicon on one side, and the Grammar on the other,' to use his own words, 'he mastered every difficulty.' In less than four months, he obtained permission to try his skill in a critical interpretation of one of the choruses in Seneca the Tragedian. Heyne listened to him for an hour, without making more than one suggestion; and then encouraged him by the laconic but expressive remark, 'That promises something.'

Next to Heyne, Spittler was the man, who, by his conversation and his lectures on political history, exerted the most decided influence upon the mind of Heeren. He wanted a model of historic style and method. He found one in Spittler; and far above the pityful vanity of attributing everything to himself, he was forward to confess on every occasion, how much Spittler had done for him. His method of reading history, which he now commenced in its original sources, he thus describes.

'For each period, the leading author was laid down as a basis, and excerpts were made in a chronological order. At the same time, other authors treating of the same subject were read, and the variations noted in parallel columns. I still believe that this is the best method for beginning the study.'

During his last academic year, Heeren lived in the world of poetry. Heyne's lectures had created in him a passion for the Greek poets. His proficiency in this department is evinced by the fact, that at the instance of Heyne, he undertook and executed, during this year, a collection of the fragments of Grecian Lyrics, which must have required him to examine nearly all the writings of the Grammarians, Scholiasts, and Rhetoricians.

The time had now come, when a decision respecting his future course of life must be made. Through the influence of a professor whose esteem he had gained, a diplomatic office was offered him in Switzerland, with a good salary, an allowance for travelling expenses, and a future pension. He had resolved to accept it; but a letter from a sister, whom he almost idolized, suggesting the difficulty of returning contentedly from the splendor in which he would live, to a quiet and contemplative life, made him waver in his purpose. Heyne's advice was, 'Refuse it; in the end it amounts to nothing, and what can be wanting to you here?' This decided him to remain at Göttingen. Accordingly he took his degree as Doctor of Philosophy and Arts, and prepared to commence his course as private lecturer. In

order to succeed in this, it was necessary to do something which should call the attention of the literati to him, and the question was what he should undertake. Philological criticism never had any peculiar charms for him, and yet this was the point of view, in which it was now for his interest to show himself to the public. Accordingly he summoned up resolution enough to appear as a critic and annotator. While preparing his collection of fragments before mentioned, he had the rare fortune to meet with the work of a Greek rhetorician, *Menander upon Panegyric*, which had never been touched by a critic's hand, and which had the further recommendation of an exceedingly corrupted text. With all despatch, he prepared it for publication. The publisher to whom he carried his manuscript, had never heard of such a man as Menander the Rhetorician, and the answer he gave was, 'Child, nobody reads that.' However, since they were friends, and since Heeren asked nothing for the manuscript, the work appeared in due form. The author adds that, 'as Menander had no very great claims to remembrance, he may think himself fortunate to have found even such a commentator.'

The sweets of literary toil, Heeren had for a long time enjoyed. He was now to learn, for the first time, that even these are not without their bitter intermixtures. Severe application had produced a debilitated frame of body, and this, by reason of that secret sympathy between body and mind, which all feel so sensibly though none can explain it, began to affect the tone of his spirits. Though naturally of a lively temperament, he felt an unavoidable gloom gathering round his mind, and threatening to settle down into a sullen melancholy. To prevent this disastrous effect, by removing the cause, and at the same time to extend his acquaintance with mankind, he resolved to travel. A legacy left him by a distant relation, came most opportunely to supply him with the means. Another lucky accident gave him a specific object to be accomplished by his tour. An old companion of his studies had returned from Spain, and brought with him a copy of the writings of Stobæus, which he presented to Heeren. Of this work there were only six copies extant, and these were to be sought in the libraries of Austria, Italy, France, and Holland. A careful collation of these promised a rich harvest of additions and emendations.

Accordingly, the direction as well as purpose of his travels being thus defined, he left Göttingen in July, 1785. Time will

not permit us to accompany him in this interresting tour, nor to speak of the many illustrious men, with whom he formed acquaintance, and often intimate friendship. His visit to the queen of cities was the longest and the most delightful. In studying and admiring the wonders of art, in contemplating the awful majesty of ruin, and in visiting the places which were hallowed in his classic recollections, seven months flitted away like an exquisite dream. It was here that he met with Cardinal Borgia, one of those lofty spirits, who, while on earth, seem below their proper sphere. From the moment of their introduction, they were most intimate friends. A father could not have been more kind, nor a lover more fond. Heeren had access to him at all times, and always left him with regret. He ranks him among the venerated few, who have exerted a decided influence upon his character, and has always considered him the most perfect mortal he has had the felicity to know. To tear himself from such a friend was a far more painful effort, than to look for the last time on the beauty and grandeur of Rome. With their separation commenced a frequent correspondence which ended only with the death of Borgia in 1804, while on his way to attend the coronation of Napoleon. We must not omit to mention, that while at Rome, Heeren had an opportunity of requiting the attentions of the Cardinal, and at the same time of bringing into use his knowledge of Grecian literature and antiquities, by writing two elaborate essays upon two of the most remarkable specimens of sculpture in Borgia's collection.

In June, 1787, after visiting Naples, Florence, Leyden, and Paris, he returned to Göttingen, and in August received an appointment as Professor extraordinary of Philosophy. A new and a difficult career was now opened to him. In a university where free competition makes the support of every professor depend solely upon his own merits, and where most of the chairs were filled by veterans of long established fame, he was to create for himself a reputation. During the first two years, he gave lectures to a small circle of hearers, upon the history of belles-lettres, upon Roman antiquities, and upon Tacitus and Sallust. In 1790, he delivered his first course upon ancient history and geography, which has since been repeated every term without interruption. One would suppose that he could have found little time for other literary pursuits; yet he informs us that he was, at the same time, associate editor of the

"Library of Ancient Literature and Art." * Nor is this all; for in 1792, after immense labor in comparing and correcting, he published the first volume of his work entitled, *Johannis Stobæi Eclogarum Physicarum et Ethicarum Libri Duo, etc.*, which he dedicated to Cardinal Borgia. As soon as it came out, he sent a copy to one of the most respectable literary journals, but not the slightest notice was taken of it. He could not help feeling chagrined at this neglect, but it led him to form a resolution, which he ever afterwards kept, namely, to leave his works to their fate and never trouble himself about their circulation. His subsequent success proves the rule, in his case at least, to have been a good one.

Heeren's experience in preparing Stobæus made his conviction stronger than before, that mere verbal criticism was not a department congenial with his disposition. He required a wider range, and one where his heart as well as head could be engaged. We have already mentioned his early fondness for history. This passion had increased with age, and he now resolved to make historical investigation the primary occupation of his future life. Hereafter, then, we are to survey him in the dignified character of a historian. We have seen what seeds he had sown, and we are now to learn what were their fruits.

That he might commence as far back as there were lights to guide him in his researches, he examined with laborious fidelity all the original sources of our knowledge of Asia and Africa, considered in a historical, commercial, and political point of view. The result of his inquiries appeared in a work entitled *Reflections on the Politics, Intercourse, and Commerce of the Chief Nations of Antiquity*, the first volume in 1793, the second in 1796. The universal applause with which this first historical effort was greeted, the more grateful as following the neglect of Stobæus, was more than a compensation for the years of toil it had cost him. Of the general merits of this work, the American public may judge from the portion selected and translated by Mr Bancroft in 1824, under the title of *Politics of Ancient Greece.* We shall only add, that had his labors terminated here, posterity would have hailed him as a benefactor, and assigned him an exalted place among profound and sagacious historians.

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* Bibliothek der alten Literatur und Kunst.

It now seemed that but two additions could be made to the felicity of Heeren's condition. In describing the first, we shall translate his own words. "About this time a change took place in my domestic state. A daughter of the man to whom I already owed so much, the eldest daughter of Heyne, by his second wife, became the companion of my life. She has forbidden me to speak much of her, but thus much I will venture to say to you; that the twenty-second of April, 1796, was the day of the commencement of unsullied domestic happiness, which has been mine for twenty-five years." The other change above alluded to was in his connexion with the university. In 1799 he was appointed Professor of History. This was the summit of his wishes, and the measure of his happiness was full. Previously, however, to this appointment, it should be mentioned that he wrote a *History of Classic Literature in the Middle Ages*, which forms the fourth and fifth volumes of a work undertaken by an association of literary gentlemen, under the auspices and editorship of Eichhorn, entitled *A History of the Arts and Sciences.*

In 1799, soon after his appointment to the professorship of history, Heeren gave to the world the work on ancient history, whose title is placed first at the head of this article. He had been lecturing for nine years upon the subjects of which it treats, and had gone up to the fountain-head for all his information. It embodies, therefore, the results of his researches during this long period, and if the certainty that a writer has had ample time, ability, and opportunity to collect and elaborate his materials well, be any recommendation of a work before examination, this work possesses that advantage in its fullest extent. Of its particular merits we shall speak hereafter.

The interval that elapsed between 1799 and 1809 was occupied, besides his regular duties as professor, in collecting and arranging the materials of the work, whose title is placed second at the head of this article. At the time of its appearance, Europe was groaning under the fetters of Napoleon. This circumstance operated to give the book a rapid circulation. Why it should thus operate, will be readily conceived by those who consider how much more fairly mankind appreciate the blessings of which they are deprived, than those which they enjoy. This history professed to be a delineation of the political relations of kingdoms and states independent of each other. That independence was now nearly swallowed up in

the despotic rule of a single individual. From its loss men began to feel its value, and accordingly they seized with avidity the work which developed its beneficial effects. The first numerous impression was exhausted within a year. The second edition came out in 1811. The third, by reason of numerous pirated impressions, was not called for till 1819. Meantime Napoleon's career had terminated, and the chains of Europe were broken. This gave the author an opportunity of adding to this edition, an account of the restoration of those political relations, whose origin and progress he had before described.

Upon all the subjects hitherto mentioned, Heeren had been lecturer as well as author, and the number of his hearers had increased every year. But we have not yet seen the whole compass embraced by his lectures. He gave each year a course upon Statistics, in which he placed before his hearers, not a bare collection of tables exhibiting numbers instead of things, but a philosophical view of the organization, resources, and economy of nations. His fundamental idea was that nations are to be regarded, not as inanimate machines, but as a kind of moral beings; and accordingly, that it is as absurd to apply to them the rigorous results of numerical calculation, as it would be to apply to the movements and the conduct of individual men, the laws which regulate inert matter. In conformity with this idea, he first analysed government into its distinctive forms, and then illustrated the nature and operations of each by a living example. For the representative of a monarchy with a free constitution and free administration, he chose Great Britain; France represented a monarchy free in its constitution, but arbitrary in its administration; Russia, a monarchy arbitrary both in its constitution and administration; and the United States, a federative republic founded in the sovereignty of the people. To these forms, thus illustrated, all others were referred; and then it only remained to treat of the different nations in detail. Of these lectures nothing has yet been published.

Another course of lectures illustrated the kindred subjects of Geography and Ethnography. Heeren considered these as among the most useful which he gave, though not the most interesting, either to the lecturer or the hearer. Their chief object was, not so much a particular description of each separate division of the globe, as a general survey of the materials of which the known nations of the earth are composed, and of

the limits of our knowledge concerning them and their places of abode. We shall close this account of Heeren as a lecturer, with observing that he made it an invariable rule never to enter the lecture-room until he had placed the train of ideas distinctly before his mind; but the language was left to the suggestions of the moment. The only use he made of notes was to assist him in remembering names and dates. He believed that the hearers could not be interested, unless the speaker evinced a deep feeling of what he uttered; and he could not conceive how this was possible in the cold and mechanical method of reading from manuscripts.

If, to what has now been related, we add the labors which resulted from his connexion with literary and scientific associations, we shall have taken a view of all the grounds upon which Heeren's literary reputation rests. These consist of fifteen or sixteen essays on various subjects, published in the Transactions of the Scientific Society of Göttingen; together with numerous tracts in that department which was peculiarly his own, namely, inquiries into the authority of the most distinguished historians and geographers of antiquity. He was a member of many foreign associations, but never contributed to their transactions, except in a single instance. He wrote upon the prize question proposed by the French National Institute, in 1808, on the *Consequences of the Crusades.*

We shall now close this sketch of Heeren's life by translating a single paragraph.

'My poetical vein was nearly exhausted in my youth, but not my fondness for poetry. This, in my old age, is still as fresh as ever. But the compass of my favorite poetical reading has been exceedingly narrow. My taste was formed upon the great models of antiquity; and whether they, or the authors of Iphigenia, of Oberon, and of Piccolomini, or both together, have spoiled me, I cannot say; but I confess that I cannot see how it is possible to place by the side of these, such works as put the hair rather than the heart in motion, and which, though in the phrase of the critics they are "well spoken of," are soon destined to be utterly forgotten. French poetry has never pleased me so much as French prose. Shakspeare I know more from translations than from the original, for that language was early rendered disgusting to me by the man who taught it. I have read the Italians much, and with me Tasso still continues to be the prince of modern epic poets. The great masters of history and eloquence have occupied me most, but I never felt capable of making an individual of them

a model, if I had wished it. Rhetorical pomp never made any impression upon me, but I was almost overwhelmed with the simple grandeur of the eloquence of William Pitt the younger. From all, I have derived one special rule, which is, to express my thoughts as naturally as possible, and so clearly and precisely, that no one can mistake my meaning. In the formation of my style, I have aimed to be neither artificially refined nor carelessly negligent. To the rigid *purists* I do not belong. To reject from our language all the foreign words in general circulation, would in my view impoverish it; and in one who writes upon political subjects, it would be stiffness and affectation. The end of my wishes and endeavors has been to write, not merely for the schools, but for the enlightened public. To do both at once is difficult. The art of not saying much that one might say, an art rare in our literature, is the first requisite.'

Thus, in a few pages, we have run over a long, a crowded, and an honorable life. We shall make no apology for this digression from the immediate subject of review; for we consider the example of such men as Heeren nearly as valuable to mankind as their works. They are glorious illustrations of a truth, which if it could gain universal credence, would change the moral aspect of the world, namely, that unwearied labor conquers all things. But it is time that we turn from Heeren's life, to a more particular consideration of the works which in Mr Bancroft's translation are laid before the public.

Our first remark is, that though admirably adapted for text-books in the study of history, and perhaps primarily designed to be so used, they are at the same time worthy of a place in every man's library, as most convenient books of reference. We never remember to have seen so much important information brought into so small a compass. Before entering upon the history of each nation, the author enumerates the original sources from which his own knowledge was obtained, and then annexes a list of all the distinguished authors who have written on the same subject, with the titles of their works. Sometimes, also, Heeren gives in a few words his opinion of the authors cited; and this will pass for no slight merit with those who consider the multitude of books which go under the name of history, and who believe, as we do, that no man living was better qualified to make a judicious selection. For these reasons we feel assured that even the adept in history, when he has examined these volumes, will not be willing to be without them.

Next in value to the actual possession of information, may justly be reckoned a knowledge of the places and the works where that information is to be found. It is a kind of map to the literary traveller, which saves him from many a devious wandering.

There is another excellence not common in histories, and therefore the more to be praised. We refer to the strict attention always paid to geographical limits. In the ancient history particularly, we find the boundaries uniformly marked out with scrupulous accuracy, before entering upon the regular history. It cannot be necessary to remark how intimately our recollection of events is associated with the place where they happened. Every one feels this truth, and acts upon it. Gibbon informs us that he never thought of studying the history of a country, until he had first ascertained whatever could be known of its position; and we can readily believe this, having always been struck, in reading his history, with the astonishing minuteness of his geographical knowledge.

After the sketch we have given of Heeren's life, it is almost superfluous to say that he was, in the strictest sense of the term, a philosophical historian. Though both the works before us belong to the class denominated general, yet they do not, like most general histories, exhibit a mass of insulated facts, instead of a connected series of events. The author may not have brought together so many distinct particulars, as many others would have done. But on the other hand, he has succeeded in what is far more difficult. In his selection of events, he has confined himself to such as are of primary importance; and he has presented these to the reader under the fundamental relations of cause and effect. Historical writing would have had no charms for him, if it had been nothing more than a mere narrative of facts. His delight was to reason upon events; to trace them back to their origin, and then follow them out into their results. He did not believe that the character of a historian required a man to lose sight of his own personality; for in that case, Polybius and Tacitus, Hume and Müller, Gibbon and Robertson, must be struck out of the list. To write without prejudice or prepossession, as far as that is possible, he regarded as a duty of sacred obligation; but he did not feel himself called upon, by the office he had assumed, to suppress the feelings which his subject excited. Writing under these impressions, he unites the three characters of philosopher, man

of feeling, and narrator. This remark applies more particularly to the modern history, because the period which has elapsed since the discovery of America, contains more ample and more interesting materials, than any period, of equal length, within historic memory.

We are not disposed to speak disparagingly of those collections of facts and dates, which are now in circulation under the title of general histories. If we were, we could bring high authority to support us, and would quote the following passage from Lord Bacon on Learning. 'As for the corruptions and moths of history, which are epitomes, the use of them deserveth to be banished, as all men of sound judgment have confessed, as those that have fretted and corroded the sound bodies of many excellent histories, and wrought them into base and unprofitable dregs.' We do not fully acquiesce in this sweeping denunciation. On the contrary, we believe, that such compends and epitomes may be useful, if kept in their proper places, that is, to exercise the memory of schoolboys. Higher than this, they certainly should not aspire, and then the works of Heeren will never come into competition with them; for these address themselves, not to the memory alone, but to the judgment and the reasoning faculties. The epitomes to which Lord Bacon alludes are the abridgments of single authors.

Those who are conversant with even the higher order of histories now in use, must have remarked how little notice is taken by their authors of the two great subjects, commerce and colonization. These have given a new face to human affairs, and yet how insignificant is the place they fill in the secondary modern histories. But not so in Heeren's. These are the two great points of view in which he exhibits the period from the year 1500 down to the present time; and therefore to all who are desirous of understanding the commercial and colonial interests of Europe, in connexion with the political, we recommend the study of Heeren.

With one remark more, we shall dismiss the subject. It has been observed in our abstract of Heeren's life, that his views were of an independent and liberal character. The works before us would be sufficient evidence of this, if we had not his own confessions to that effect. The second embraces the period in which the momentous question of freedom arose, was discussed, and finally settled by the establishment of our independence. A friend to arbitrary principles might have given

such a coloring to the transactions connected with that great event, as would neither have been agreeable nor profitable to the citizens of a republic. Accordingly we look upon the liberal spirit which characterizes all the writings of Heeren, and none more than the last mentioned, as one of its weightiest recommendations. Without this, whatever might be its other merits, we should neither wish nor expect it to be popular here. But having this superadded to its other excellences, and being thereby adapted to the feelings as well as to the wants of our community, we earnestly commend it to the friends of education.

Art. XI.—*Historia de la Revolucion de la República de Colombia*, por Jose Manuel Restrepo, Secretario del Interior del Poder Ejecutivo de la misma República. Paris. 1827. tom. 1–10.

Of Mr Restrepo's long expected work, the first part, containing the history of the revolution in New Granada, down to 1819, has at length made its appearance; and the public will not be disappointed in their anticipation of its merit and importance. It is a perspicuous, well-arranged, and impartial history of the period which it embraces, recounting, in a simple and natural style, not only the battles fought, but the political incidents, and the views of prominent men, equally necessary to be understood, in order to possess a complete knowledge of such a revolution. The work is inscribed to Bolivar,* whose

*The following is a translation of this dedication;

'To his Excellency Simon Bolivar, Liberator President of the Republic of Colombia, Liberator of that of Peru and invested with the supreme command thereof, &c.

'So soon as I resolved to occupy a part of my leisure in the bold enterprise of writing the History of the Revolution of Colombia, I naturally conceived the idea of dedicating it to you, who have been its Creator and Liberator, who have attained the chief magistracy therein, and whose name honors its most brilliant pages with deeds never to be forgotten. This was demanded by justice, gratitude, and admiration; but something more has been required by friendship. In permitting me to place your name in front of the History of Colombia, you have exacted that I should dedicate it, not to the Liberator Pres-

name is connected with so many brilliant events in the history of Colombia, and who bears the proud title of 'creator and liberator of the republic.' It contains, also, a multitude of curious details concerning the earlier portion of his career, which are not to be found, at least not in the same exact and authentic shape, in any other book, with which we are acquainted. And inasmuch as Bolivar forms one of the great subjects of interest of the present day, we have thought we could not make any use of these volumes so well calculated to recommend them to public attention, as the compiling from them, in connexion with other sources of information within our reach, an account of his life, character, and political views.

To a portion of our hemisphere this is becoming a topic of deep, of fearful importance. Bolivar has been denounced in Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Peru, as an ambitious aspirant after universal power, aiming to terminate his career of victory by the conquest of all the free states of South America. In Colombia he is already supreme in rank, and invested with authority unlimited in scope as in duration. If his ultimate purposes are to usurp dominion over his native land, and by force of arms to extend the sceptre of military despotism over the neighboring countries, the youthful nations of the South may well regard his progress with mingled terror and hatred, uncertain how soon they shall become the helpless victims of a prosperous tyrant. But if, on the contrary, his professions truly indicate his intentions, and the latter are like the former, honest, patriotic, and just, then are his opinions and actions not less profoundly interesting, considered in reference to the condition of the people of Spanish America, and the future destiny of the new fraternity of republics in the South. And in countries not directly concerned in the solution of the problem which his character presents, he is necessarily an object of universal attention, as the prominent individual of the day, appearing before us clothed in all the *prestige* created by a long

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ident of the Republic, but to my friend General Bolivar. Gratefully do I comply with this request, which at the same time that I regard it as sacred, fills me with the most profound respect and gratitude.

'I am
Your most devoted fellow citizen,
and obedient servant,
J. Manuel Restrepo.'

Bogotá, June 3d, 1825.

career of military triumphs, the hero of the South American revolution, as Washington was of the North American and Napoleon of the French, and leaving it yet doubtful whether he shall be associated in fame with the Father of his Country, or with the fallen Conqueror and dethroned Usurper. We propose to give to this subject a dispassionate examination, which is the more necessary at the present moment, when the partial and distorted facts, and the rash judgments, continually coming to us through the medium of the public prints, have rendered that obscure and uncertain, which, impartially considered, is sufficiently clear and intelligible.

Simon Bolivar was born in the city of Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, July 24th, 1783. His father was Don Juan Vicente Bolivar y Ponte, who held the office inherited from his ancestors of *regidor alferez real* in the municipality of Caracas; and his mother Doña Maria Concepcion Palacios y Sojo; both of noble and distinguished families. He was left an orphan at an early age, when he had scarcely acquired the first elements of education. Dissatisfied with the means of gaining knowledge afforded by his native country, and anxious to improve himself by travel, and by access to the more extended intellectual advantages of the eastern continent, he embarked for Spain with the view of travelling in Europe, being one of the few natives of the Spanish colonies to whom this privilege was granted by the jealousy of the government. On the way to Europe he visited Mexico and Havana. After finishing his studies in Madrid, he traversed the south of Europe, visiting its principal cities, especially Paris, where he was an eye-witness of many of the important incidents of the revolution. Whilst in Paris, he is said to have rendered himself an acceptable guest in its gay circles, although his favorite occupation was the study of those departments of science, which were calculated to prepare him for the active duties of the soldier and statesman. And at this period it was, that he conceived the project of delivering his country from the cruel tyranny of the Spaniards.

On his return to Madrid, he married a lady of distinction, belonging to one of the first families in America. She was the daughter of Don N. Toro, uncle of the Marquiss of Toro in Caracas, and possessed those qualities which an excellent education in the court of Spain was fitted to impart. Bolivar conducted his lady to Caracas, and in the bosom of domestic tranquillity, devoted himself to the improvement of his extensive patrimonial

estates. At this time he obtained the commission of Captain in the militia in the valleys of Aragua. But his domestic happiness was destined to be of brief duration; for his wife suddenly sickened of the yellow fever and died, leaving him inconsolable for her loss. To relieve his feelings from the pressure of grief, he again repaired to Europe, and by a chance, which, in reference to his subsequent fortunes, may be considered singular, he happened to be in Paris when Napoleon assumed the imperial diadem. What influence the sight of that imposing spectacle may have exercised over his ardent and excitable character, time alone can declare. His imagination might easily have been captivated by the surpassing splendor of a scene so extraordinary. Bolivar saw the child of destiny in his days of glory, when his star was culminating; and it would not be wonderful if an event of such a nature, of which Bolivar was the eye-witness, should have made a more lasting impression on his mind than the terrible reverses which ere long followed, but which he knew only as matters of history. But of this, more in the sequel.

Bolivar was on his return to Caracas, visiting the United States by the way, during the period marked by the abdications of Charles and Ferdinand at Bayonne, so disastrous in their consequences to the Spanish monarchy. Soon after he reached Caracas, his intimate friend, the Spanish general Don Vicente Emparan, also arrived, in the capacaity of Captain General of Venezuela, to which he was appointed, first by King Joseph, and afterwards by the Central Junta of Spain. Emparan's partiality to the new dynasty soon became generally known, through the means of Bolivar, and contributed to augment the disaffection of the leading inhabitants, who, notwithstanding their deep sense of the injustice of the Spanish goverment towards them, still entertained a certain feeling of loyalty towards Ferdinand personally, *el amado Fernando*. At length, on the nineteenth of April, 1810, the patriots of Caracas assumed the reins of government, placing the administration of affairs in the hands of a select body called the Supreme Junta, and seized the persons of Emperan and the members of the *audiencia*, who were immediately sent to the United States. These events constitute the commencement of the revolution in Venezuela; and as Bolivar was one of the principal actors on this important occasion, his life is from the beginning in truth identified with the history of his country's independence. He received from the Junta the rank of Colonel, and was also commissioned, together with

Don Luis Lopez Mendez, to proceed to London, and solicit the protection of the English cabinet for the newly formed government of Venezuela. His mission being terminated by a declaration of perfect neutrality on the part of Great Britain, he returned to Caracas, and lived for a while in comparative retirement, owing to some dissatisfaction either with the measures of the government, or with the individuals by whom it was exercised. But his rank, talents, acquirements, and influence were steadily devoted to the object of effecting the separation of his country from Spain. The efforts of himself and other patriots at length produced the declaration of independence, July 5th, 1811, which was the signal for hostilities between the contending parties, and again called Bolivar into action in his appropriate sphere.

The Spanish regency had despatched the royal commissioner Cortobarria to Puerto Rico, with full powers to reduce Venezuela to subjection. In pursuance of a plan concerted in conjunction with him, the Spaniards, and others opposed to the new order of things, armed and embodied troops, took possession of Valencia, and raised the standard of revolt against the authority of the Congress. General Francisco Miranda was immediately despatched, at the head of three thousand men, to chastise the insurgents, and Bolivar joined his ranks as a volunteer, serving as a member of his staff, and in that capacity displaying his characteristic military talents and activity. Miranda dispersed the rebels in Valencia; and was only prevented, by the jealousy of the government, from doing the same with a body of the disaffected in Coro, who afterwards proved powerful opponents of the republican cause. For when the tremendous earthquake of March, 1812, filled Venezuela with ruins and mourning, the fanatical clergy, who were strongly addicted to the Spanish interests, eagerly embraced the opportunity of working upon the superstition of the people; and by ascribing that awful catastrophe to the vengeance of Heaven, indignant at the disloyalty of the patriots, they succeeded but too well in perverting the judgments of their bigoted and ignorant followers. Sustained by this circumstance, the royal troops under the captain general Monteverde assumed the offensive, and rapidly advanced from Coro for the west of Venezuela. The Congress, finding they now had to struggle for existence, had recourse to measures of corresponding decision. Setting an example which the South Americans have so repeatedly imitated since, they resolved to

confer on General Miranda the authority and name of Dictator, that he might prepare for the threatened emergency with all the energy of concentrated power. One of the earliest acts of his administration was to entrust the command of the important post of Puerto Cabello to Colonel Bolivar. But while Miranda's judicious conduct was sustaining the hopes of his party, they suffered a fatal disaster in a quarter where it was least anticipated. The Spanish prisoners confined in the castle of S. Felipe which commanded Puerto Cabello, succeeded, by corrupting the officer on guard, in obtaining possession of the castle; and thus obliged Bolivar to evacuate the place (July 1st, 1812), and to undergo the mortification of returning to Caracas, to communicate the unwelcome news to his general. The loss of Puerto Cabello gave such decided advantages to the royalists, that Miranda was driven to the necessity of concluding a capitulation with Monteverde, by virtue of which Venezuela was given up to the Spaniards, upon condition merely of immunity to the persons and property of individuals, three months being allowed to all such as desired to quit the country.

Relying upon the protection of this treaty, General Miranda, with the other leading patriots, including Bolivar, retired to La Guayra, for the purpose of embarking for Carthagena, and joining the cause of independence in New Granada. Unfortunately La Guayra was then commanded by Colonel Manuel Maria Casas, whose baseness and perfidy have consigned his name to the same immortality of infamy in South America, which distinguishes Benedict Arnold's in the North. To ingratiate himself with the Spaniards, he contrived to seize and deliver up his countrymen to their merciless enemies, by whom, in defiance of the most sacred rights, Miranda and more than a thousand others were thrown into dungeons at La Guayra and Puerto Cabello. The friends and enemies of Bolivar differ in their representations of the part he took in these melancholy transactions. Certain it is, that he was under the necessity of submitting to great sacrifices to regain his liberty; but he finally obtained a passport from Monteverde by special favor, and escaped to Curaçoa, from whence he took passage for Carthagena (September, 1812), and proffered his services to the republican government, in company with various other emigrants from Venezuela.

At this time, although the republicans were predominant in nearly the whole of New Granada, yet the royalists had posses-

sion of Santa Martha and Rio de la Hacha. It was all important that they should be driven from these positions, especially from Santa Martha, and a French officer, named Labatut, was employed on this service by the government of Carthagena. Being successful in forcing several of the enemy's positions in the province, he was appointed commander in chief on the river Magdalena, and gaining one advantage after another, in fact was fortunate enough to take Santa Martha, although he soon lost it again by his incapacity and folly. The government of Carthagena, little anticipating the brilliant fortune which awaited Bolivar, appointed him to the command of the little station of Barranca within the district committed to the adventurer Labatut, and of course regularly under his orders. But the active spirit of Bolivar prevented his remaining contented in the obscurity of a subordinate command, and led him to undertake, of his own authority, a movement of that bold conception, and vigorous, rapid execution, which afterwards became the great characteristics of his military genius, when he rose to be the trusted leader of the armies of independence.

By fortifying the town of Tenerife, the Spaniards were enabled to obstruct the navigation of the upper Magdalena. While, therefore, Labatut was seeking to reduce Santa Martha, Bolivar prepared a little expedition with such scanty resources as he could collect, suddenly attacked the Spaniards in Tenerife, drove them before him, and gathering an accession of forces as he proceeded, continued his victorious march to Mompox, dispersing the hostile parties which occupied various positions on the eastern bank of the Magdalena (December, 1812). Labatut, who had given no orders for this expedition, and who felt jealous of the reputation Bolivar was acquiring, loudly demanded that he should be subjected to trial before a court martial for his unauthorized procedure. But the government of Carthagena justly appreciated Labatut's motives, and wisely protected Bolivar in an assumption of power, which he was using so advantageously. Meanwhile he was recognised at Mompox as 'commandant of arms' in the district; and having obtained a reinforcement of regular troops, militia, and gun-boats, he resolved, ascending the Magdalena, to penetrate into the interior of the province, having now a body of five hundred men under his command. The Spaniards, who had boasted that they would not even respect a flag of truce, fled in disorder before him to Chiriguaná, where they were overtaken and dispersed,

their commanders Capmani and Capdevila escaping with difficulty. The result of this expedition was the deliverance of the city of Ocaña, which Bolivar entered in triumph, amid the *vivas* and acclamations of the oppressed inhabitants (January, 1813).

Bolivar's arrival in Ocaña was, indeed, at a most opportune moment; for a division of the Spanish army under Correa was preparing to penetrate into New Granada, which, torn by civil dissensions, possessing few able officers, and destitute of adequate munitions of war, was in no state to withstand the coming foe. The Congress of New Granada had committed this task to Colonel Manuel Castillo, the commandant of Pamplona, who immediately applied to Bolivar for assistance in defending Pamplona and Cúcuta. As Bolivar depended on the government of Carthagena, he waited to obtain their consent, and meanwhile rapidly traversed the whole line of the Magdalena to Mompox, collecting arms and ammunition, and information concerning the positions and force of the enemy. He now conceived the daring project of reconquering Venezuela. Filled with enthusiasm himself, and having inspired his little army with the same noble sentiments, he took the field with only four hundred men, and a few additional musquets for arming Castillo's battalion. From Ocaña, he proceeded by the rough road across the lofty Cordillera which stretches along the province of Santa Martha, directing his march towards the city of Salazar de las Palmas. Spreading a false report of the strength of his army, he caused the enemy to abandon an impregnable position upon the heights of La Aguada, and every successive point at which they rallied, until he reached San Cayetano. None of these advantages cost him a drop of blood; being all owing to the celerity of his movements, to his intrepidity, and the superiority of his genius in the art of war. At length Correa concentrated his diminshed and weary forces in the city of San José de Cúcuta, where Bolivar resolved to attack him in his quarters, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and with doubtful success, until Bolivar commanded his followers to charge with bayonets, and the impetuosity of their attack decided the victory in his favor (February 28th, 1813). The Spanish troops sustained a total rout, leaving all their artillery, munitions, and baggage to the conquerors. Correa himself escaped, although badly wounded; but the patriots gained an immense booty in merchandise, which the merchants of

Maracaybo, supposing the conquest of New Granada certain, had caused to be conveyed to Cúcuta for sale. The victory was of immense importance, therefore, to New Granada, by freeing the valleys of Cúcuta of the presence of a dangerous enemy, and completely defeating the object of the Spaniards in organizing Correa's expedition.

All eyes were now turned on the fortunate individual, who, by the mere force of personal talent, had, in so short a period, achieved such brilliant success. The Congress of New Granada immediately appointed him to the rank of brigadier in the service of the Union, accompanying the commission with the most flattering expressions of confidence and applause. He was now a marked man. Torres, the president of Congress, and virtual head of the government, entertained from this period the highest anticipations of Bolivar's future career, and became a steady and useful friend to his interest. Stimulated by the reputation he had so quickly acquired, Bolivar was impatient to march upon Venezuela, representing the enterprise of expelling the Spaniards as easy on account of the discontent of the people, and as necessary to the security of New Granada. But his preparations did not proceed tranquilly or smoothly. Reverses were suffered by the patriots of Carthagena, who lost possession again of Santa Martha, and made a requisition upon Bolivar for the troops of Mompox. But a more serious difficulty occurred by reason of a difference between Castillo, the commandant of Pamplona, and Bolivar, whose command was within Castillo's military district, and by strange absurdity of arrangement was neither entirely dependent on, nor entirely independent of Castillo. As this affair illustrates the character of Bolivar, and was of important influence on his fortunes at a later period, it deserves to be explained and understood here.

Castillo was a man of small capacity and contracted views, unable to look beyond the little routine of his office, and wholly unfit for anything but garrison duty or a subordinate station, where he might have rendered himself useful. Assuming authority as commandant of Pamplona, he took upon him to censure Bolivar for his want of economy, and for the supposed disorder which reigned among his troops. New cause of jealousy arose in consequence of Bolivar's declining to subject the troops of Carthagena to the orders of the Congress, and disclaiming all connexion with the political disputes of the various provinces. Bolivar sought to avoid a serious rupture with Cas-

tillo by all reasonable advances to accommodation; but without success. An angry correspondence ensued, and appeals on each side to the authority of the Congress produced nothing but mutual criminations, which served to render the breach irreparable. The principal charges of Castillo against Bolivar were, that he preserved no order in his division; that he suffered all the booty captured in Cúcuta to be dissipated foolishly; in fine, that he thought of undertaking the delivery of Venezuela without the necessary troops and resources, and would thus sacrifice the soldiers of the Union in a rash and impracticable enterprise. Bolivar, on the other hand, accused Castillo of introducing discord from envious motives, of being destitute of capacity, incapable of executing anything useful, and of losing the season for action in idle observance of misplaced rules of order.

Probably the imputations of both parties were not without foundation. Monteverde then had possession of Venezuela with six thousand men, while Bolivar's troops amounted to hardly a thousand. Most persons, therefore, considered his plan as rash and wild, characterizing his project as worthy only of a desperate man, ready to venture everything upon a single hazard. His military credit was not yet established, and while his personal intrepidity, the boldness of his designs, and his great activity, were universally admitted, the admission was coupled with accusations of temerity, of want of economy, and of permitting the resources of the troops to be dissipated. But Bolivar himself never doubted for a moment of the result, provided the enterprise was conducted with boldness and celerity; and he succeeded in prevailing upon the Congress to authorize his advance into Venezuela. In the progress of that expedition, as on later occasions, it sufficiently appeared that in this case, as in many others of the same kind, Bolivar's views were distrusted only because they were in advance of his cotemporaries and associates. Whether Bolivar caught the idea from observation of the military policy of Napoleon, or whether like circumstances suggested to him a like system of operations, and so render him equally deserving of the praise of originality of genius, we know not; but certain it is, that a striking similitude is to be seen in the tactics which they both adopted. Bolivar broke loose at once from the shackles of military routine which enslaved the Spanish officers. He astonished them by forced marches over roads previously deemed impracticable to a reg-

ular army. While they were manœuvering, hesitating, calculating, guarding the customary avenues of approach, he surprised them by concentrating a superior force upon a point where they least expected an attack, cut up their troops in detail, and substituted a system of rapid and brilliant evolutions for the tardy movements of his predecessors. To do this, however, it was necessary that much apparent, and some real disorder should introduce itself into the commissariat of his army, to so marked a degree at least, as to outrage the notions of such a narrow-minded formalist as Castillo.

In these observations, we have somewhat anticipated the course of events; but they are material to the understanding of Bolivar's actual position, and of his character as a soldier. Notwithstanding the obstacles interposed by Castillo and others, he did obtain permission to enter Venezuela, by means of the strong representations of the practicability of his plan, which he addressed to the Congress of New Granada. Castillo coöperated with him in the outset, and was usefully employed in driving Correa from La Grita; but at length, declaring that he could no longer lend his countenance to an expedition so wild, he resigned his commission, after marching his detachment of the troops back to Tunja. The government appointed commissioners to accompany Bolivar, and direct his operations; but the celerity of his movements prevented their joining him; for when they reached Cúcuta, he had already pushed his little army, now reduced to about five hundred men, into the heart of the province of Merida, and was proceeding onward unincumbered by commissioners or troublesome associates in command. Previous to his departure, however, and while he was making his preparations at Cúcuta, a Venezuelan officer, Colonel Briceño, had collected a small party of cavalry, and set out for the city of San Cristobal on his own authority, although he had promised to submit himself to Bolivar's orders. (April, 1813.) Hardly had he arrived there, when, thinking to strike terror into the Spaniards, he issued a gasconading proclamation, declaring war *á muerte* against them, and offering liberty to such of their slaves as should kill their masters. Regardless of consequences, he penetrated with his little party as far as Guadalito, where he was met and routed by the Spaniards under Tiscar, who, in revenge of his conduct, ordered him and sixteen of his officers with a number of the inhabitants of Barinas to be shot in that city as rebels. Briceño's absurd

proclamation occasioned Bolivar much uneasiness, because he himself was censured as responsible for it, until the atrocious procedure of the Spaniards became known.

This unpleasant affair, and a multitude of other causes of embarrassment, being finally disposed of, Bolivar commenced his march from San Cristobal, with an army, small indeed for the mighty task they were undertaking, but commanded by such officers as Rivas, Jirardot, Urdaneta, D'Eluyar, and others worthy to be associated with Bolivar. He rapidly advanced towards Trujillo, driving the scattered fragments of Correa's force before him; and learning on the way that the patriots of Merida had risen upon the Spaniards on hearing of his approach, he entered that place, and reëstablished the republican government as it had previously existed (July 5th, 1813). Meantime his vanguard, commanded by Jirardot, occupied Trujillo, after a desperate but successful engagement with the last relics of the Spanish force in that quarter. Thus the two provinces of Merida and Trujillo remained entirely free; and Bolivar was enabled to obtain such intelligence of the state of Venezuela as to convince him that the happy termination of his enterprise depended solely on the celerity and decision of his movements; as any delay would not only occasion the consumption of his own resources, but would give the enemy opportunity to recover from their surprise and collect their troops. His measures were accordingly taken with energy and despatch corresponding to the importance of the emergency, and he labored with incredible activity in augmenting his little army with recruits, and thus preparing for the desperate struggle involved in his ulterior movements. And ere he left Trujillo, circumstances occurred, which gave to the war a character of peculiar desperation. We allude to the declaration of *guerra á muerte* made by Bolivar, which, as it is spoken of more frequently than it is understood, requires proper explanation in this place.

In Merida and Trujillo, Bolivar received exact information of the enormities practised in Venezuela by Monteverde and his satellites. So far as Monteverde acted under positive instructions from the Spanish government, the latter might be considered more especially responsible; and their instructions amounted to the declaration of a war of extermination against the patriots of Venezuela. Spain regarded all the patriots in the light of traitors and rebels found in arms against the king. Hence her obstinacy in refusing to enter into any convention

with them; hence the contempt of her officers for the most solemn capitulations, on the ground that no agreement made with traitors is obligatory; hence their rejection of proposals for the exchange of prisoners, under circumstances the most favorable to themselves; hence their atrocity in shooting in cold blood the officers or political chiefs of the republicans, and frequently also every soldier that fell into their hands, by way of making fit examples of public justice. All this afforded ample justification for acts of reprisal, the only method by which, in a state of war, such violations of national law can be met by the suffering party. But Monteverde, or persons acting under his authority, committed innumerable other acts of gratuitous cruelty upon the unhappy Venezuelans, more becoming a fiend than a human being. In defiance of a solemn capitulation securing perfect immunity to persons and property, villages were sacked and edifices burned; multitudes of respectable individuals were thrown into miserable and noisome dungeons in company with the basest felons, loaded with fetters, mutilated in wonton barbarity, shot, or subjected to a more ignominious death; in short, no device of ingenious persecution was left untried upon the wretched inhabitants. The state of things could not have been worse, if Venezuela had been taken possession of by a savage enemy, sword in hand, for the purposes of predatory conquest or devastation. Happily this infatuated policy, impolitic as it was iniquitous, awoke a spirit of resistance and of vengeance in the bosoms of the Venezuelans, which ensured their independence. All the horrible particulars came to Bolivar's knowledge on his entering Venezuela. At the same time he received information of the recent butcheries in Barinas, which, as happening partly in consequence of his own enterprise, he deemed himself more immediately called upon to notice.

In such circumstances of extreme irritation was this celebrated declaration issued, under date of Merida, June 8th, 1813. It was the terrible resource of a season of despair. It is couched in the most passionate language of outraged feelings, smarting under the sense of unprecedented wrongs, and breathes a spirit of vindictive resentment, which nothing but the horrors of such a warfare could have kindled in the human breast. The document is before us, with another proclamation of the same tenor issued at Trujillo, July 15th, 1813, and a justificatory letter of Bolivar's on the subject written subsequent-

ly. These papers are in no better taste than Bolivar's recent proclamations and other state papers; being characterized by the same declamatory, turgid style, and carrying the inflated idiom of the Spanish language to the extreme limits of propriety; but it is impossible to peruse them without perceiving the marks of no ordinary mind in every page. After stating the purpose of the expedition, and denouncing the general character of the Spaniards in America, the first proclamation concludes thus;

'The executioners, who entitle themselves our enemies, have violated the sacred rights of nations in Quito, La Paz, Mexico, Caracas, and recently in Popayan. They sacrificed in their dungeons our virtuous brethren in the cities of Quito and La Paz, they beheaded thousands of them, prisoners in Mexico; they buried alive in the subterranean vaults and pontons of Puerto Cabello and La Guayra our fathers, children, and friends of Venezuela; they have immolated the president and commandant of Popayan with all their companions in misfortune; and ultimately, oh God! as it were in our very presence, they have perpetrated a horrid butchery in Barinas of our fellow soldiers made prisoners of war, and of our peaceful compatriots of that city. But these victims shall be avenged, these executioners shall be exterminated. Our gentleness is already exhausted; and since our oppressors force us to a mortal struggle, they shall disappear from America, and our soil shall be purged of the monsters that infest it. Our hatred shall be implacable, and the war shall be unto death.'

It should be added that this did not import the indiscriminating massacre of all the prisoners in cold blood; but only that since the Spaniards had treated the patriots as rebels apprehended in arms, the extreme right of retaliation should be used upon Spaniards in the same circumstances. This declaration has been differently characterized, being lauded to the skies by some as an act of superior discernment, and of prime efficacy in securing the independence of the country, and not less warmly denounced by others as an act of desperation and barbarism. Impartial historians must regard it as one of those extreme and doubtful instances of military discretion, to be justified at any time only by establishing a case of most imperious necessity, such as may excuse a departure from all the ordinary rules of warfare among civilized nations. It is impossible to deny, however, that if an occasion ever existed, which could authorize the application of such violent remedies, it was this, where the agents of the

mother country had, in defiance of the most sacred obligations, absolutely rioted in tyranny and bloodshed.

To return to our narrative. Bolivar ascertaining the favorable aspect of things in Venezuela in consequence of Monteverde's tyranny, directed his attention towards the province of Barinas, then occupied by a Spanish force of two thousand men under Don Antonio Tiscar, destined for the invasion of New Granada. When Tiscar was informed that Bolivar, in his rapid advance upon Trujillo, had followed the road westward of the Cordillera of the Andes between that and the lake of Maracaybo, he determined to cross the mountain in two points and intercept Bolivar's communication with Cúcuta, sending one detachment to Merida under Don José Marti, and holding another in readiness at Guadualito under Don Jose Yañez. Discovering Tiscar's plan, Bolivar despatched his rearguard under Rivas with orders to engage Marti, and daringly threw himself into Guanare, thus intercepting Tiscar's communication with Caracas. The happiest result attended this bold manœuvre. Rivas obtained a brilliant victory over Marti on the heights of Niquitao, absolutely destroying his detachment; and Bolivar took possession of Guanare by surprise, obtaining a large and valuable booty; while his vanguard under Jirardot vigorously pursued Tiscar, who, separated from Marti and Yañez, fled with his troops in confusion to Nutrias and embarked for Guayana. Of all his army nothing remained but scattered fragments of the corps, which, collecting under Yañez, retired into the remote plains of the Apure. Thus Bolivar accomplished his first object, of dispersing the Spaniards nearest New Granada, which, now freed from the apprehension of invasion, acknowledged at last the justness of Bolivar's views; and president Torres acquired much credit for having sustained him against all the attacks and intrigues of his enemies.

Bolivar now divided his army, which had increased considerably during his late operations, into two divisions, and directed their march towards Caracas through the provinces of Trujillo and Barinas. Several engagements were fought, before Monteverde collected his forces for a decisive trial of strength. At last he assembled his best troops at Lastoguanes, and sustained a total defeat, in consequence of which he was obliged to shut himself up in Puerto Cabello, and Bolivar obtained possession of Caracas by the capitulation of the Spanish governor. He continued his career of victory in Venezuela, while Mariño was

effecting the deliverance of the eastern provinces; and with such glorious success, that in August (1813) Puerto Cabello alone remained in the possession of the Spaniards, and Bolivar was justly hailed as the 'Liberator' of Venezuela. Monteverde received a reinforcement of troops from Spain, and again took the field, refusing all exchanges of prisoners, disregarding the ordinary rules of warfare, and giving to the contest a character of unprecedented desperation and ferocity. But one victory after another crowned the arms of the patriots; and at the close of the year Venezuela still continued to be independent. During this period all the powers of government were vested in Bolivar alone, who, acting under the advice of the magistrates and principal citizens of Caracas, retained the dictatorial authority which he derived from his situation as general of the liberating army. It is not alleged that he himself abused his authority at any time; but complaints existed against the conduct of his inferior officers, who sometimes made the people feel the inconvenience of military rule, and the absence of all regular civil government. No good, however, could have resulted from the convocation of the Congress; for the measures adopted by the Spaniards at the beginning of 1814 proved fatal to the cause of Bolivar and the patriots.

To relate all the military operations in which Bolivar was concerned during the second period of his invasion of Venezuela, would be to give the history of the war itself, which it is not our intention to do any further than is necessary to present a connected view of Bolivar's life. The Spaniards, it is well known, unable to maintain their power in Venezuela by fair means, resolved to lay waste the country, and to carry on a partisan warfare until they could gather strength to take the field anew. To accomplish this, Boves, Yañez, Rosette, Puy, Palomo, and others, men of desperate and reckless character, were supplied with arms and ammunition, and, to fill their ranks, the slave population of Venezuela was called to the Spanish standard. By these means, guerilla parties, composed of vagabonds, outlaws, fugitive slaves, troops of base and lawless miscreants, such as infest a distracted country in times of war and civil commotion, were gathered under the command of leaders worthy of them, and presented a force formidable for their numbers but still more for their ferocity. Against these enemies Bolivar contended with spirit and vigor, and on the whole with decided advantge. Venezuela might, perhaps, have defended

herself successfully, but for the resources possessed by Boves and Yañez in the plains of Barinas, whither, as we stated bebefore, the latter took refuge when Bolivar dispersed the forces of Tiscar, and where they served as a rallying point for the remnants of the regular royalist party. Though repeatedly vanquished by Bolivar, Urdaneta, Mariño, and others, they as often rallied; and the arrival of Cajigal, as successor to Monteverde, with reinforcements from Coro added to their strength. At last, Bolivar was so unfortunate as to be attacked in an unfavorable position by Boves at La Puerta, and after an obstinate contest, was obliged to yield the victory. Reanimated by this signal advantage, the Spaniards united their forces, and compelled Mariño to retreat to Cumaná. In the confusion which ensued, the patriots lost all the fruits of a year of desperate and unceasing contention with their implacable enemies. In July (1814), Boves entered Caracas, deserted by the best of its population, who justly dreaded the barbarity of the royalists. Bolivar took the field once more at Aragua (August 17th, 1814), and was again beaten by Morales, the second in command to Boves. Anarchy and division now reigned among the republican ranks. Bolivar had contended while hope remained; but unable any longer to make head against the bloody and disastrous warfare which desolated his country, he abandoned it a second time, stripped of everything but the glory of his heroic attempt.

On his arrival at Carthagena, he found his old enemy Castillo in the possession of great influence there, and busy in ascribing the loss of Venezuela not to the fortune of war, but to his mismanagement. Bolivar immediately repaired to Tunja, where the Congress of New Granada was in session, to submit his conduct to their judgment. He was received with every mark of consideration by the members of the government, who, in spite of the efforts of his evil-wishers, justly regarded him as a great man, although an unfortunate general, and testified their confidence in his abilities by employing him upon a commission somewhat remarkable in its nature. To comprehend this, it is necessary to call to mind the political situation of New Granada. All the free provinces, except Cundinamarca, had formed a confederacy in imitation of the first confederacy of the United States, governed by a Congress. Cundinamarca, the most opulent and powerful of the provinces, including Bogotá, and all the resources of that ancient capital of the viceroyalty, acting

under the authority of Don Antonio Nariño, a patriot whose talents and sufferings gave him extraordinary personal influence, constantly maintained the necessity of a central form of government and refused to accede to the federal league. This difference was accommodated for a time, on occasion of an expedition against the royalists of Pasto, which the Congress committed to Nariño, and which failed, almost in the very moment of ultimate success, in consequence of the misconduct of his principal officer. Nariño was taken prisoner by the Spaniards; and his kinsman Alvarez succeeded him as president and dictator of Cundinamarca. Alvarez not only kept aloof from the Union, but fell into a system of arbitrary and illegal government, wholly at variance with the fundamental laws of the republic. The evil finally became too great longer to be borne. The Congress perceived that Cundinamarca was likely to be given over to a faction inimical to liberty; that the resources of the nation were crippled by the persevering secession of the central province, without which the Union could never be consolidated; and that the case required, and would fully justify, the employment of force to compel Cundinamarca to become an integral part of the Union. Troops were accordingly assembled, and the command entrusted to Bolivar, for the purpose of effecting this object.

Such was the delicate enterprise, of which Bolivar received the direction. He set out from Tunja at the head of thirteen hundred troops of the line and five hundred of militia composed of cavalry, and continued his march without opposition to the hacienda of Techo, a league and a half from Bogotá, where he pitched his camp. Various attempts had already been made by the Congress to effect an accommodation; and Bolivar repeated the offer once more, preparatory to laying siege to the city. But his advances produced not the least influence upon Alvarez, whose mind was made up to try the hazard of arms; and Bolivar had no alternative but to resume his march for the attack of Santa Fé (December 10th, 1814). Notwithstanding the vigorous resistance which he encountered, Bolivar drove in all the outposts of the besieged the first day, and took the barrier of Santa Barbara by assault, by which means the line of circamvallation was completely established. The next day he captured the battery of San Victorino, and penetrated into the city, so as to occupy the whole of it except the great square, where the besieged entrenched themselves, with a park of

artillery. Bolivar's troops were obliged to advance foot by foot, meeting with the most determined resistance at every house and street which they successively attacked. Finally preparations were made for the ensuing day (December 12th), to assault the great square of Bogotá, the only part of the city of which Alvarez and the troops of Cundinamarca retained possession. Both parties, wearied by the violence of the contest, felt willing to escape the horrors of the last assault; and Bolivar cheerfully acceded to a proposal for capitulation made by Alvarez, who conceded the whole question in dispute. To heal the differences which had so long existed between the two parties, the authorities of Cundinamarca immediately invited the Congress to transfer its sessions from Tunja to Bogotá; which they accordingly did; and the consolidation of the Union was thus happily accomplished.

Bogotá sustained very considerable injury in the course of the military operations of which it was the occasion and the scene. Two days of desperate fighting in the very centre of a populous city, could not but prove greatly detrimental to its public and private edifices, beside the loss of lives which it necessarily occasioned. In the latter respect, the besiegers suffered most, because, advancing in small parties through the streets, they were liable to be attacked at great disadvantage from the houses and cross streets, owing to the greater knowledge of localities possessed by the besieged. But, in other respects, the city suffered most. Indeed, one quarter, the barrier of Santa Barbara, was absolutely sacked; for as the assailants gained it inch by inch at the point of the bayonet, it was impossible wholly to restrain their license. But nothing created such serious regret as the loss of the manuscripts, books, and collections, and instruments which the care and industry of the celebrated Dr Mutiz and the astronomer Caldas had accumulated in the observatory belonging to the botanical expedition. A battalion of the rough Venezuelan troops belonging to Bolivar fixed themselves in this position, from which they greatly annoyed the besieged; whereupon the latter planted a cannon in the gallery of the palace formerly occupied by the viceroys, and with it battered the observatory; so that between the fire of one party, and the violence of the other, everything which the building contained became a prey to ruin.

At the commencement of the expedition Bolivar was vehemently censured by the inhabitants of Bogotá, and excommuni-

cated by the ecclesiastical authorities; but after it was over, they did justice to the manner in which he conducted the attack, by the most marked testimonials of respect. The government of the Union, as it may be supposed, manifested the deepest gratitude for the important service he had rendered; and in reward of the wisdom, prudence, and courage displayed by him in the campaign, they sent him a letter of thanks containing the most flattering expressions of admiration, with a commission, the first they had granted, of Captain General of the armies of the Republic. Attentive observers must remark, in this affair, another striking resemblance between the fortunes of Napoleon and Bolivar. The attack on the sections of Paris was to the former, in the career of advancement, what the expedition of the latter was, against the city of Bogotá. Each enterprise proved equally efficacious in securing the political ascendency of the body and of the party in whose favor it was undertaken; and each was equally beneficial to the successful general, who hazarded his reputation upon the attempt.

Bolivar having made arrangements for the organization of the army, and for maintaining tranquillity at Santa Fé, repaired to Tunja to agree with the government upon a plan of campaign suited to the exigencies of the Union. It was resolved to attempt the capture of Santa Martha, which was now in possession of the royalists, and afterwards to march upon Rio Hacha and Maracaybo, thus securing the northern coast of New Granada. To accomplish this it was necessary to obtain from Carthagena a portion of the abundant munitions of war, which it contained. His army consisted of two thousand men, the greater portion of them veteran soldiers inured to war, from whose number and quality, and from the talents of their leader, high expectations were drawn of a brilliant campaign. Bolivar left Santa Fé with a military chest supplied for four months, and every other necessary in abundance except munitions of war. In the latter he was exceedingly deficient, possessing only five hundred muskets, and nothing but orders of the general government upon Carthagena for the residue of the munitions of war required for the expedition. These flattering and not unreasonable hopes were destined to be disappointed by the insane folly of the authorities of Carthagena, particularly Amador, governor of the state, and Manuel Castillo, commandant of arms.

Castillo, as we have already seen, was the rancorous personal enemy of Bolivar; and his enmity seems to have been as in-

veterate as it was unjust. Hearing of Bolivar's appointment, he published a manifesto, consisting of an atrocious libel upon his public and private life, impeaching his honor, talents, and even his personal courage; in short, everything great or estimable in his character. Deeply wounded by this extraordinary act, Bolivar addressed letters to Garcia Rovira, president of the United Provinces, and Camilo Torres, former president of the Congress; and their answers, containing the fullest refutation of Castillo's slanders, were published as an antidote to his manifesto. Not content with this, he sought to gain the good will of Castillo by soliciting for him a commission of Brigadier General. The general government adopted the idea, and appointed him to a place in the council of war, in order to remove all occasion of collision between him and the object of his hatred. But instead of corresponding to these conciliatory advances, the authorities of Carthagena insisted upon retaining Castillo among them, and even sought to force him upon the government as commander of the expedition against Santa Martha instead of Bolivar. Nay, regardless of their obligations to the Union, they addressed circulars to the various commandants on the river Magdalena, ordering them to refuse obedience to Bolivar, and not to allow him to advance further than Mompox with his troops. Castillo, lest he should be outdone in madness by his associates, actually commanded the officers on the Magdalena to withstand the troops of the Union by force. Such a procedure was unpardonably criminal in Castillo, as it was a declaration of civil war against the Union occasioned solely by personal animosity towards Bolivar; and the consequences were most disastrous to Carthagena, and indeed all New Granada.

Alarmed by the indications of approaching discord, the Congress despatched one of its members, Dr Juan Marimon, as a commissioner with full power to settle the differences between Castillo and Bolivar. Meanwhile the latter descended the Magdalena to Mompox, which was friendly to him, and from that place directed a message to Castillo, requesting the necessary aid for the reconquest of Santa Martha (February 10th, 1815). But Castillo, of course, evaded the requisition, and immediately commenced the most active preparations for war. Bolivar made the greatest exertions to effect an arrangement; and might, perhaps, have accomplished it, had Marimon performed his duty to the nation, instead of becoming the blind instrument of

Castillo's faction. At last, perceiving that his troops were sickening and dying in the pestilential climate of Mompox, and that his time and resources were wasting in vain, Bolivar determined to pursue his march towards Carthagena. This step was regarded by Castillo and his faction as a hostile invasion of the city; and led them to adopt such rash and violent measures of insult and opposition, that Bolivar, who had thus far been wholly in the right, wearied out by the implacable enmity of the authorities of Carthagena, adopted the unfortunate resolution of laying close siege to the city, and compelling a compliance with the wishes of the Congress. If there is any important act of his public life, during the war of independence, which more peculiarly deserves reprobation, it is this; for, great as the provocation was, it would have been more worthy of Bolivar to abstain from commencing hostilities.

It is unnecessary to enter into the particulars of the siege. One thing, however, deserves to be mentioned, as indicating the different spirit which actuated the contending parties. Bolivar generously confined his operations to merely forming a line around the city, and maintaining the defensive in the points which he occupied, hoping that the besieged would cease their opposition to the views of the Congress. The authorities of Carthagena, on the other hand, descended to the basest means of annoying Bolivar and his troops, such as poisoning the water in the vicinity of his camp, firing upon his flags of truce, and otherwise proceeding in violation of all the rules of honorable warfare. The siege had continued for nearly a month, without producing any beneficial result, although Bolivar earnestly and constantly solicited an accommodation in any shape consistent with his honor; when the calamitous news of the arrival of Morillo from Spain, with an army of ten thousand men and a powerful fleet, destined for the reduction of New Granada, filled both parties with consternation, and produced an immediate cessation of hostilities. Bolivar now urged with redoubled force the necessity of instantly proceeding to Santa Martha, and sacrificing all personal differences on the altar of patriotism ere it was too late, and ere Morillo directed his overwhelming forces against Carthagena itself, which, unless prompt measures of defence were adopted, must look to be the first victim of the vengeance of the Spaniards. Finding it in vain to expect anything like reason or justice from the faction which governed Carthagena, he came to the resolution of throwing up

his command, and leaving a country where the prejudices of the people and the enmity of the leading individuals rendered it impossible that his services could be useful. He therefore concluded a treaty with Carthagena without delay; and relinquishing the command of the army to general Palacios, he embarked for Jamaica, accompanied only by a few of his attached friends (May 8th, 1815).

At this moment, how bitter must have been the emotions of Bolivar. His native land, Venezuela, was consigned to the fate of a conquered country. Carthagena, which might have profited by his military talents, had compelled him to abandon the field of honor in New Granada, at the very time when he, and such as he, were indispensable to its salvation. In his last letter to the government of the Union he expresses these sentiments in the most feeling manner. To sacrifice his command, his fortune, his future glory, he said, cost him no exertion. It was necessary, to give peace to a distracted country. In separating himself from his friends, his comrades in victory and honor, he lamented only that he could no longer hazard his life in the cause of his bleeding country, which was dearer to him than anything upon earth. Yet the very circumstance, that he was driven at this time into voluntary exile probably was the means of preserving his life for new scenes of glory; for had he remained in New Granada, there is every reason to believe, judging from the fate of other prominent men of the day, and according to the ordinary chances of war, that he would have fallen in battle or become a victim of legal proscription, during Morillo's reign of bloodshed.

Bolivar was received in Kingston, upon his arrival in that place, with the respect and consideration due to his character, and there awaited a favorable moment for again taking an active part in the revolutionary war. While residing in the island of Jamaica, he published a short defence of his conduct in the civil war of Carthagena, and various other papers, calculated to promote the cause of American independence abroad. Meanwhile, an incident occurred, which showed how much his talents and zeal were dreaded by his enmies. A Spaniard, in the pay of a royalist chief on the Main, repaired to Kingston, in order to effect his assassination; and seduced a negro slave, belonging to one of his aids, to attempt the nefarious deed. Fortunately, on the night appointed for the assassination, Bolivar happened to be absent from his lodgings, not having returned from an

evening party to which he was invited; and a poor emigrant, of the name of Amestoy, occupied his bed. The slave entered the room ignorant of this circumstance, and plunged his dagger into the breast of the stranger, who died under the blow. The Spaniard who instigated the murder, took his measures so well, that his name could not be ascertained; but the slave was apprehended in the fact, and atoned for his crime on the scaffold. Bolivar remained at Kingston until the end of the year, when he departed for Aux Cayes to organize his celebrated expedition for the invasion and conquest of Venezuela. But, admonished by the length to which this article has unexpectedly reached, we find it necessary to break off here, hoping to resume the subject in a subsequent number, and give an account of that portion of Bolivar's life, when the Spaniards were completely vanquished, and his political opinions came to be a matter of importance to his country.

ART. XII.—*Reise seiner Hoheit des Herzogs* BERNHARD ZU SACHSEN-WEIMAR-EISENACH *durch Nord-America in den Jahren* 1825 *und* 1826. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Luden. Weimar. 1828.

Travels through North America, during the Years 1825 *and* 1826. *By his Highness,* BERNHARD, DUKE OF SAXE-WEIMAR-EISENACH. In Two Volumes. Philadelphia. 1828.

THE general character, displayed in these volumes, is that of a philanthropic and sensible observer. The merit which they possess is in part negative. They are not written in a spirit of haughtiness and intolerance; the author neither affects to disdain nor to admire republican institutions. He never indulges in satire, and is never pert or malignant. We lay down the volume, with respect for his moral worth and general fairness and candor.

But a book to be interesting needs much more. We have here no general views, no acute observations on social or political life among us. The account which is given of some of our cities is exceedingly meagre, and contains little beyond a chronicle of visits. A very large proportion of the Travels is

composed of the most uninteresting details; and the incidents which are noted, gain their value, such as it is, from the circumstance, that the chief person in the narrative is a foreigner and a man of distinguished rank by birth and in public service.

It was a highly honorable motive, which induced this princely traveller to come among us. A benevolent curiosity led him to a country, where social life and the civil institutions are so widely different from those of Europe, that the largest opportunity was afforded for extending his knowledge of man. It must have been a contrast, to one born and in part educated on the well cultivated banks of the little stream that flows through Weimar, to have found himself on the Father of Waters; and for one not unaccustomed to the splendor and comforts of a palace, to sit down on even terms at the frugal but hospitable board of an American farmer. The love of enlarged intelligence, manifested in the strong desire of travelling through the United States, was certainly well suited to conciliate a friendly feeling on all sides; and the unassuming deportment of the Prince while among us, continued to increase the pleasant impression. He was, therefore, hospitably received, wherever he went; and his willingness to be pleased, and his eagerness to see all public institutions, were met, throughout the country, by liberal attention and hospitable regard.

It was to himself while among us, that this return of courtesy was certainly due. But we are not certain, that he has done well to make a book about his travels; or that the same regard is due to him in his new aspect of an author. The Duke is doubtless a man of good judgment and fair mind; but he is not an interesting writer; and the notes, which he has seen fit to consent to publish, may have been extremely well suited for the eyes of parents and near kindred, but we think are many of them such as never should have been printed. When he gives at full length the names of those, who called on him, and tells at whose house he dined, and where he took tea, he only enumerates what is of no general interest; but when he tells what kind of an entertainment he received, how many daughters his host had, and whether they were pretty or not, whether the house was well or meanly furnished, and how old and how wise the ladies were whom he visited, though he still says nothing that can be called malicious or untrue, he offends, as it seems to us, most egregiously against good taste and a sense of propriety. There is an end of all hospitality, when an account of it is to

come back in a book; and the household circle will have to be better guarded, if every one who enters it may go away and publish to the world a description of it. We repeat, the Duke is never malicious, and seldom says unpleasant things; but it is essentially wrong to print and send out to the world the particulars of common acts of civility and consideration for a respected stranger.

Nor can we express entire confidence in the observations of the Duke, even though they are generally limited to the notice of particular incidents. When, at New Orleans, he praises the superior decency, modesty, and propriety of a ball, where white men went to visit colored women, it is his sympathy with an unfortunate class of beings, which gets the better of his judgment; for, on a second and a third visit, he found nothing but drunkenness and 'the aspect of a den of ruffians.' When, in Georgia, he sees a gentleman and lady on horseback, and a negro woman by their side, carrying a heavy sack of corn, he goes too far in inferring that the negress had to keep up with the horses and carry grain for them. And when he says of Alabama, that the senators are obliged, at the seat of government, to sleep three on one mattrass, and feed almost exclusively on salt pork, he but tells a foolish story. But such mistakes and credulity are not common; on the contrary, the volumes are generally distinguished by plain good sense.

The illustrious traveller arrived at Boston on the 26th of July.

'It was ten o'clock, on the morning of the 26th of July, when I first placed my foot in America, upon a broad piece of granite! It is impossible to describe what I felt at that instant. Heretofore, but two moments of my life had left a delightful remembrance; the first was, when at seventeen years of age, I received the Cross of the Legion of Honor, after the battle of Wagram—the second, when my son William was born. My landing in America, that country which, from my early youth, had been the object of my warmest wishes, will, throughout life, remain a subject of pleasing recollection!' Vol. i. p. 33.

At the Exchange Coffee-House he has the good sense to respect the landlord, and it does not even occur to him to jest at finding a colonel in an inn-keeper. Immediately, under good auspices, he enters on his career of observation. The 'streets are wide' and well built, the 'stores elegant'; yet the Mall is but casually noticed. 'He had expected that no one would take the least notice of him in America,' but gentlemen, who

live in large and handsome houses and have amiable daughters, gave him invitations. 'Generally,' he observes of the Bostonians, 'the houses and rooms are much larger, richer, better lighted, and more airy, than the English.'

Of Cambridge nothing is said, that is worth remarking. The Duke also visited the State Prison, and gives an abstract of the warden's report. He visits Bunker's Hill, and apparently with proper feelings. He interrupts his narration to speak of Miss Wright, whom he never saw; and, in a later part of the work, quotes her as of the opinion that 'bears are of more value than men.' *

At the Hospital in Boston the Duke seems to have been especially pleased. 'I have seen,' says he, 'many hospitals, but none in which the sick were so conveniently and suitably lodged, and none in which cleanliness was so well observed.'† Equal praise for cleanliness is given to the Asylum for the Insane.

Mr Quincy took him and two Dutch gentlemen to visit the elder Adams. We quote the account of the visit, as indicative of the correct and liberal feelings, by which the Duke was animated.

'I was much affected when, as I approached this venerable man who had so efficiently labored in the cause of American Independence, he extended to me his hand. He was still in full possession of his mental faculties, and remembered, not only the things which had occurred long ago, but knew also everything which had recently taken place, or was now passing. His bodily strength, however, was diminishing, and he felt a weakness, particularly in his legs. He conversed with me about half an hour, especially concerning Holland, where he had been ambassador during the revolution, and the features of his ancient countenance revived again as he dwelt on the fact, that it was owing to him that Holland then declared war against England, and the English ambassador, notwithstanding all his intrigues, could effect nothing. When Mr Tromp was introduced to him, he remembered his great ancestor, shook his hand in a friendly manner, was much affected, and said to him, "God bless you, Van Tromp!" We left this worthy old man in deep emotion, and congratulated each other on our good fortune in having been introduced to this departing veteran of a revolution, which may well be called salutary.' Vol. I. p. 44.

His general opinion of the prosperity of the great body of the community is satisfactory.

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* See Vol. II. p. 91. † See Vol. I. p. 43.

'From Boston to Quincy there is a good turnpike road. It runs over some hills, on which the traveller sees a handsome panorama; behind him the city, on the left the bay, in front a well-cultivated region with handsome farms, on the right the Blue Hills. We passed by several neat farm-houses; the grounds are separated by means of dry walls, the stones of which are partly hewn, and separated from each other, somewhat like those of Scotland. No old trees are found, because the first settlers very imprudently destroyed all the wood, and now it must be raised again with much trouble. Lombardy poplars and plane trees are frequent. The inhabitants generally appear to be in good circumstances, at least the farmers seem to prosper, and the houses appear to great advantage; for instance, we remarked a common village blacksmith's shop, which was built of massive granite.' pp. 44, 45.

And again we find similar remarks in an account of an excursion to Waltham.

'After leaving this factory we passed by several very neat houses and parks; the latter are smaller than those in England, because in this country there are no rights of primogeniture, and the estate of parents at their death is divided into as many parts as there are children. On this account we do not find such great and powerful landholders here as in England. It is a subject of dispute, whether primogeniture or equal division be preferable; but it is certain that real prosperity is much more diffused through the nation in America, and the land is better cultivated.' p. 46.

The Navy-yard was also visited. It gives occasion to a story, not very decent, and to a criticism, which may be worth noting.

'Some methods which tend to strengthen and relieve vessels, used in other places, have not yet been adopted here; for instance, I did not observe the cruciform strengthening of the sides, and the diagonal deck, according to the plan of Sir Robert Seppings, from which two improvements the navies of England and the Netherlands derive the greatest advantage.' p. 47.

Neither were the schools omitted; and the highest testimony is borne to their merit. 'It appears to me impossible,' says he, 'that young people, who receive so liberal an education, can grow up to be bad men.'—'I was indeed affected when I left the schools, and could not but congratulate Mr Quincy from the bottom of my heart, on such a rising generation.'

The State-house was not admired; nor the trophies and monuments of the revolution. Since that period a statue has been erected there, which would have won a more respectful notice. No monument can be more nobly or suitably placed,

than is Chantrey's Washington. Standing as the state-house does on an elevated site, the statue looks out upon the first scene of American success and of Washington's own glory. The general effect produced by it, in connexion with the admirable prospect that is opened upon the Common and the villages to the south of Boston, a prospect such as few capitals can boast, is altogether of the highest and most pleasing kind. No public honor which has been shown to the memory of Washington, has been more appropriate in its design, or executed in better taste. The surrounding circumstances are all that could be desired to enhance the interest of this admirable work of sculpture.

On leaving Boston, the Duke gives a general summary of his impressions. And they certainly are very much in favor of our good city.

'Thus passed almost fourteen days, in an uncommonly pleasing and instructive manner. In general my state of health allowed me to enjoy every new and interesting object with serenity of mind; I was indisposed but two days, and this was probably owing to the excessive heat. Even the intermediate hours, which could not be dedicated to the inspection of public institutions, generally afforded instructive amusements. I passed the morning in reading and writing, then received or paid visits, and at all times met with attention, courteousness, and kindness. I visited the churches on the Sundays I passed in Boston, which are still more quietly kept in America than in England.' 'I dined twice at the inn, but generally accepted some friendly invitation, and passed all my evenings very agreeably in company at musical parties and other entertainments. I also made some excursions into the country besides those already mentioned.

'The society, especially when ladies are not present, is uncommonly fine and lively—both sexes are very well educated and accomplished. So much care is bestowed upon the education of the female sex, that it would perhaps be considered in other countries as superfluous. Young ladies even learn Latin and Greek, but then they also can speak of other things besides fashions and teatable subjects.' 'Many of those gentlemen who are met with in such society, have travelled in Europe, sometimes accompanied by their wives; Europeans are frequently present, and thus there is no want of materials for conversation. The generality of the houses, moreover, offer something attractive in the fine arts; and in returning home on an evening, the city, the bridges, and the Mill-dam are very well lighted, not indeed with gas, but with reflecting lamps, and none of hat disorderly conduct is observed in the

streets, which so often shocks the mind in the cities of England.' pp. 49, 50.

The Duke does not leave Boston without declaring 'how dear and valued' it had become to him, and how 'agreeable and instructive' a longer stay would have been. These several phrases of particular regard seem to be omitted in the translation.

Travelling on the turnpikeroad, the Duke failed to pass through the villages, and the country seemed more thinly settled than he had expected. At Worcester he acknowledges the hospitality of Mr Lincoln, and the laudable zeal of the inhabitants for science; but does not commend the horticulture of the place.

An American may smile, as he next reads an elaborate description of the common Virginia fence. To make it intelligible to his European readers the Duke is at the pains to make a drawing of it. The abundance of granite in the heart of the commonwealth is noted. Of more value is the comment on the morality of the manufacturing population, and the remark, which is perfectly sound and well attested by experience, that the large manufacturing establishments especially promote the welfare of the poorer classes. It is a singular and an important fact, in relation to the protection of manufactures as desired in Massachusetts, that the demand for that protection arose with the great mass of the community; and that the capitalists and public men did not generally advocate it, till the voice of the many demanded it.

Arrived in Northampton, the Duke cursorily praises the fertile valley of the Connecticut, the piety of the people, and the beauty of the ladies, whom he saw come out of church. The ladies should certainly forgive the stare at their excess in religious observances. Descending the river only as far as Springfield, the United States Armory was of course inspected. The very ingenious machine, invented by Mr Blanchard, for turning gun-stocks, is described at large on another occasion. But an artificial description gives no idea of the simplicity and beauty of the process. The other circumstances, which distinguish Springfield and make it the most populous and thriving town in the state, away from the seaboard, are not noticed.

Ascending a branch of the Westfield river the Duke saw the 'wild, romantic valley,' through which that stream descends, and which has wildness and beauty enough to recommend itself to any lover of the picturesque. Indeed any, who think fine

scenery worth visiting, need not roam farther than Berkshire for it, for from one line of the state to the other, there is the most agreeable interchange of all, that enters into a fine landscape. New England will one day be as celebrated for the beauty of her scenery, as for any qualities that belong to her sons.

Arrived in Albany (it was on a later occasion that New Lebanon was visited), he had opportunities of witnessing the hopes, that were so securely founded on the influence of the canal. The dam, separating the basin from the river, 'seems,' it is said, 'to have been badly executed.'

The horse ferry-boats, an American invention, excited curiosity. The splendor of the steam-boats on the Hudson very well merited admiration.

Our traveller proceeds without delay to the West. At that time the most sanguine expectations of immense pecuniary profit from the canal were entertained. The Duke prudently suggests a doubt, and predicts the necessity of expensive repairs.

'The expenses will, in a very short time, be replaced, and the state realize an immense profit, unless it be necessary to make great repairs, which I have no doubt will be the case, and will consequently require a large share of this income. Hitherto the great canal system was unkown in the United States, and was rather unpopular. It might have been expected, therefore, that so great and rapid an undertaking would have a tendency to astound, if we may so speak, the public mind; so that this canal was finished as soon as possible, without calling to aid the great experience possessed by other nations. Notwithstanding, this canal, which is three hundred and sixty-two miles in length, with eighty-three locks, between the Hudson and Lake Erie, which lies six hundred and eighty-eight feet above the level of the former river, does the greatest honor to the genius of its projector; though one who has seen the canals in France, Holland, and England, will readily perceive, that the water-works of this country afford much room for improvement.' pp. 61, 62.

The canal which will require less expensive repairs than any other in our country, is perhaps the Blackstone. The nature of the descent has generally made no high banks necessary; the locks are of stone; and the water is retained on the one side commonly by the everlasting hills; on the other by a solid mass of gravel, protected by almost continuous walls of granite, in which the region abounds.

On reaching Utica, his admiration for American enterprise makes itself heard. 'It is here, that a person begins to admire the great advances, which this youthful country has made in cultivation, and acquires entirely new ideas of human activity and enterprise.' Proceeding towards Buffalo, the Duke passed through the settlement of the Oneida Indians. Their land belongs to the whole tribe, and the labor bestowed upon it is for the general good. 'Here,' says he, 'I at first thought myself in civilized Europe;' and why? we may ask. Because 'children came along the carriage to beg.' They were however Indian children. In another place the Duke is reminded of Europe by the sight of numerous grog-shops.

No man can visit the Western part of the State of New York without being somewhat moved by the spirit of the scene. The Duke is no enthusiast, but he seems rightly to estimate the wonderful results of human industry, as exhibited in that section of the country; and takes notice of the rapid progress and beautiful appearance of the towns.

At Buffalo he was favored with a military spectacle.

'It was a militia parade, consisting of thirty men, including seven officers and two cornets. They were formed like a battalion, into six divisons, and performed a number of manœuvres. The members were not all provided with muskets, but had ramrods instead. Only the officers and the rifle-company, four men strong, were in uniform. The band consisted of sixteen men, and was commanded by an officer with a colonel's epaulets and drawn sword!' p. 74.

So much for our militia system, which, if efficient anywhere, should be so on the frontiers. The Duke must certainly be in the conspiracy to overturn this venerable sytem, which, though a grievous burden to those who serve, and a jest to those who look on, yet offers the best excuse for a parade and the surest way to a showy dress and and a sounding title.

Our traveller visited Niagara, and then proceeded down the St Lawrence as far as Quebec. The hospitality which was shown him by various families is acknowledged; he tells who were his travelling companions, and which of them he liked best; mentions the ball to which he was invited, and gives the name of the lady, who, in his eyes, was the most genteelly drest. As the occurrences of this part of his tour are much the same, as may befall any one in descending the St Lawrence, we shall merely give a few extracts and hasten onwards.

'We had scarcely left this place before we sailed round a promontory, on which stands Fort Henry, into the St Lawrence. This river is here very wide, and forms an archipelago about fifty miles in length, called the Thousand Islands. The English and American commissioners for determining the boundary line, took the pains to count these islands, and found that they amounted to sixteen hundred and ninety-two; in this calculation, however, they have included every projecting rock, even if it had but a single tree. This archipelago presents a beautiful prospect; most of the islands are rocky, and are overgrown with trees, generally cedars. Here and there a fir reared his lofty head, which, generally growing upon the bare rocks, where the trees are less numerous, presents a picturesque appearance.' p. 83.

'Six miles below Prescott we arrived at a few islands called the Gallop Islands, and the first rapids. As we approached, the water appeared to be boiling, and high foaming billows arose, over which our boat passed rapidly. They are not so high as the swells at sea, but they are very short and rapid in their movement. As our Durham-boat, however, was remarkably long, it divided them without producing any disagreeable motion.' p. 84.

'The shores and islands of the river are generally covered with cedar trees, and amongst them we observed some neat houses and churches, with bright tin roofs. At the village of Coteau des Cèdres, we were obliged to encounter the last and most dangerous rapid, called the Cascades. The waves were uncommonly high, and our vessel passed over the dangerous parts with incredible velocity. Along these rapids there is also a canal provided with locks, and intended to facilitate the ascent of vessels. If these rapids are viewed from the shore, it appears incredible that a canoe should venture in without being swallowed up. Such a misfortune, however, does not happen, as we had just proved. Below this rapid the river, where it receives the Ottawa, again spreads out so as to form another lake called Lac St Louis.' p. 86.

'The river is throughout from one to two miles wide, but fifty-two miles below Trois Rivières, at the village of Richelieu, it becomes narrower, and here are the last rapids, called Rapides de Richelieu. The banks, which as far as this place are pretty low, become higher and more rocky, particularly on the left side. The neighborhood is remarkably handsome and picturesque. The majestic stream, with its pleasant banks and the view of the distant blue mountains near Quebec, produce an indescribable effect.'

'We reached Quebec at 10 o'clock in the evening. This city consists of two parts, the upper town, which is built on a rock, and the lower, which is pressed in between the river and the rock.' p. 91.

'The citadel is a new work, and not quite finished. The English speak with a kind of exultation of the fortifications of Quebec, and compare it to Gibraltar. I also expected something extraordinary, but cannot say that my expectations were gratified.' p. 92.

'The English engineers make use of bricks which are burned in England, for building the casemates of the fortification. A thousand of these bricks cost the government, including transportation, two pounds ten shillings! The reason they give is, that the bricks burned here, crack in the winter. I rather believe that the preference of these foreign bricks has some other reason.' p. 93.

'Generally speaking, the towns in Canada bear a very poor comparison with those of the United States, and will never arrive at the same point, because the settlers in Canada are mostly poor Scotchmen and Irishmen, who come out at the expense of the government; they receive land, and are oppressed by the feudal system, which opposes all prosperity; emigrants, however, who possess some property, and have an ambitious spirit, settle themselves in the United States, where nobody is oppressed; on the contrary, where all the laws are in their favor.' p. 96.

The return to New York was by way of Lake Champlain and Lake George. Regret is expressed, that the battle ground at Plattsburgh could not be visited. The Duke also failed to see Vermont, as he merely touched at Burlington and at Shoreham. This was a capital mistake in one, whose object was to see the United States. No portion of the Union offers a more exact or successful exemplification of the great principles of our democracy. Had he visited the interior of that state, he would have seen a portion of the Union eminently distinguished by the sublimity of its mountains, and the beauty of its valleys and copious streams; but he would also have seen a sovereign state, covering a large territory, in which there is a nearer approach to equality than in any of the far-famed democratic cantons of Switzerland; a state, in which the people every year resume every function of government, reappointing not only the executive and legislative branches, but the judiciary and every peace officer, even to the village justice; a state, which enjoys wise and equal laws and perfect security of property and person, and yet pays its legislators but the common wages of journeymen mechanics, and its chief magistrate not much more; a state, filled up with mountains, and yet having roads as good and as level as almost any in the Union. In a word, the state of Vermont exhibits a condition of society, such as the most visionary enthusiast for liberty never ventured to dream of; a condition,

which leaves to the individual perhaps the greatest degree of personal and public liberty, which is consistent with the organization of social life. But the Duke failed to read the lesson; he has nothing to say of Vermont, except that the elderly women there smoke tobacco.

As we follow him up the lake, we find him stopping to observe the ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, and speculating on the adaptation of several points for places of military strength.

'Fort George,' he observes, 'lies in an advantageous situation, commands the whole southern shore of the lake, with a large part of the vicinity, stands, as was said before, on a strong ground, and is covered on one side by a morass. On the eastern side alone, it is commanded by a high mountain, which, however, is at some distance. If the American government should resolve to restore Crownpoint and Ticonderoga, the latter particularly would be adapted, after fortifying the two mountains, Defiance and Independence, for an arsenal of a superior kind; it might contain large depots, serve as a fortified camp, and be successfully defended by a small garrison. Here fleets might be completed to command Lake Champlain, and an expedition against Isle aux Noix and Canada organized. However, a good road would be necessary, leading from Ticonderoga to the northern point of Lake George, three miles distant, and here it would be necessary to protect the place of embarkation by a fort. A new fort on the same spot where Fort George was erected, would be necessary. There is a good locality between this fort and Fort William Henry to found a dock-yard. The communication between Ticonderoga and the United States would be well and doubly protected by the southern point of Lake Champlain, towards Whitehall, and by Lake George. If the English should attack the United States on this side, they would undoubtedly waste much strength, and not advance a step, unless they had seized Ticonderoga.' pp. 102, 103.

In general the Duke seems to take every occasion to observe the scenes, which are conspicuous in the military annals of the country; and indulges a good deal in speculations on our means of defence and attack. Still there exists in the country neither a wish to provide for a forcible occupation of Canada, nor any serious apprehension of any formidable attack on the side of the sea. The only places, in which the English could maintain themselves in the northern part of the Union, would be such portions of territory as are thinly settled, and where the occupation would cost England a great deal and yield little advantage. A great deal is often said on the incapacity of our gov-

ernment in the event of war, to act with promptness and decisive energy. Something of this may be true of a confederation of states. But it is counterbalanced by the immense advantage, that the credit and the power of the Union are sustained and renewed by the separate credit and power of each member of the confederacy. When the national treasury is exhausted, the nation still has its resources in the treasuries of the several states; and if the enemy threatens annoyance from the sea on various points, the states themselves may anticipate the efforts of the general government, and protect their territory by forces, raised on their own credit and by their own authority. Such events actually signalized the last war; and where treasure was lavished, and life endangered for defence, it seems idle to question patriotism.

The Duke was too late in the season for Saratoga. Yet a few persons remained. Here too the battle grounds especially interest him, and most of all, the tomb of the brave General Fraser. One of the best, perhaps the best description of the defeat and capture of Burgoyne is to be found in the very interesting narrative of the Baroness de Riedesel. It is a lively picture, drawn by a lady of fine mind and character, a constant witness of the scenes of terror and distress in the British camp.

As he hastens to Albany, the Shakers of New Lebanon are not neglected. The Duke is pleased with their general appearance. For their neatness he can find no parallel but in the Boston hospital. He praises their butter and their cheese; but most of all their hogs. 'It is a rare pleasure to walk about in a Shaker pig-sty.'* One would not have expected exactly this remark from a soldier and a prince.

The Duke met with an unfortunate accident on his return from New Lebanon. Indeed he was overturned eight several times in the United States; yet, for all that, not one word of petulant complaint escapes him, and he tells of his disasters with extreme good humor. Recovering from his bruises, he descends the Hudson to West Point; where he spent two or three days very agreeably, and made friends to whom he bade a reluctant and affectionate farewell. The view from Fort Putnam reminds him of the banks of the Rhine. On the subject of historical recollections he feels like a man of honor. We quote his words.

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* Vol. 1. p. 108.

'During the revolution this fort was erected, like Fort Clinton, and was impregnable. To seize it, the English had recourse to bribery, and General Arnold, who commanded West Point, was on the point of delivering this position to them. This disgraceful treachery was fortunately prevented by the seizure of Major André.' p. 115.

'On the right shore of the latter [Tappan Sea] is the town of Tappan, where, condemned by the court-martial as a spy, Major André was hanged and buried. The English government ordered him to be dug up some years ago, and his remains to be transported to England, if I am not mistaken, to be laid in Westminster Abbey; whilst the remains of General Fraser, who fell like a hero in open battle, at the head of the royal troops, still lie without the slightest memorial in the old redoubt of Stillwater! The tree, which grew on André's grave, was also taken to England, and, as I was assured, transplanted to the royal garden, behind Carlton Palace.' p. 118.

Fine personal qualities may excite compassion; but the death of the man, who falls in an attempt to further the commission of an atrocious crime, is a subject rather for silent and secret commiseration than for public honor.

We are glad, that the Duke remained long enough at West Point to feel an interest in the establishment, and cordial respect for those, to whose active exertions the Military Academy owes its elevated reputation. Indeed the character of West Point has benefited the whole army. In another place* the Duke remarks, 'that there is scarcely any army in Europe in which the corps of officers is better composed than in the small American army; since in the United States no one can be an officer, if he is not well educated. The officers are exclusively taken from the military academy of West Point.' 'If a young man is seen in the uniform of an American officer, it may with confidence be inferred, that he is in every respect fit to maintain his place in the best society.' Such testimony has a value from the military rank of the individual who gives it.

Arrived in New York, the city was so crowded with strangers, that he could with difficulty find lodgings. At length established, he sallies forth for observation. The City Hall did not please him; nor any of the churches. The public institutions, the schools, the hospitals, the Museum, the Navy-yard, and various other places are all registered as having been visited

* Vol. 1. p. 180.

No opinions, worth citing, are expressed; and in fact the Travels are here, as too often, little more than a dull, monotonous detail of visits to the objects of public curiosity. In general the Duke seems pleased.

'In this manner eight days soon elapsed, and amusement was not wanting, as my mind was occupied with interesting and useful novelties. I passed my time in cheerful and pleasant company. At dinner and evening parties I continued to make interesting acquaintances with men of different occupations and professions. I observed that the families I visited were richly furnished with silver, china, and glass; the fine arts also contributed to the ornament of their apartments. At the evening parties we commonly had music and dancing. The dinner parties consisted generally of from twenty to thirty persons, whose conversation was generally refined. In New York, as well as at all other places, where English customs prevail, the ladies leave the table during the dessert, and the gentlemen keep their seats; however, nobody is obliged to drink, unless he feels inclined. Every one rises and leaves the house without ceremony.' p. 126.

We pass to Philadelphia and its environs; 'dear' Philadelphia, as the Duke terms it on nearer acquaintance. We have descriptions of the bridges, the water-works, the shot-towers and other matters of equal notoriety. Generally our traveller's judgment coincides with the prevalent one respecting the fine specimens of the arts, and still finer of philanthropy, in that city, whose history is so peaceful, and whose situation is so favored. But on West's picture of Christ healing the sick, he expresses himself harshly. 'Neither the composition nor the execution seems successful; and perhaps it is only here, where they are unaccustomed to see great and well executed paintings, that this could excite the great admiration it has done.' This is saying too much. It would have been quite enough to deny the merit of the picture, without denying the competency of its admirers to judge at all.

There is one other subject of vastly more importance, discussed on occasion of visiting the new Penitentiary. Omitting the description of the building, we cannot forbear to quote the Duke's remarks; partly because they form the largest specimen of reasoning in the volume, partly because the matter is of great moment.

'I do not now wish to enter upon the question whether it is advisable to abolish capital punishment altogether or not, but I maintain that in this solitary confinement, in which the prisoner is prohibit-

ed from all human converse, without work, exercise, and almost without fresh air, is even worse than punishment by death. From want of exercise they will certainly become sickly; from the want of work they will become unaccustomed to labor, and perhaps lose what skill they may have possessed heretofore in their trades, so that when restored to the world, they will be useless for any kind of business, and merely drag out a miserable existence. No book is allowed them but the Bible. It appears therefore to me perfectly possible, that this insulation of the prisoner will be injurious to his mind, and drive him to fanaticism, enthusiasm, and even derangement. When Mr Vaux asked my opinion of this prison, I could not refrain from answering him that it reminded me of the Spanish inquisition, as described by Llorente. Mr Vaux answered that it is only an experiment to ascertain whether capital punishment can be abolished; but notwithstanding this philanthropic view, the experiment appears to me to be an expensive one, because the building has already cost three hundeed and fifty thousand dollars, and the state of Pennsylvania will have to expend annually for its support, an immense sum. The first great object of a government ought to be to provide for the welfare of its good citizens, and not to oppress them with taxes; on the contrary, to relieve them as much as possible, as it is hard for the good citizens to have to maintain vagabonds, for the sake of deterring others by example, or to render convicts harmless. In this view it should be the object of the government to arrange the prisons so that convicts can maintain themselves. When once this is realized, then it is likewise easier to improve their moral principles. If it be possible that the prisoner can earn a little surplus money, in order that when he returns to society he may be in possession of a small sum for his pressing necessities, I believe it would be much better than any philanthropic experiment.' pp. 144, 145.

An excursion to Bethlehem was particularly grateful to the Duke, who throughout the work displays a mind capable of relishing the simple beauties of unaffected nature. We regret, that we cannot quote his expressions of satisfaction.

Returning to Philadelphia he continued his visits. At a Wistar-Party he met the President of the United States.

'The President is a man about sixty years old, of rather short stature, with a bald head, and of a very plain and worthy appearance. He speaks little, but what he does speak is to the purpose. I must confess that I seldom in my life have felt so true and sincere a reverence as at the moment when this honorable gentleman, whom eleven millions of people have thought worthy to elect as their chief magistrate, shook hands with me.' 'Unfortunately I could

not long converse with him, because every member of the party had greater claims than myself.' p. 157.

This sentiment of respect is becoming in a descendant of one of the most distinguished princely families of Europe. For the rest, there is very little of political matter in the volumes; the only great question, on which a very decided opinion is given, is that respecting internal improvements. 'Reasonable men,' it is said, 'conceive that the government must have the power to execute such works; the short-sighted dispute this right.' *

From Philadelphia the Duke of course went to hospitable Baltimore. Maryland was the first slave-holding state, which he entered. The moderation with which he speaks of the subject is worthy of commendation.

'The state of Maryland is the first in which I set my foot where the slavery of negroes is legally maintained. Farther to the south, this state of things is everywhere common. I merely mention the fact; it does not belong to me to give opinions on so delicate a subject. Still my journey convinced me of the truth of the old observation, that inaccurate judgments are easily formed respecting things not sufficiently known, which we have neither seen nor examined ourselves.' p. 162.

The topic of slavery, troublesome indeed at home, is the most annoying for discussion with a foreigner. The United States are in fact not at all answerable for the existence of slavery within their limits; their only responsibility relates to its extension. The very worthy and learned man still lives in our vicinity, whose high honor it was to draft the bill in Congress, by which slavery was excluded from the vast region north of the Ohio. If personal honor is to be attributed to men in proportion to the beneficial results, which follow their labors, we have hardly among us any one, who is more worthy of it. To have been prominently active in such a cause would be honor enough; but if the case was such as left the course that would be pursued by Congress doubtful, and such that a clear and well digested measure needed to be proposed in order to decide what was uncertain, then may the very unpretending individual to whom we refer, feel a pleasure, which no praise can equal, in contemplating the immense influence of his legislative career on the character and prosperity of the country. The effects are incalculable.

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* Vol. I. p. 210.

But to return to our author. He liked Baltimore very much. He found the 'society very agreeable; at dinners, everything was unceremonious, and the conversation very instructive and lively; the evening parties afford excellent music; the ladies in general are very handsome, and sing very well.'

At Washington, Congress was of course not in session. The account of that city is wholly without interest. It commemorates the visits, which were rendered; and has a catalogue of inventions at the patent- ffice. The pictures in the Rotunda are condemned. The composition and execution are both found fault with. 'The painter was, however, placed under restraint by want of taste in his countrymen for the fine arts, who resemble, in that respect, their English ancestors; the posture almost of every single person having been prescribed him.' Setting aside the unnecessary charge of a want of taste brought against us and the English, the assertion in the last sentence has surprised us. If it is correct, it is indeed a very strange thing. There must be some mistake. The manner in which Washington is laid out is compared to Carlsruhe. The resemblance holds good, in so far as the avenues diverge from one point; in every other respect of situation and grandeur of view Washington is immeasurably before Carlsruhe.

One word more as to Washington. 'I had a long conversation with the secretary of war, Mr Barbour, and General Macomb on military subjects. I differed in opinion from the secretary about the efficiency of militia-men, of whom he seemed to entertain too high an opinion.'

In Virginia the Duke visited Harper's Ferry, the Natural Bridge, the University, and the largest towns. At Staunton, though doubtless he was among very peaceable men, he met with no less than three generals and a suitable number of officers of lower dignity. There is hardly a town of respectable size in the country, but can show about as many. 'In conversing with these gentlemen,' he adds, 'I observed with astonishment the aristocratical spirit, which the Virginians possess. I was astonished to hear them praising hereditary nobility and primogeniture.'* It is rather too much to infer anything against the spirit of the Virginians; especially from a conversation which was probably purely speculative. The state, which gave

* Vol. i. p. 191.

to the country Jefferson and Madison, cannot be charged with affording no support to the purity of democratic institutions.

Of Charlottesville we have an account, and a plan of the Virginia University. Of the buildings it is complained, that they are already decaying, and that the effect of them is poor from the want of harmony. The Sage of Monticello had invited the Duke to dine. He was obliged to go on foot.

'Our long walk, caused such a delay, that we found the company at table when we entered; but Mr Jefferson came very kindly to meet us, forced us to our seats, and ordered dinner to be served up anew. He was an old man of eighty-six years of age, of tall stature, plain appearance, and long white hair.

'In conversation he was very lively, and his spirits, as also his hearing and sight, seemed not to have decreased at all with his advancing age. I found him a man who retained his faculties remarkably well in his old age, and one would have taken him for a man of sixty.' pp. 197, 198.

From Richmond the Duke descended the James river, and tells the story of Pocahontas of course; but without any important variation. The visit to Old Point Comfort gives an opportunity of commenting on the very great neatness and order, which prevail on board an American frigate.

Proceeding to Charleston by land, 'the wheat bread became scarce by degrees, and in its place we had a sort of cakes, made of Indian corn.' Again he observes, in North Carolina 'candles and lamps seem to be very scarce; for the few houses which we passed, were lighted with torches of pine.' At night his lodgings were at a solitary plantation. 'It was rather transparent; they assigned us a garret for a sleeping-place, and through the cracks in the floor we could see into the room below." The log houses of the slaves are said also to produce a surprising effect by night, as the glow of the pine torches shines through the frequent crevices.

In the houses in the interior of South Carolina, as in those of the south of Europe, the Duke often found no glass. 'At the openings of the windows there was nothing but shutters.' The clear nights and deep blue of the sky showed his rapid advance to the south; well-known constellations disappeared, and new stars became visible.

The legislature was in session at Columbia. But we find little said, especially worthy of remark. The officers of government, and the gentlemen connected with the College, are

spoken of with due respect. On approaching Charleston, the comforts and beauties of a large and hospitable metropolis compensated for the fatigues of the journey.

'Upon the right bank [of the Ashley], in the vicinity of Charleston, an entirely novel spectacle expanded itself to my view. The houses of the suburb, were, for the most part, surrounded by gardens, in which orange trees, with most splendid ripe fruit, monthly roses in full bloom, and a variety of other flourishing plants displayed themselves. The greater part of the habitations have piazzas and spacious balconies. Upon the walls and columns run creeping vines; we took notice of a great number of passion flowers. I felt delighted with this southern climate.' Vol. II. pp. 4.

The journal of his residence in Charleston gives various well-known regulations respecting the police of that city. The Duke obviously feels like a philanthropist on the subject of slavery, but his remarks are all temperate, and his journal is never filled with petulant or angry criticisms.

On almost every occasion the moderation of our traveller is exemplary. But in Georgia he says, 'all faces are haggard,' and the inhabitants may justly be called 'great barbarians.' At Milledgeville he again observes, that the men who were introduced to him had each his own odd manner; and 'it was evident, that they lived in a state separated from the civilized world.' Yet he seems to have been very hospitably received; and if kindness and attention are marks of culture, there was no room for complaint.

The Duke resolved on visiting the Creek Indians. The account of this journey is one of the best parts of his book. We willingly make copious extracts from this portion of his travels, for the description of Indian life, under the aspect here represented, is new to us.

'Towards four o'clock in the afternoon we reached the agency, a group of twenty log houses, and some negro huts. It is appointed for the residence of the agent of the United States with the Creek Indians (he, however, was absent at this time), and is situated in a very handsome tract of land on the left side of the Flint river, which rushes over a rocky bed between pretty steep banks. The right bank belongs to the Creek nation, of about twenty-one thousand souls, and is inhabited by them.' 'In one of the log houses we took up our night's lodging, and enjoyed some very well cooked venison. In a neighboring grog-shop we found a collection of drunken Indians, and some negroes, who were frolicking during the Christmas holy-days. Several of them were well dressed; they

wore mocassins and leggings of leather; broad knee-bands ornamented with white glass beads, a sort of coat of striped cotton, and upon the head a striped cotton cloth, almost like a turban. Several of them were very large. For a treat of whiskey, which I gave them, eight of them performed the war dance. They skipped here and there in a circle, moved themselves right and left, sprung against each other, raised their hands on high, let them fall again, and bellowed horribly through the whole scene. Some old men who stood near, took it in dudgeon that the young men should dance in such a way before white people. They called to them to stop. Mr Crowell, however, brought them to silence easily, by whiskey.

'The color of these Indians is a dusky brown. They have black, straight hair. Several of them possess negroes, to whom it is very acceptable to live with them, since they are treated with more equality than by the whites. Some of these negroes were very well clothed in the Indian manner, they drank and jumped about with the Indians. One of them was of colossal stature, and appeared to be in great request among the Indians, to whom he served as interpreter. The constitution of these Indians is a mixture of the aristocratical and republican form of government. The chiefs are chosen for life, and the dignity is not hereditary; for improper conduct they can be deposed. They cannot write their language. Their laws are of course very simple, and founded on traditionary usage.'

'The Indians have thrown bridges over two brooks with marshy shores; at each of them we paid, with great pleasure, half a dollar toll-money. The bridges are indeed not remarkably good, yet better than several in the Christian state of Georgia, and even in many of the more northern states. We met but few of the Indian inhabitants; these were all wrapt up in woollen blankets. We only saw three wigwams, Indian houses, chiefly toll-houses of the bridges. They resemble the log houses, neither are they so open as those which I saw last summer in the state of New York.' pp. 23, 25.

'We took a walk to a plantation lying near, which belonged to an Indian named M'Intosh. He was absent at Washington as a delegate from his nation. He is the son of that M'Intosh, who obtained from the state of Georgia the title of General, and who last spring, on account of the treaty with the state, had been shot by his countrymen and hewn in pieces. Polygamy prevails among the Indians. The young M'Intosh had indeed only two wives, a white woman and an Indian. They say he had several wives whom he wished to keep; the white woman however had driven them with scolding and disgrace out of the house, as she would only submit to one Indian rival. We did not see the Indian wife. The

white wife, however, received us quite politely. She is the daughter of a planter in Georgia, and tolerably pretty. She was attired in the European style, only, according to the Indian fancy in dress, she were a quantity of glass beads about her neck. She showed us her two children, completely white, and also the portrait of her father-in-law, as large as life, with the sword of honor given him by the United States. The family is in very good circumstances, and possesses seventy negroes.' p. 27.

'For the singularity of the thing, I will notice our dinner of today, that the inquisitive reader may observe that one is in no danger of hunger on the lands of the Indians; soup of turnips, roast-beef, a roast turkey, venison with a kind of sour sauce, roast chickens, and pork with sweet potatoes.' p. 28.

'Not far from this place, we noticed a number of Indians collected in the neighborhood of a plantation. We left our carriage to inquire into the cause of it. There had been a horse-race of middling, unsightly horses; the festival was, however, ended, and the meeting was on the point of breaking up. A white planter who was there, conducted us to the son of the Big Warrior. He was himself a chief, and possessed a high reputation, as was said amongst those of the nation. He sat upon a felled tree between two inferior chiefs. His dress was a tunic of flowered, clear blue calico, a piece of the same stuff was wrapped round his head like a turban. He wore richly ornamented leather leggings set with glass beads, and mocassins, and had an equally ornamented hunting-pouch hung around him. Moderately fat, and of a great stature, he appeared to be about thirty years old. He had mustaches like all his countrymen. I was introduced to him, and shook hands with him. The conversation was very trifling and short. It took place through an interpreter who appeared to be a dismissed soldier. This creature caused the chief to rise when he commenced speaking to him; when I begged him to remain sitting, he reseated himself mechanically. He directed no questions to me, and answered mine with yes and no. To the question, whether he knew anything of the country of which I was a native, he answered by a shake of the head. He looked no more at me. Several Indians wore their hair in a singular style; it was shorn on both sides of the head, and the middle, from the neck over to the forehead, stood up like a cock's comb. Seen from behind, they appeared as if they wore a helmet. Quite small boys practised themselves already in shooting with a little bow. I attempted to joke with a little fellow, three years old, but he took the jest in bad part, and threatened me with his bow.' pp. 29, 30.

The Duke proceeded to Montgomery and thence down the Alabama to Mobile. The climate seems to have been particu-

larly agreeable to him; in December he was cheered by the warmth of a German spring; by the landscape, brilliant with live oaks and various evergreens, by the air, warm and soothing as a May evening. But the pleasure of the impression was marred by the recollection, that this air in summer is poisonous; and that death comes to the work of destruction, concealed in the luxuriance of vegetation and all the abundance, which nature heaves from her lap in the fertile regions of the South. The charms of a southern clime gave an interest to travelling through countries but little inhabited, and made an excursion of pleasure out of a journey, which in the North would have been only a succession of privations. Thus, in travelling to Pensacola, the road could not be discerned, so few were the traces of it; and the party, having been overtaken by night, were obliged to make their way by imitating the noise of barking, that dogs might answer; and their device having succeeded, they went towards the place from which they heard the deep-mouthed welcome proceed. But the weather was like summer; and an excellent meal could be made by the running brooks in the grateful shade. Pensacola itself was 'the most miserable place, that had been seen this side of the Atlantic.'

The Duke reached New Orleans on the 21st of January, and remained there nine weeks.

'I determined to wait in New Orleans for the mild season, and then to ascend the Mississippi. The result was an extensive acquaintance, a succession of visits, a certain conformity in living, which one cannot refrain from yielding to in a city. No day passed over, this winter, which did not produce something pleasant or interesting; each day, however, was nearly the same as its predecessors. Dinners, evening parties, plays, masquerades, and other amusements followed close on each other, and were interrupted only by the little circumstances which accompany life in this hemisphere, as well as in the other.' p. 56.

We are not inclined to enter particularly into the account, given of the state of society in New Orleans. In this part of the volume the Duke allows himself in expressions more unjust, and descriptions more improper, than in the other portions of his travels. We cannot but think it exceedingly indelicate to publish in a book an account of a dinner party in a private family. It is wrong to speak of it at all with the name and personal appearance of the hostess; doubly wrong, if the conversation is quoted, and it is declared who of the party drank too much

wine, and to what ludicrous results the excitement led. We are glad that the translator has omitted some passages; which indeed contain no serious charges against any one, except him, who forgets himself so far as to publish what, whether right or wrong, belong to the sacred things of private hospitality.

Our traveller is moreover very much moved with compassion for certain mulatto women, whom he saw; and in whose company he himself declares it is not decent to be found. Surely there is no need of attributing to undue haughtiness, and to pride resembling the pride of nobility, the disdain which decent people may feel for such persons as he describes. It is but the exercise of the most common virtue in rejecting alliance and intercourse with the abandoned. If it be true, as he asserts, that such women, if they have property, can establish themselves well in Europe, it proves, not a superior philanthropy as displayed in an indifference to a tinge of negro blood, but a less delicate sense of the nature of conjugal relations.

The Duke speaks of New Orleans, as though it were dangerous to be abroad there in the evening. It would seem as if every poorer man were armed with a stiletto and prepared for picking pockets. In a city, which within a few years has undergone so many changes, and which from its situation is exposed to be infested by fugitives from the West Indies, it would not be surprising to find a large number of vagabonds and worthless men.

The ascent of the Mississippi is next described. But the account contains nothing of moment. On the 10th of April, he 'took a solemn leave of the majestic father of rivers, the Mississippi; but, with God's permission, not an eternal one.' We find nothing very curious, till we come to New Harmony. And this, we must observe, is again one of the best parts of the book. Mr Owen's society is at an end; and we have here a very satisfactory account of it in its season of greatest prosperity. The Duke deserves credit for his good sense in predicting the speedy end of it.

'I came with the utmost expectation to New Harmony, curious to become acquainted with a man of such extraordinary sentiments. In the tavern, I accosted a man very plainly dressed, about fifty years of age, rather of low stature, who entered into a conversation with me, concerning the situation of the place, and the disordered state in which I should find everything, where all was newly established, &c. When I asked this man how long before Mr

Owen would be there, he announced himself, to my no small surprise, as Mr Owen, was glad at my visit, and offered himself to show everything, and explain to me whatever remained without explanation.' p. 108.

'In the first place, Mr Owen carried me to the quondam church of Rapp's society; a simple wooden building, with a steeple of the same materials, provided with a clock. This church was at present appropriated to joiner's and shoemaker's shops, in which the boys are instructed in these mechanic arts.'

'Mr Owen then conducted me to Rapp's former dwelling, a large, well-built brick house, with two lightning rods. The man of God, it appeared, took especial good care of himself; his house was by far the best in the place, surrounded by a garden, with a flight of stone steps, and the only one furnished with lightning rods. Mr Owen, on the contrary, contented himself with a small apartment in the same tavern where I lodged.' p. 109.

'In the evening Mr Owen conducted me to a concert in the non-descript building. Most of the members of the society were present. The orchestra was not numerous; it consisted at first only of one violin, one violoncello, one clarionet, and two flutes. Nevertheless the concert was surprisingly good, especially as the musicians have not been together a year. The clarionet player performed particularly well, and afterwards let us hear him on the bugle. Several good male and female vocalists then took a part; they sang among other things a trio accompanied by the clarionet only. Declamation was interspersed among the musical performances; Lord Byron's stanzas to his wife after their separation were extremely well recited. Between the two parts of the concert, the music played a march, each gentlemen gave a lady his arm, and a promenade took place, resembling a Polonaise with pretty figures, sometimes in two couples, sometimes in four; two ladies in the middle, the gentlemen separated from the ladies, then again all together. The concert closed with a lively cotillion. I was, on the whole, much amused; and Mr Huygens took an active share in the dancing. This general evening amusement takes place often in the week; besides, on Tuesday, there is a general ball.' 'All the men did not take a share in the dance, i. e. the lower class, but read newspapers, which were scattered over the side-tables.'

'Military exercises form a part of the instruction of the children. I saw the boys divided into two ranks, and parted into detachments, marching to labor, and on the way they performed various wheelings and evolutions. All the boys and girls have a very healthy look, are cheerful and lively, and by no means bashful. The boys labor in the field and garden, and were now occupied with new fencing. The girls learn female employments;

they were as little oppressed as the boys with labor and teaching; these happy and interesting children were much more employed in making their youth pass as pleasantly as possible.'

'I became acquainted with a Madam F———, a native of St-Petersburg. She married an American merchant, settled there, and had the misfortune to lose her husband three days after marriage. She then joined her husband's family at Philadelphia, and as she was somewhat eccentric and sentimental, quickly became enthusiastically attached to Mr Owen's system. She told me, however, in German, that she found herself egregiously deceived; that the highly vaunted equality was not altogether to her taste; that some of the society were too low, and the table was below all criticism. The good lady appeared to be about to run from one extreme to the other; for she added, that in the summer, she would enter a Shaker establishment near Vincennes.' pp. 110, 113.

'I had an ample conversation with Mr Owen, relating to his system, and his expectations. He looks forward to nothing less than to remodel the world entirely; to root out all crime; to abolish all punishments; to create similar views and similar wants, and in this manner to avoid all dissension and warfare. When his system of education shall be brought into connexion with the great progress made in mechanics, and which is daily increasing, every man can then, as he thought, provide his smaller necessaries for himself, and trade would cease entirely! I expressed a doubt of the practicability of his system in Europe, and even in the United States. He was too unalterably convinced of the results, to admit the slightest room for doubt.' p. 115.

'In the evening there was a general meeting in the large hall; it opened with music. Then one of the members, an English architect of talent, who came to the United States with Mr. Owen, whose confidence he appeared to possess, and was here at the head of the arranging and architectural department, read some extracts from the newspapers, upon which Mr Owen made a very good commentary; for example, upon the extension and improvement of steam-engines, upon their adaptation to navigation, and the advantages resulting therefrom. He lost himslf, however, in his theories, when he expatiated on an article which related to the experiments which had been made with Perkins's steam-gun. During these lectures, I made my observations on the much vaunted equality, as some tatterdemalions stretched themselves on the platform close by Mr Owen. The better educated members kept themselves together, and took no notice of the others. I remarked also, that the members belonging to the higher class of society had put on the new costume, and made a party by themselves. After the lecture, the band played a march, each gentleman took a lady, and

marched with her round the room. Lastly, a cotillion was danced; the ladies were then escorted home, and each retired to his own quarters.' p. 116.

'In the evening I paid visits to some ladies, and witnessed philosophy and the love of equality put to the severest trial with one of them. She is named Virginia, from Philadelphia; is very young and pretty, was delicately brought up, and appears to have taken refuge here on account of an unhappy attachment. While she was singing and playing very well on the piano forte, she was told that the milking of the cows was her duty, and that they were waiting unmilked. Almost in tears, she betook herself to this servile employment, deprecating the new social system, and its so much prized equality.'

'After the cows were milked, in doing which the poor girl was trod on by one, and daubed by another, I joined an aquatic party with the young ladies and some young philosophers, in a very good boat upon the inundated meadows of the Wabash. The evening was beautiful moonlight, and the air very mild; the beautiful Miss Virginia forgot her *stable* sufferings, and regaled us with her sweet voice. Somewhat later we collected together in the house No. 2, appointed for a school-house, where all the young ladies and gentlemen of *quality* assembled. In spite of the equality so much recommended, this class of persons will not mix with the common sort, and I believe that all the well brought up members are disgusted, and will soon abandon the society. We amused ourselves exceedingly during the whole remainder of the evening, dancing cotillions, reels, and waltzes, and with such animation as rendered it quite lively. New figures had been introduced among the cotillions, among which is one called the *new social system.* Several of the ladies made objections to dancing on Sunday; we thought however, that in this sanctuary of philosophy, such prejudices should be utterly discarded, and our arguments, as well as the inclination of the ladies, gained the victory.' pp. 117, 118.

'In the evening I visited Mr M'Clure and Madam Fretageot, living in the same house. She is a French woman, who formerly kept a boarding-school in Philadelphia, and is called *mother* by all the young girls here. The handsomest and most polished of the female world here, Miss Lucia Saistare and Miss Virginia, were under her care. The cows were milked this evening when I came in, and therefore we could hear their performance on the piano forte, and their charming voices, in peace and quiet. Later in the evening we went to the kitchen of No. 3, where there was a ball. The young ladies of the better class kept themselves in a corner under Madam Fretageot's protection, and formed a little aristocratical club. To prevent all possible partialities, the gentlemen, as well as the ladies, drew numbers for the cotillions, and thus apportioned

them equitably. Our young ladies turned up their noses apart at the democratic dancers, who often in this way fell to their lot.' p. 119.

'I add but a few remarks more. Mr Owen considers it as an absurdity to promise never-ending love on marriage. For this reason he has introduced the civil contract of marriage, after the manner of the Quakers, and the French laws, into his community, and declares that the bond of matrimony is in no way indissoluble. The children, indeed, cause no impediment in case of a separation, for they belong to the community from their second year, and are all brought up together.' pp. 121, 122.

Thus we enable the reader to judge himself of the spirit with which the Duke writes, and of his general manner. We have no room for further extracts, though we could willingly follow him through Ohio. Of this state he found the Governor engaged in cutting a wagon-pole. It seemed to him, that he had fallen on the days of Cincinnatus, and we are pleased at the sincerity, with which the illustrious foreigner acknowledges the simple hospitality with which he was entertained.

From Pittsburgh the Duke went to see Rapp's society. There his heart was cheered by a 'very good glass of old Rhenish,' and by a table spread after the fashion of his country.

At Philadelphia the charge is repeated, that the Americans are deficient in taste for painting. At Hamburg the Duke found himself surrounded by his countrymen; and felt that the German emigrants form one of the 'roughest portions of the community.' A young German, who had studied at the Universities, was particularly giddy through excitement for liberty. 'It was the first time in the United States, that the *affectation* of republicanism arrested my attention.' This is the remark of our author, and is creditable both to us and to him.

One week more the Duke passes in New York. With a fervent acknowledgment of the kindness of Providence in protecting him through his long journey, after travelling over more than seven thousand miles, he set sail from New York in June, 1826.

We cannot but part from the Duke with good feeling. His intentions towards this country are manifestly honest. The general impressions which will be produced by the volumes on candid persons, unacquainted with the country, are favorable. Universal hospitality and security; freedom from affectation; industry and thrift; and the happiness that arises from refinement in social life; of these, as existing among us, almost

every page furnishes examples. The cavillers at America will also find something, which they can turn to account.

Generally, however, the volumes do not touch, except incidentally, on the strong points in American character. Nothing is said of the practical influence of our political system; and the only notices of our great men are trifling. Indeed we have in the accounts of the cities very much, which is entirely commonplace, and which might as well happen to a traveller in Europe as in this hemisphere. The only chance of forming from this work a general idea respecting the state of society among us, must be by making inferences from an abundance of insignificant details.

Nor are we prepared to consider this publication as entirely accidental. We cannot but suspect, that the Duke had all along an intention, not perhaps very fully developed, of making a book; and we further believe, that he was led to this view in part by the volume, which was published about ten years ago on Brazil by another German Prince of scientific merit and liberal curiosity.

Finally, we cannot but observe, that it is not worth while for Americans to be sensitive as to what European travellers say of us. The moral and political character of the country is an answer to the idle calumnies, which are often propagated respecting us. Our police is confessedly the weakest (so far as force is concerned) in the world; and yet property is nowhere more safe; we triumph over our enemies at sea, and repel their attacks on land. Our executive government is weak, and our country quiet. The wilderness is peopled, and free government is rapidly extending towards the Pacific. If these things do not prove the general diffusion of justice and industry, of intelligence, wholesome principles, courtesy, and courage, our condition is as much a contradiction to the eternal laws of morality and right, as it is to the theory of the benefits of unlimited monarchy.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

The American Journal of Improvements in the useful Arts. Vol. I. No. I. Edited by I. L. Skinner. Washington. W. Green. 8vo. pp. 128.

On the Motion of Solids on Surfaces, in the two Hypotheses of Perfect Sliding and Perfect Rolling, with a particular Examination of their small Oscillatory Motions. By Henry James Anderson, M. D. Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in Columbia College, New York. Dated 10th of November 1827. Laid before the Society, 4th January, 1828. Published as a Part of Vol. III, New Series, of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia.

EDUCATION.

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Extracts from the Preface written by Professor Stuart.

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In regard to the *Translation;* it was undertaken by Mr. STOWE, at my request; and it is performed in a manner which entirely satisfies me, and which, I hope, will satisfy the public. A few errors have crept into the Appendix; but these are noticed in the Advertisement which follows."

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NEW SERIES, NO. XXXVIII.

APRIL, 1829.

ART. I.—1. *Essai sur la Température de l'Intérieur de la Terre.* Par M. L. CORDIER, Membre de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, de l'Institut, &c. Lu à l'Académie des Sciences, des 4 Juin, 9 et 23 Juillet, 1827. pp. 84.

2. *Essay on the Temperature of the Interior of the Earth.* By M. L. CORDIER, &c. Translated from the French, by the Junior Class in Amherst College. Amherst, Mass. August, 1828. 18mo. pp. 94.

3. *Considerations on Volcanoes, the probable Causes of their Phenomena, the Laws which determine their March, the Disposition of their Products, and their Connexion with the present State and past History of the Globe; leading to the Establishment of a New Theory of the Earth.* By POULETT SCROPE, Secretary of the Geological Society. London, 1825. 8vo. pp. 270.

RESPECTABLE geologists of the present century have been nearly as much distinguished for their skepticism, in regard to theories of the earth, as their predecessors were for their credulousness. Lecturers on the subject, indeed, chiefly perhaps that they might not seem to be wanting in system, have given a sort of poetic exhibition of their faith in some geological hypothesis—in most instances, in this country, the Wernerian. The more practical geologists, however, have devoted themselves exclusively to the observation of facts, exhibiting even a fastidious avoidance of hypothesis. One of the most

distinguisned clusters of them in Europe, for example, the London Geological Society, have chosen the following, from Lord Bacon, for their watchword;—'Quod si cui mortalium cordi et curæ sit, non tantum inventis hærere, atque iis uti, sed ad ulteriora penetrare; atque non disputando adversarium, sed opere naturam vincere; denique non belle et probabiliter opinari, sed certo et ostentive scire; tales, tanquam veri scientiarum filii, nobis (si videbitur) se adjungant; ut omissis naturæ atriis, quæ infiniti contriverunt, aditus aliquando ad interiora patefiat.'

It was agreeable to human nature, that when men of logical minds saw the inadequacy of existing theories to explain the phenomena, they should abandon themselves to unreasonable skepticism in regard to any attempt to theorize. And the great number and zeal of the adherents of one of these hypotheses, the Wernerian, has increased this skeptical tendency among men, who saw that it was merely names and authority that kept up the illusion. While, however, the Neptunian system has been losing ground, we have for several years observed, even among the most cautious, a leaning towards the leading idea of Hutton, that internal heat has been the grand agent in the formation of our globe. A great variety of facts, brought to light by modern science, has tended to produce this change of opinion. Among these may be named the occurrence of more than two hundred volcanoes in all parts of the globe, and the identity of the lavas they have ejected; also, the existence of numerous extinct volcanoes, and the gradual passage of their lavas into every variety of trap rocks, thus establishing the identity of their origin; also, the occurrence of granite under precisely the same forms as trap rocks, and similarly intruded among other rocks, producing like dislocations and overturnings. Experiments also have been made which show that rocks may readily be made to assume a crystalline form, from a state of fusion; while few, if any facts, support the idea that they could have resulted from chemical solution in water. Observation has likewise shown that there is a constant radiation of heat from the earth towards the heavens; and that the earth is gradually cooling. But the argument more direct and conclusive than any other, perhaps, in favor of internal heat, is derived from certain experiments that have been made in deep mines, and other excavations, showing that the heat rapidly increases as we descend. This fact has but recently at-

tracted the attention of philosophers; and even up to this time, it has been considered as by no means established. To bring together all that is known on this subject, to discuss the merit of the observations by pointing out local causes of error, and to establish the truth of the general principle, constitute the objects of M. Cordier in the Essay, named at the head of this article.

'In the first part of the work,' says he, 'I shall discuss the merit of the experiments hitherto published, on subterranean temperature, and of the consequences which have been drawn from them; and shall give an account of corroborating experiments to which I have devoted myself. In the second part, I shall exhibit in detail, some direct experiments which I have attempted, while pursuing a new system of observations, and shall enumerate the immediate consequences which appeared to me necessarily to result from my researches. In the third part, I shall point out the principal applications to the theory of the earth, and as connected with this subject, shall present summarily many new geological observations.' p. 8.

The author finds that the number of mines, in which experiments on this subject have been made, in France, England, Switzerland, Saxony, Peru, and Mexico, is more than forty; and the number of observations about three hundred. They were made, some upon the air, some upon the water, and some upon the rock in excavations; and at depths varying from 127 to 1700 feet. A critical examination of these experiments occupies forty pages of M. Cordier's Essay; and we recommend this part of his work to any who may be disposed to impute the high temperature of mines, and other excavations to local causes. They will find, we presume, that the author has fairly and ingeniously estimated the amount of influence exerted upon the temperature by these local causes; and probably, also, they will find several sources of error here examined, which they have never thought of, and which would not be apt to occur to any man not thoroughly conversant with mining operations. The author derives from this examination the following conclusions.

'1. If we reject a certain number of observations as too uncertain, all the rest indicate, in a manner more or less certain, that there exists a remarkable increase of temperature, as we descend from the surface of the earth towards the interior. It is reasonable then to admit this increase.

'2. The results collected at the Observatory at Paris, are the

only ones that can be certainly depended upon, for obtaining a numerical expression of the law of this increase. This expression gives 51 feet as the depth which corresponds to an increase of one degree in the subterranean temperature. And we would remark in passing, that according to this result, the temperature of boiling water, under the city of Paris, would be at the depth of 8212 feet, or about a mile and a half.

'3. Among all the other results, a small number only, afford numerical expressions of the law sought for, sufficiently approximate to be taken into account. These expressions vary from 104 to 24 feet, for one degree of increase; their average in general indicates an increase more rapid than has been hitherto admitted. Their evidence has so much the more weight, as embracing the results of many series of long continued observations.

'4. Lastly, in grouping together, by countries, all the results admissible on any principle, I am led to present a new and important idea, to wit, that the differences between the results collected at the same place [different places? Trans.] are referable not solely to the imperfection of the experiments, but also to a certain irregularity in the distribution of subterranean heat in different countries. p. 50.

In order to avoid the local causes of error, to which most experiments upon subterranean temperature had been subject, M. Cordier performed several himself in the coal mines of France. We have not time to detail the precautions which were used; although every one who attempts similar experiments (and we hope they will be attempted in this country), should be acquainted with them. Suffice it to say, they were as complete as science and experience could make them. The following are the inferences from these experiments, and all the others detailed by the author.

'1. Our experiments fully prove the existence of an internal heat which is natural to the terrestrial globe, which depends not on the influence of the sun's rays, and which increases rapidly with the depth.

'2. The increase of subterranean heat in proportion to the depth does not follow the same law throughout the whole earth. It may be twice or even thrice as great, in one country as in another.

'3. These differences are not in a constant ratio to the latitude or longitude.

'4. Finally, the increase is certainly much more rapid than has heretofore been supposed; it may be as great as 27, or even 24 feet, for a degree in some countries. Provisionally, however, the mean must not be put lower than 46 feet.' p. 70.

These inferences we consider as legitimate; nor can it be any longer doubted that there is a very sensible and even rapid increase of heat as we descend into the earth. The establishment of this fact, we consider as constituting the principal value of M. Cordier's work. Further observations may indeed modify these conclusions, and bring to light others of an interesting character. But any longer to doubt the fact of an internal heat in the globe, not derived from local causes, nor from the rays of the sun, we consider as unreasonable skepticism. This fact being admitted, every philosophical mind is almost irresistibly led to make several theoretical inferences of a highly interesting character. If the heat increases to the centre of the earth, at the rate of one degree for 46 feet, the excessive temperature of 3500 degrees of Wedgwood's pyrometer, equal to 450,000 degrees of Fahrenheit, must exist there. And a temperature sufficient to melt all known rocks would exist at a depth of little more than 60 miles. Indeed, from many geological facts, M. Cordier is of opinion, that such a heat exists at a much less depth. He infers that the whole mass of the globe, with the exception of this crust, less than 60 miles in thickness, is at present composed of melted lava, similar to that which is so frequently thrown from volcanoes, which he regards as the vent-holes of this vast subterranean furnace,—the safety valves of our globe.

We are aware that it is, by some, thought to be 'a prodigious leap, from these experiments in the small way, to the igneous liquidity of the central mass!' The true state of the argument appears to us to be this. So far as we have yet penetrated into the earth, we find the temperature to increase one degree for every 46 feet. At this rate, all the rocks would be melted, long before we arrive at the centre of the globe. Now M. Cordier may ask, what reason have we to suppose the heat does not increase to the centre, at the same rate as it does for 1700 feet? If any one doubts it, let him show at what point the heat ceases to increase. But he looks around him, and finds 200 volcanoes on the globe, pouring out melted rocks, in just the same state as he supposes them to exist in the interior of the earth. It has been proved, moreover, that this melted lava, in many instances, at least, is ejected from beneath the primary rocks. It strikes us, that almost any man, under such circumstances, would be apt to believe that this volcanic lava, before his eyes, was no other than a portion of the ignited fluid matter, which

his experiments on subterranean temperature had led him to suspect, might exist in the earth. And when he saw the spheroidal figure of the earth, and that the organic remains of northern latitudes were evidently the products of a tropical climate, he would be very likely to feel a stronger conviction of the correctness of his first inference.

Nor would his faith in this conclusion probably be shaken, were he asked, as he is asked by an anonymous correspondent of one of the scientific journals of our country, whether, 'if the earth was, at the beginning, highly heated throughout, it would cool in that uniform ratio assumed by him; so that the remaining heat may be represented by a four-sided pyramid whose sides are isosceles triangles? Ought not the remaining heat to be represented by a four-sided pyramid whose sides are the areas of Gothic arches with sides nearly parallel towards the base? The latter would certainly be the true figure for representing the remaining heat of a red hot cannon ball, after it had been suspended by a chain, until its superficial heat should be so far reduced that it could be borne by the hand.'

Without entering into the mathematical considerations involved in these inquiries, M. Cordier might reasonably doubt, whether it were safe to infer the precise ratio of refrigeration in so large a body as the earth, covered, as it is, with an envelope many miles in thickness, composed of materials which scarcely conduct heat at all, from the manner in which an iron ball, a few inches in thickness, and an excellent conductor of heat, gives off its caloric. At least, he would probably think it safer to trust to the indications of central heat and fluidity, exhibited by volcanoes, the figure of the earth, &c. than to any physico-mathematical inference of this kind. Or, even if he granted the correctness of this writer's positions, he might say that the red heat of iron, admitted by him to exist at the earth's centre on his own principles, would be but little inferior to a temperature which would answer all the essential conditions of his hypothesis.

This idea of internal heat and fluidity, constitutes the fundamental element of a new Theory of the Earth; though in fact, it is very analogous to the views of Hutton. The supposition is, that the whole globe was originally in a state of fusion, and that from the beginning, it has been gradually cooling by the radiation of its heat; thus adding new beds of primary rocks to

the interior of its crust, while upon its surface the secondary deposits have been forming by the action of water. According to this view, the lowest and the highest rocks are the newest, and primary, as well as alluvial rocks, are still forming.

If we admit the leading idea of this system, the most difficult phenomena in geology, as well as in some other branches of science, are explained by it with great ease. It supposes a vast volcanic agency to have been in operation from the creation;—much more active and powerful in early times than at present. Such a cause would explain most satisfactorily all the anomalies of the trap rocks, and of granite; also, the inclination of rock strata in general, with all their overturnings, contortions, and dislocations; also, the intrusion among all classes of rocks of metallic and other veins; also, the elevation of our present continents from the bottom of the ocean. The most important of these applications we shall now proceed to make with all possible brevity.

The explanation of volcanic phenomena by this theory is satisfactory, and even beautiful. 'They appear,' says M. Cordier, 'to be the simple and natural effect of the cooling of the interior of the globe;—an effect purely thermometrical.' The contraction of the refrigerating crust subjects, as he supposes, the internal fluid matter to an immense pressure, by which it is forced out through the volcanic vents; and he calculates that this force cannot be less, in some cases, than 28,000 atmospheres. He makes the following curious estimates on this subject.

'At Teneriffe in 1803, I calculated as nearly as possible, the amount of matter ejected by the eruptions of 1705 and 1798. I performed the same operation, in respect to the products of two eruptions, yet more perfectly isolated, which exist in the extinct volcanoes of the interior of France; to wit, in 1806, those of the volcano of Murol, in Auvergne; and in 1809, those of the volcano of Cherchemus, near Izarles, at Mezin. I found the volume of matter in each eruption, to be much less than one cubic kilometre, or 1308044971 cubic yards. From these data, and others of the same kind, which I have obtained at other places, I feel justified in taking the volume of a cubic kilometre, as the extreme limit of the product of eruptions in general. But such a mass is very small in relation to the whole earth. Applied to its surface, it would form a bed, which would not be one 500th of a millimetre in thickness. More definitely, if we suppose the mean thickness of the crust of the earth to be 62,1 miles, a contraction of

this envelope, which would shorten the mean radius of the central mass one 494th of a millimetre (one 12694th of an inch), would be sufficient to produce the matter of one eruption.

'Proceeding upon these data, if we suppose that the contraction alone produces the phenomenon, and that over all the earth five eruptions take place yearly, we shall come to the conclusion, that the difference between the contraction of the solid crust of the earth, and that of the internal mass, would not shorten the radius of that mass more than a millimetre (,03937 of an inch) in a century; if there are but two eruptious per year, it would require two centuries and a half to shorten the radius as much. We see that, in all these cases, an action extremely small is sufficient to produce the phenomena.' p. 83.

Admitting this general explanation of volcanic phenomena, it is easy to see how it would account for 'the identity of circumstances that characterize volcanic action in all parts of the earth; also for the very great reduction in the number of volcanoes since the origin of things; also, for the diminution in the quantity of matter ejected at each eruption; also, for the almost exact resemblance in composition, of the products ejected at each geological epoch; and also, for the small differences that exist among lavas that appertain to different epochs.'

The striking features of volcanic action have excited a strong curiosity to know its origin. In every age, accordingly, hypotheses have been almost as numerous as philosophers. Our own age, so fertile in every species of intellectual creation, has produced its full share; and scarcely do we take up a scientific journal, without meeting with some new attempt to explain the origin of these igneous phenomena. The repetition of these efforts shows that they are unsatisfactory. Indeed, we must be pardoned for saying, that so far as the probability of the hypothesis is concerned, we do not apprehend that modern philosophers, until the appearance of the theory above explained, had made much advance upon the Greek and Roman poets; who described volcanoes as the forging-shops of the Cyclops, and the prisons of the giants who rebelled against Jupiter.

A very ingenious hypothesis, however, to explain volcanic phenomena, has of late been proposed and ably defended both in Europe, and in this country; and for a time, at least, it seems destined to be a rival theory to that of Scrope, Cordier, and others, whose outlines we have given above. This refers volcanoes to the action of water upon the metallic bases of the

earths and alkalies in the interior of the earth, where these bases are supposed still to exist in a metallic state. But more of this theory before we close.

Earthquakes, we believe, are now almost universally referred to the same source as volcanoes; or rather the two phenomena are considered as merely different exhibitions of the same power. If the supposition of central fluidity from heat be admitted, it is reasonable to suppose, that as the internal mass continues to cool and increase the thickness of the earth's crust, a part of the matter would be decomposed and form gases, as in the coagulation of lavas. These will be continually struggling to get vent; and being urged from place to place by inequality of pressure, along the probably irregular interior surface of the earth's envelope, will produce all the capricious phenomena of earthquakes. And when these gases have acquired sufficient expansive power, by their accumulation, to break through this envelope, or when they have found their way to some volcanic vent, they will drive out a quantity of the fluid matter with which they are surrounded, in the form of lavas; and thus the eruption would put an end to the earthquake, an inference that corresponds exactly with facts.

The diversities of climate found on the globe, have excited no small degree of interest among philosophers, to determine their cause. But the failure of explanation here, has been as conspicuous as in the case of volcanoes. Let us apply to this subject the supposition of central heat and fluidity.

There is reason to suppose that the thickness of the earth's crust varies very much in different countries. The thinner that crust, the more easily will the internal heat pass through it. In such a place, therefore, we should expect that the climate would be warmer, than in one situated upon a thicker part of the envelope. Only admit, then, that such inequality in the thickness of the crust exists, and we see why it is that the climate is so different, in the same latitudes, on different continents.

On this principle the envelope of the liquid fiery mass in the earth ought to be thicker in this country than in Europe, since the mean temperature of our climate, in the same latitudes, is considerably lower than in Europe. It is an interesting inquiry whether experiments confirm this inference from the theory. If the crust be thicker here, the temperature, as we descend into the earth, ought to increase at a slower rate than in Eu-

rope. The only conclusive experiment however, with which we are acquainted, that has been performed in the United States on subterranean temperature, is that of Mr Disbrow, made at Brunswick, New Jersey, and quoted in the note appended to the translation of Cordier's Essay. In boring for water at that place, he found the temperature of a spring, that issued from the strata at the depth of two hundred and fifty feet, to be fifty-two degrees of Fahrenheit, while that of another spring, at the depth of three hundred and ninety-four feet, was fifty-four degrees. This would indicate an increase of one degree of heat, at that place, for seventy-two feet in depth; whereas in Europe, according to M. Cordier, it is only forty-six feet. The experiment of Mr Disbrow appears to have been a very satisfactory one; yet we ought not, probably, to place much dependence on results derived from a single trial of this kind. We trust however, that no opportunity will be lost in future, for multiplying such observations in this country.

'All the world,' says Cuvier, in his recent analysis of of Cordier's Essay, 'agree in believing that the mass of the globe has been in a liquid state. But whether it was aqueous or igneous liquidity, is a question upon which there is a difference of opinion.' The evidence of this original liquidity is derived, not merely from the records of geology, but follows as a probable inference from the spheroidal figure of the earth. The effect of its rotatory motion, while yet in a fluid state, as every philosopher knows, would be to flatten the polar regions, and elongate the equatorial. And although it might have been created with a spheroidal figure, yet this figure seems most naturally referable to that class of facts, which we may expect to find dependent on second causes. So far as a change in the earth, from a sphere to a spheroid, is concerned, however, either aqueous or igneous fluidity will equally well explain it.

It has been thought a strong confirmation of the system of gravitation, that certain minute irregularities in the motions of the heavenly bodies, were first suggested by the theory, and afterwards confirmed by observation. M. Cordier has laid the foundation, by several of his suggestions, for a similar argument in respect to the theory under consideration. For example, he infers from his premises, that the crust of the earth possesses a certain degree of flexibility. Hence it would follow, that the operation of the tides must extend to the crust of the earth itself. Perhaps future observations may confirm this suggestion.

Again, the gradual refrigeration of the globe must produce a small contraction of its bulk. One effect of this process would be slightly to depress the surface of continents and produce an apparent rise of the waters. And effects of a similar kind have been already observed around the Baltic and the Mediterranean; although requiring farther observations to fix their maxima.

La Place estimates that the length of the day has not varied one five-hundredth of a second during twenty centuries. But if the earth be gradually contracting, in consequence of its refrigeration, the consequence will be a slight increase of the velocity of its rotation, and a correspondent decrease in the length of the day. Another consequence of this accelerated rotatory motion will be, to render the spheroid more oblate. Effects so extremely small, however, can be detected only by the most accurate and long continued observations.

The mean density of the earth, as is well known, is five times and a half greater than that of water; that is, about twice as great as that of granite and most other rocks near its surface. At first thought, it would seem that this fact might be explained on the theory of central heat and fluidity, by imputing the great density of the internal matter to the enormous pressure exerted upon it. M. Cordier, however, is of opinion that this cause is not sufficient to account for so great a density. 'It is to be observed first,' says he, 'that fluids but feebly compress themselves; that this compression has a limit, and that a very great heat balances the effects. Furthermore, the present lavas, after their coagulation, possess a mean specific gravity greater than that of the primary rocks taken together; whence we may conclude, independently of every other consideration, that the density of the central materials of the globe results much more from their nature, than from compression. They would originally dispose themselves in the order of their specific gravities. The existence of gold and platina shows us that there may be found in the centre of the earth, substances having naturally a very great density.' *Translation*, p. 87.

With such views, the author thinks there is some probability in the hypothesis of Halley, which imputes magnetic action to the existence of an irregular mass, composed chiefly of metallic iron, which has a revolution of its own within the earth; and he thinks that the phenomena of Saturn's ring, and the discovery of metallic iron in meteorites—circumstances unknown to Halley—increase this probability.

If this hypothesis be admitted, it will furnish a probable ground for determining the limit of the internal temperature of the globe. For the experiments of Newton, confirmed by those of Barlow, prove that iron, raised to a white heat, loses its magnetic virtue; although excessive pressure might very much extend the limit at which this annihilation would take place.

The geological reader will probably by this time begin to inquire, whether the theory under consideration has as felicitous an application to the details of geology, as we have seen it to have to the phenomena already brought under consideration. This is an important inquiry; since the facts which geology discloses must be in a great measure the result of this vast volcanic agency, which has been supposed to be the grand instrument in originating and modifying the crust of our world; and if a detailed history of the rocks, constituting that crust, contradicts the supposition of powerful igneous action, the theory must be given up, however beautifully it may explain other phenomena. It is the details of the rock formations, that have proved the touchstone, and the ruin, of former geological hypotheses. Some grand idea has been started, which seemed to furnish a satisfactory solution of some general or insulated facts; but when the geologist has carried it with him into the deep excavation, or up the lofty precipice, its fallacy has been soon manifest. To this test, then, let the theory under consideration be brought, and by it let its merits be weighed.

The limits of M. Cordier's work, however, do not permit him to apply his theory to the details of geology; though he makes a general application. On this account, we have placed the work of Mr Poulett Scrope at the head of this article. The greater part of it is occupied in examining the phenomena and the laws of volcanic action; but at the conclusion, he unfolds the elements of a new theory of the earth, corresponding essentially with that of M. Cordier. His work was published before that of Cordier, and he makes but little use of the experiments upon subterranean temperature, because this argument, before the appearance of Cordier's Essay, was developed only in a very imperfect manner. In the phenomena of the two hundred volcanoes, which are found constantly or occasionally active on the globe, and in the evidence which almost every part of the world presents of a volcanic action far more common and energetic in early times than at present, Mr

Scrope thinks he finds an adequate cause for the original formation of all the unstratified rocks of our globe, from the oldest granite to the newest trap rock; and for all those overturnings and irregularities among the stratified rocks, which meet the geologist at every step of his researches. He makes a distinction, however, between those explanations of geological phenomena, to which the mind is involuntarily directed by the appearances themselves, and those hypothetical considerations which relate to the original state of our planet, and to the earliest changes that took place upon and within it. If the merely hypothetical views should be found incorrect, it will not prove, for instance, that continents were not elevated, and granite and trap rocks were not produced, by volcanic action. We think this a wise distinction.

No man who has any correct geological knowledge of the continents of our globe, can doubt that they must formerly, and for a long period, have constituted the bottom of the ocean. The animal remains found in the secondary rocks of these continents, are, for the most part, marine. In a word, these rocks appear to have been slowly formed by subsidence, or imperfect crystallization; and the shells and other oceanic relics seem to have dropped to the bottom as they died, and to have become enveloped in the accumulating materials of the rock, which was subsequently hardened by heat, or by mere desiccation. The same process is now going on, though upon a diminished scale, in the ocean, and in fresh water ponds. Either, therefore, our present continents must have been raised by some internal force above the surface of the waters, or the waters must have subsided, so as to uncover them. There is no evidence of any such diminution of the waters. But on the other hand, the primary stratified rocks, all over the globe, are inclined, bent, and broken, just as they would have been, if some enormous force, acting in the direction of the principal mountain chains, had forced them upwards. The idea that the strata of rocks were originally deposited in an inclined position, and, especially, with the countless foldings and contortions which mica slate and grey wacke slate exhibit, is altogether preposterous, except perhaps in a few peculiar and limited cases. We are led then to inquire, whether there is any other evidence of a force within the earth, sufficiently powerful to produce so mighty a tumefaction. Two hundred volcanic craters reply with their bellowings; and some of them bring up before our eyes, from

the bottom of the ocean, islands of no inconsiderable extent; while a section of the strata composing the conical mountains thus lifted up, presents us with all the varieties of inclination, contortion, and disruption which we find in the rocks composing the general crust of the globe. In addition to all this, we see, on every side, evidence of the exertion of a volcanic power in early times, transcending by far its present feeble and intermittent action. How can we then hesitate to ascribe the elevation of continents to this same power. Such would be the occasional effect, we might presume, if the earth had been in a fluid, incandescent state within, while yet its crust was thin and partially consolidated.

It has been for five thousand years, and is still believed, by nearly all men, that the action of frost, rain, and streams of water has scooped out the existing valleys with which the surface of continents is grooved. This belief has been entertained, simply because men have neglected to compare together the cause and the effect. Had they done this, they would have seen at once the inadequacy of the former to produce the latter. Neither is the opinion tenable, that the last universal deluge formed most of these valleys; and for the same reason, namely, that the cause is disproportionate to the effect. But if volcanic power has raised our continents, the extensive and deep valleys which we usually find in mountainous districts, would be the natural consequence. For we find such valleys produced in those regions where this same agent is still in operation.

Have we any means of determining when all, or any, of the present continents, were raised from the ocean? The nature of volcanic action would lead us to infer, that this took place by repeated efforts of the power, with intervals of repose; just as we find earthquakes at this day, sometimes raising parts of the earth's surface by almost imperceptible increments. Occasionally, however, when local circumstances had enabled the repressive force to predominate for a long time over the expansive, a mighty '*paroxysmal*' effort of the power might have been sufficient to throw up a continent. But there is no reason to suppose that any event of this kind has taken place since man was placed upon the earth. The researches of Professor Buckland, as given in his *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, render it probable that our present continents, in great part at least, remain at this day as they were before the Noachian Deluge. If, however, it be true that outliers of the plastic clay and chalk

formation are found crowning the Savoy and Julian Alps, it would seem that this immense chain, and probably with it all Europe, were thrown up at a comparatively recent period. No facts within our knowledge lead even to a suggestion as to the epoch when the other continents were raised from the deep. Indeed, we place but little reliance upon any observations that have yet been made, in any part of the world, upon this point; although we do not see why the relative ages of different continents may not be as fairly within the reach of geological researches, as the relative ages of different rocks.

We think the argument in favor of the elevation of continents by an expansive force beneath them, to be so conclusive, that every class of geologists, Neptunians as well as Vulcanians, must yield to it. Nor do we see why the most thorough Wernerian might not admit such an origin of our continents, after the deposition of all the rocks from solution and diffusion in water. But those who believe in the igneous origin of the unstratified rocks, will be most likely to adopt this opinion. According to their views, it is the protrusion of granite and the trap rocks through the regular strata, that has produced the elevation of the higher parts of our globe, with all the confusion and overturning of their strata. The nature of these rocks, and especially their mode of occurrence, have produced this conviction as to their origin; and at this day it seems to be gaining ground rapidly among European geologists. In respect to the trachytic and basaltic rocks, indeed, we do not know of the geologist of respectability, who presumes boldly to defend their aqueous origin; and the same may be said, with few exceptions, in regard to all the trap rocks. If any are able to sustain the Wernerian opinion in regard to these rocks in the lecture room, before auditors who have never seen them except in hand specimens, we are confident, if they should follow the example of Daubuisson and Dauberry, by going forth to an examination of the trap rocks in their natural situation, they would return, like these able geologists, thoroughly converted. Or were they to sit down and delineate several series of regular horizontal strata, as they would be bent, broken, and elevated, by a mass of melted rock forced through them from beneath; and then compare this delineation with the section of the actual position of the basalt and stratified rocks of the Tyrolese Alps, as given by De Buch, and copied by Mr Scrope, they would be astonished, if not convinced, by the striking coincidence.

In regard to the older unstratified rocks, the porphyries, sienites, and granites, there is not yet so universal a belief among geologists of their igneous origin. And we apprehend that the more distinctly crystalline structure of these, than of the trap rocks, has produced more doubt on this point in the minds of geologists, than any other circumstance. For so far as their mode of occurrence is concerned, certainly there are no stronger indications among the trap rocks of protrusion from beneath, than among sienite, porphyry, and granite. But most of the crystallizations we witness, either in nature's or the chemist's laboratory, take place from solution in a fluid. And hence we are apt to refer examples of crystalline structures on a large scale, to this mode of production. But we ought to recollect that crystallization does likewise result from igneous fusion; sometimes when the substance is under strong pressure, and sometimes when it is free from pressure. The crystalline structure of the older unstratified rocks is, therefore, no argument against their igneous origin. But on the other hand the facts, that few, if any, of the ingredients of these rocks are soluble in water, except to a very limited extent, and that the weight of the water upon the globe is only one fifty-thousandth part of the weight of its solid materials, seem to be insuperable objections against the aqueous formation of the great mass of the globe.

But we cannot in this place enter into a detailed examination of the arguments on this subject. Our object is rather to give the views of Mr Scrope on some of the points connected with the origin of the unstratified rocks. His ideas of their original identity, at least of such of them as are crystallized, will appear from the following extract.

'It seems probable that ordinary granite composed of feldspar, quartz, and mica, was the original or mother rock, composing what has been spoken of as the general subterranean bed of heated crystalline rock, or *lava*.

'Circumstances accompanying its intumescence and reconsolidation, may be supposed in some cases to have converted the mica into hornblende, producing syenite.

'A great degree of comminution, occasioned by the friction of the crystalline particles on one another, may have sometimes reduced the granite to a porphyry; small particles of feldspar alone remaining visible in an apparently homogeneous base. A still further subdivision, either accompanied, or not, by some changes in the combinations of the elementary particles, may have given rise to compact feldspar (eurite or weisstein), or serpentine;

and the recrystallization of this latter rock, under favorable circumstances, to diallage rock.

'The extreme disintegration of syenitic granite, will, in the same manner, have produced greenstone, and perhaps the later traps.

'There are not perhaps any two of these varieties of crystalline rocks, which have not been found in nature passing into each other, either by sudden or gradual transitions.

'It cannot therefore be deemed a rash conjecture to suppose them all to have [been] derived from the same original; and it certainly appears most probable that the alterations they have undergone were the result of the circumstances attending their rise and protrusion towards the surface of the globe; since we have to guide us in this supposition the exact analogy of the congenerous crystalline rocks produced under our eyes by subterranean expansion, from volcanic vents, in which similar changes of mineral characters indisputably take place during the processes of emission and consolidation.' *Scrope*, p. 218.

The author supposes that granite, in some cases, was forced through the incumbent laminated strata, while yet in a solid state; but that in some instances extravasations of the highly ignited mass took place, filling the numerous fissures that must have been produced in these strata by the upward pressure. Where the intumescence was considerable, some variety of trap rocks would be the result. He also supposes that the lower laminated strata (gneiss, for example,) were sometimes driven upwards along with the granite, and variously replicated and broken. Hence the remarkable contortions which have been observed in this rock.

Thus far Mr Scrope seems to feel that he has proceeded on firm ground. The inquisitive mind, however, does not rest satisfied with these somewhat insulated deductions from geological facts, but is disposed to go farther back, and inquire into the origin of this internal ignition and fluidity of the globe, and especially into the mode in which the stratified rocks were produced and deposited; for in all the remarks hitherto made, it has been assumed that these were previously consolidated. The author is therefore tempted into a wider and more hypothetical field, giving us a 'Sketch of a Theory of the Globe.' It is ingenious and interesting; but our limits will allow us to present only a condensed summary.

The author supposes the earth originally to have been composed, at least to a great depth, of granitoidal matter in a crys-

talline state; and when it reached its present orbit, or before, (it having been, perhaps, struck off from the sun, as is supposed by Buffon and Laplace,) the enormous pressure under which it was held, and by which its crystalline structure was preserved, was partially or wholly removed. The consequence would be, a violent expansion of the external part, by which the water of crystallization would be suddenly turned into vapor, and this would carry upwards the disaggregated, and more or less liquefied crystals of the quartz, mica, and feldspar. The greater the expansion, the more caloric would pass into a latent state; and ere long the vapor must begin to condense and fall back towards the more solid parts of the earth.

'And in this manner, for a certain time, a violent reciprocation of atmospheric phenomena must have continued. Torrents of vapor rising outwardly; while equally tremendous torrents of condensed vapor, or *rain*, fell towards the earth. The accumulation of the latter on the yet unstable and unconsolidated surface of the globe, constituted the primeval ocean.' p. 229.

At so high a temperature, this ocean must have contained in solution, silex, the carbonates, sulphates of lime and magnesia, muriate of soda, magnesia, and lime; while large quantities of the upper disintegrated beds, particularly their mica, must have been suspended in the same fluid. These suspended matters must ere long have begun to subside upon the granitic nucleus beneath, the quartz and feldspar most abundantly, but carrying along with them some mica. This and the feldspar crystals would naturally arrange themselves so as to have their longest direction parallel to the surface on which they rested. This the author conceives to have been the origin of the gneiss formation.

As this primeval ocean continued to cool and to be less agitated by ebullition, some of the substances which it held in solution would begin to crystallize and mix with the sediment of suspended matter which would continue to deposit itself. Thus rocks would be formed, partly crystalline and partly mechanical; such as mica slate, quartz rock, and the transition slates. In some places, also, would the saccharoidal limestones result from the deposition of the carbonate of lime from solution. After a still farther reduction of temperature, gypsum and rock salt would be precipitated in a similar manner.

A solid envelope being thus at length formed of the stratified primary, and some of the transition rocks, a new process would

take place beneath it. The intensely heated nucleus of the globe would still continue to give off its caloric to the surrounding zones of rock, whose temperature had been greatly reduced by expansion. As they became heated again, the process of expansion would be resumed. But as the envelope of stratified rocks, which had formed on the surface of the globe, would oppose a resistance to the expansive force, this would go on accumulating, until the tenacity and weight of this envelope were overcome, when fissures would be produced, through which granite, in a solid or intumescent state, would be protruded, forming veins, beds, and overlying masses of granite, porphyry, sienite, and the traps.

In case the fissure did not open directly into the granitic matter beneath, and the temperature of its sides was sufficiently high, an expansion of these sides would take place, whereby the fissure would be filled with granitoidal rock, porphyry, or serpentine, thus giving rise to a particular variety of veins not uncommon.

If the temperature of the sides of the fissure was lower, aqueous vapor would exude, holding silex in solution, which would at length crystallize, along with other mineral and metallic matter sublimed from the lower part of the fissure, where the temperature was higher. This might have been the origin of many quartz and metallic veins.

No inference from geological facts is in our opinion more certain, or more generally admitted, than the one which supposes that, from the earliest times, very many violent and extensive inundations have taken place, by whose abrasive force, many particular formations, and the general surface of the globe, have been greatly changed. The formation of the various conglomerate rocks can be accounted for in no other way. According to the theory under consideration, these deluges commenced their ravages at the epoch of the first protrusion of the granite through the enveloping strata, and every subsequent disruption and elevation of this kind, was followed by a succession of these debacles.

'These sudden and partial elevations of the crust of the globe, and the other various causes which at this period disturbed the tranquillity of the primitive ocean, produced violent waves and currents, which broke up and triturated the projecting eminences of its bottom, and distributed their fragments in alluvial conglomerate strata, wherever the turbulence of these moving waters was

partially checked. The surface of the globe at this period consisted chiefly of mica schist; and hence mica and granular quartz predominate greatly in the conglomerates of this epoch; namely, in greywacke and granular quartz rock.' p. 236.

It is evident that such an event, as the elevation of a continent from the bottom of the ocean, must produce a tremendous rush of waters towards the antipodes. A reflux would follow this accumulation, not much less powerful; and thus an oscillatory movement would be communicated to the ocean, which would continue for a long time. Even during the earthquake of Lisbon, the sea rose sixty feet above high water mark at Cadiz, and along the whole coast of Portugal; and was affected on the coasts of England and Norway, and if we remember right, even in the West Indies. Similar effects have accompanied earthquakes in Peru and Calabria. And 'if elevations of but a few inches or feet of vertical height produced oscillatory movements in the ocean of such violence, what must be the effect of the sudden elevation of a mountain range like that of the Alps, from the bottom of the sea?'

During the time that the tide, produced by such a cause, remained at its highest or lowest mark, at any particular place, the waters would be comparatively quiet; and then the smaller particles suspended in it would be deposited, and rocks produced of a finer and more homogeneous texture. But when the rush of waters returned, it would bring along coarser fragments and produce conglomerates. Such a supposition will account for the very numerous and perfectly well defined alterations, which we so often see in a sandstone formation, of the finest shales, and the coarsest puddingstones; a fact which we have always deemed more difficult of explanation than almost any other in geology.

The elevation of the primary strata by the protruding granite would probably raise some part of them above the level of the ocean, and consequently afford a residence for animals and vegetables. Mr Scrope supposes that some of the marine animals, of a simple structure, might have lived in the ocean while its temperature was yet no lower than the boiling point of water. In the rocks subsequently formed, therefore, we should expect to find these vegetables and animals imbedded; as in fact they do occur in most of the secondary and tertiary strata. These strata he supposes to have been formed by a succession of occurrences, such as we have mentioned. That the unstrati-

fied rocks have been ejected at different and very numerous epochs, no one will doubt who has examined them in different localities, and who believes them to have an igneous origin. And that their protrusion would produce those tumultuous agitations of the waters which we have described, will be equally evident to every reflecting mind.

'It appears to me therefore on the whole,' says the author, 'that the formation of the grand mineral masses of every age, composing the known crust of the globe, is attributable to *three* primary modes of production, distinct in their nature, but of which the products have been mingled together, from circumstances of isochronism or collocation. These are,

1. The chemical precipitation of various mineral substances; but particularly silex and carbonate of lime, from a state of solution in the ocean, or other body of water; as its temperature and solvent powers gradually decreased.

2. The subsidence of particles of mineral matter, of various degrees of coarseness, from a state of suspension in the ocean or other reservoir, into which they had been taken up, either by the violent escape of aqueous vapor from the interior of the globe, by the abrasive force of marine and fluviatile currents, or finally by the decomposition of the shells of molluscous animals, which possessed the faculty of elaborating their coverings from the substances they procured from sea water.

3. The elevation of crystalline matter through fissures in the crust of the globe, which had been already formed in the two former modes; this rise being occasioned either by the expansion of a lower bed, in which case the rock was elevated nearly in a solid state; or by its own intumescence, owing to a sudden diminution of compression; in which case the matter rose in an imperfectly liquid state, and at a high temperature.' p. 241.

Geologists have generally been persuaded, that no cause now in operation is adequate to account for all the phenomena which their science discloses. Cuvier, especially, in perhaps the best Essay on the Theory of the Earth that ever was written, asserts, as the result of his examinations, that 'none of the agents nature now employs were sufficient for the production of her ancient works.' But Mr Scrope, not without reason, considers it a very favorable circumstance for his theory, that all the modes by which he supposes rocks to have been produced, are still employed by nature for the same purpose. Speaking of these modes he says,

'They have one immense advantage over most, perhaps over all, of the hypotheses that have been as yet brought forward to explain

the same appearances; and which speaks volumes in their favor; and this is, that *they are still in operation;* with diminished energy, it is true, but this is the necessary result of their nature.

'The first mode still gives rise to calcareous and siliceous rocks of great solidity, and even of a crystalline texture, in the vicinity of certain thermal or mineral springs.

'The second still produces strata of marls, sand, and gravel, at the bottom of the sea, of inland lakes, and in the beds of rivers; which strata bear a very decided analogy to the earlier sandstones and limestones.

'The third is in constant operation wherever volcanoes break out into activity, or earthquakes produce elevations of the solid strata.' p. 242.

The author rejects the Huttonian doctrine, that the strata, which were deposited at the bottom of the ocean, were subsequently consolidated by the internal heat; and he rejects this notion for what has always appeared to us a most satisfactory reason, namely, the occurrence, in many instances, of indurated strata above clay and shale. He supposes that crystallization and desiccation will account for the consolidation of the strata.

And here we would suggest an important general distinction between this theory of Scrope and Cordier, and that of Hutton and his followers. The latter assumed the existence of an intense central heat, because this would most rationally explain the appearances presented by the earth's crust. The former endeavor in the first place to demonstrate the existence of this internal heat, from the phenomena of earthquakes and direct experiments on subterranean temperature; and having ascertained the laws by which its operation is regulated, they infer that it must, in the nature of things, have elevated continents and produced all the observed phenomena of inclined and contorted strata of veins, faults, slips, &c. Mr Scrope's attempt to carry us back to the origin of this course of things, must be regarded, like the theory of Hutton, as merely hypothetical.

We have seen that the advocates of central heat derive their evidence of its existence from two principal sources, volcanoes and subterranean temperature. Mr Scrope's conclusions are founded chiefly upon the former, and those of M. Cordier chiefly upon the latter; neither of them, however, neglecting collateral evidence. A learned geologist in this country, who 'admits the igneous fusion of our planet,' expresses the opinion, in a cotemporary Journal, that the best evidence of this fact consists in the spheroidal figure of the earth, and in the ejection

from volcanoes, in a state of absolute fusion, of glassy obsidian, pumice, trachytes, pearlstone, &c. *from beneath the granitic crust* of the globe. Sir Alexander Crichton, in the 'Annals of Philosophy' for November and December, 1825, infers the central heat from another very curious fact in geology, which we have not yet noticed.

The impressions of plants, found so abundantly in the coal formations of the most northern latitudes, were, in the opinion of all able botanists, the products of regions as warm at least as those between the tropics at the present day. And even in the latest formations, in England, are found remains of the cocoa nut and other analogous vegetables; while the remains of land animals, which Mr Buckland has shown were inhabitants of the same country immediately previous to the last general deluge, are mostly of such species as at present exist in tropical climates; and the same is true of nearly all the northern parts of Europe and Asia, and we might add, of North America. It is even asserted, that the older the rock in which these remains are found, the more decidedly analogous are they to plants and animals of the torrid zone; thus indicating a gradual diminution of temperature since the deposition of the oldest secondary rocks. From these facts Sir Alexader Crichton infers the existence of an internal heat, gradually diminishing from the creation to the present day.

His explanation of the origin of this heat is interesting, because it developes the germ of another new theory of the earth, which has been recently broached, and is at this moment maintained by several very able geologists.

'The nucleus of the globe consists,' says he, 'of the metallic bases of the earths and alkalies, which in the beginning of things took fire from the contact of air and water, and produced, by their combustion, granite. The latter retaining its temperature for a very long period, would impart to the earth a source of heat independent of the solar rays, which must have gone on progressively diminishing down to the present time.' *Dauberry on Volcanoes*, p. 431.

Without stopping to array objections against this hypothesis, we would remark only, that while the facts which we have stated in regard to organic remains in northern latitudes naturally suggests the idea of central heat, they are most satisfactorily explained by the theory of Scrope and Cordier. The former just alludes to the subject; but, to our surprise, the lat-

ter does not even mention it, although it seems one of the most happy applications, and strongest confirmations of his theory, which can be exhibited.

Our readers, however, will expect that the new theory of the earth, adopted by some other geologist, and to which we have already more than once alluded in our remarks, should receive a moment's attention. This theory took its rise from Sir Humphrey Davy's discovery, a few years since, of the metallic bases of the alkalies and earths. Professor Dauberry, in his recent very able and interesting work on Volcanoes, has adopted it, so far as it is applicable to their explanation. But the editor of the 'American Journal of Science,' in his review of Dauberry's work, has given, with his characteristic perspicuity and elegance of diction, the most full and graphic description of the hypothesis which we have seen; and he has somewhat modified and extended it, by some peculiar views of his own. He thus describes the origin of the alkalies, earths, rocks, oxides, the sulphurets and phosphurets, the acids, salts, &c.

'If we suppose that the first condition of the created elements of our planet, was in a state of freedom, the globe being a mass of uncombined combustibles and metals; when the waters, the atmosphere, and chlorine, and iodine, and perhaps hydrogen were suddenly added, it will be obvious from what we now know of the properties of these elements, that the collision would awaken dormant energies, whose first operation would be a general and intense ignition, and a combustion of the whole surface of the planet. Potassium, sodium, and phosphorus would first blaze, and would immediately communicate the heat necessary to bring on the action between the other metals and combustibles in relation to the the oxygen and chlorine, and in relation to each other. Thus a general conflagration would be the very first step in chemical action, and life not having yet dawned on the planet, this conflagration would be the step most admirably fitted to prepare the globe for the living beings by which it was to be peopled.

'In such circumstances, there would also be great commotion; steam, vapors, and gases would be suddenly evolved in vast quantities, and with explosive violence; the imponderable agents, light, heat, electricity, and magnetism, and attraction, in various forms would be active, in an inconceivable degree, and the recently oxidated crust of the earth would be torn with violence, producing fissures and caverns, dislocations and contortions, and obliquity of strata; and it would everywhere bear marks of an energy then general, but now only local, and occasional. It is, however, obvious, that this intense action would set bounds to itself; and that

the chemical combinations would cease, when the crust of the incombustible matter thus formed, had become sufficiently thick and firm, to protect the metals and combustibles, from the water and the air, and other active agents.' *Am. Jour. Science, Vol.* xiv. p. 88.

In order to explain volcanic action at the present day according to their theory, it is supposed that occasionally water percolates through this oxidized crust of the globe, penetrating to the metallic nucleus beneath. This, it is supposed, would produce intense ignition, and numerous decompositions; from which would result all the phenomena of volcanoes.

Mr Scrope thinks that his theory 'is not incompatible with the idea of the granitic involucrum of the globe having been produced by the superficial oxydation of a metallic nucleus,' agreeably to the above hypothesis. He thinks, however, that this hypothesis 'smells a little of the laboratory.' Now we do not feel as if this were any objection to it. Indeed, had geological theories exhibited more evidence of having been brought to the test of the laboratory, and of having been more thoroughly digested in the retort and the crucible, that is, had they been more frequently founded upon experiment, and less upon conjecture, we think they would have been more permanent and less extravagant. We confess, however, that we are not converts to the above hypothesis; and one of our difficulties is derived from the laboratory. Since it was proposed, Berzelius has succeeded in obtaining silicium; and he finds that 'in its densest state' (the state in which it would probably have existed originally in the earth), 'it may be made incandescent in the air without burning; and it does not undergo any change in the flame of the blow-pipe.' And indeed, none of the metals, except potassium and sodium, will take fire by contact with water. Now silex constitutes probably three quarters of the solid crust of our globe; while potassa and soda cannot form the fiftieth part; and even if we take into the account the alkaline salts in the ocean, we must be permitted to doubt, whether the quantity of potassium and sodium could have been sufficient, in the beginning, by their combustion, to have raised the temperature of the immense mass of the other metals, with which they were mixed or alloyed, sufficiently high to produce their oxydation.

So far as this hypothesis is applied to the explanation of volcanic phenomena, we must regard it as peculiarly unsatisfactory. If it be admitted that water, in the first instance, could have

penetrated through the oxidized crust to the metallic nucleus beneath, and thus have commenced volcanic action, how, after the surrounding matter had become so intensely heated as the products of volcanoes shows us it must be, could water continue to find its way, without being vaporized, to the same spot, year after year and century after century, so as to produce a constant eruption of matter from the same crater; as takes place in such volcanoes as Stromboli and Kairauea?

The Editor of the American Journal of Science has, however, suggested a very ingenious addition to this theory. He supposes the different layers of metals and other substances in the earth, to constitute a vast galvanic battery, in ceaseless action, whose igniting and decomposing power is inconceivably great. This, in connexion with the causes we have mentioned above, or even alone, he conceives to be sufficient, satisfactorily to explain the phenomena of earthquakes and volcanoes. The novelty and grandeur of this idea would incline us to adopt it, did we not feel that the supposition of central heat and fluidity was more in accordance with facts, and less incumbered with difficulties.

But we must hasten to a conclusion. Our principal object has been to present our readers with a summary view of the present state of geological theories, particularly of the theory of igneous internal fluidity, with its applications to the solution of phenomena. And here would we say, in the words of Cuvier, in his analysis of Cordier's Essay already referred to, that 'these conclusions, so important and various, and many others, which the space allotted to us does not permit us to develope, result from a fact, very simple in appearance, but the fecundity of which is indeed wonderful; namely, the sensible increase of temperature at those comparatively small depths to which we are able to penetrate, and the very probable supposition that this increase continues proportionally to the greatest depths.' If the fertility of its applications affords any evidence in favor of the theory of gravity, as is generally thought, we do not see why the same argument may not be urged in favor of the theory under consideration. We need not think it strange therefore, that it should forcibly arrest the attention of philosophers, and indeed of all intelligent men; since the grand arguments on which it rests, are intelligible to them, although they may not be familiar with the technical parts of science. Indeed, if we do not greatly mistake, this is rapidly becoming the

prevalent geological theory of the day,—certainly on the other side of the Atlantic. All decided Huttonians, and most of those who have been thorough sceptics in respect to all geological theories, will be very apt to give to this their partial or entire assent. And as to the Wernerians, we think that some indications will justify us in the prediction, that most of them will ere long adopt the other ingenious theory which we have explained, derived from the discovery of the metallic bases of the earths and alkalies. We think, that for a time at least, these two theories are destined to divide the geological world; and we should regard such a change of opinion as an important step towards a unity of views among geologists; since these theories are certainly not so diverse from each other as those of Hutton and Werner.

We have no desire to conceal our present partiality for the theory of igneous internal fluidity. We have been long among the number of confirmed sceptics on the whole subject of geological hypotheses. But we have become wearied with hovering so long over what seemed to us the shoreless ocean of uncertainty and conjecture. We see now something that looks like *terra firma;* and we are willing to try, if we cannot there find a little rest for the sole of our foot. It may prove a Delos; if so, we have only to spread our wings again, and wait for the emergence of the true Ararat. But we would by no means have it understood that we are so committed, in the defence of this theory, as to be determined to sink or swim with it. The history of past theories of the earth admonishes us that too much scepticism in respect to them is safer than too much credulity. The present theory we think explains five phenomena where any other explains one, and therefore we prefer it to any other; still, it requires a continuance of experiments and observations to establish it as firmly as the Newtonian doctrine of gravitation, and we shall welcome any successful attempt to substitute another theory which may be more substantial.

In the application of the igneous theory, that has been examined, we have confined ourselves to this globe. M. Cordier, however, has hazarded some bold and original remarks, upon the extension of the same principle to other worlds; and indeed to the whole material universe. He has sustained these conjectures by no facts; yet in reflecting upon the subject, it has seemed to us that some circumstances, relating to the heavenly bodies, might lead an advocate of this theory to conjecture

that changes, like those supposed to have taken place within our globe, may be going on in other worlds. We will just allude to these, in order to excite the attention of the learned to the subject.

It has been conjectured that the four small planets, revolving between Mars and Jupiter, are the fragments of a large one, which once revolved in nearly the same orbit, and was subsequently burst asunder by some powerful internal force. If such a refrigerating process has taken place in the other planets, as this theory supposes to be going on in the earth, might we not presume, that, under possible circumstances, such a terrific explosion might take place?

It has been thought by some astronomers, that volcanoes exist in the moon. If so, their origin is probably similar to that of those existing on this earth.

Those fragments of solid meteors, that are not unfrequently projected to the earth, bear evident marks of fusion. Indeed, the whole body of the meteor, when near its perigee, appears usually to be in a state of ignition.

The sun itself, what is it, but an immense globe of liquid fire? Such certainly does it appear to be, as seen through the most powerful telescopes. And its spots, what are they but an incipient crust, beginning to form over its surface, but which is merged again, after a certain time, in the fiery, and perhaps agitated ocean beneath, which is not yet sufficiently cooled to allow its complete formation? And the zodiacal light, what is it, but the elastic vapors which are driven from the sun's intensely heated mass, and which, partaking of the sun's rotatory motion, have assumed a figure so oblate as to become almost lenticular.

The appearance of comets is extremely chaotic. The nebulosity that surrounds them, becomes more dense towards their centres; and in some instances distinct *nuclei* are visible; but out of sixteen, which Dr Herschel examined with his powerful telescope, he could discover *nuclei* in only two; and he actually saw the fixed stars directly through the centres of some of them. Notwithstanding this circumstance, this astronomer is of opinion, that these bodies are self-luminous. Where the nucleus was visible, it had a well defined, circular disk, shining in every part, without any of the defalcation which it ought to exhibit, did it shine by the reflected light of the sun. Now, who, that has read Mr Scrope's hypothesis of the manner in

which the crust of the earth was first formed over the liquid, fiery mass, does not see, in this description of comets, a close resemblance to the state of our globe, when its ignited materials, liberated from their pressure, were expanding, and immense volumes of vapor and gas were rushing outwards and forming a vast atmosphere, self-luminous through the ignited particles carried up with it, or by the coruscations of the electric fluid. In some of the comets, the ignited central mass is visible; in others, of less size, all the materials seem to have been dissipated, so that the stars are visible through them. Nevertheless, on Mr Scrope's theory, we can predict that even these may yet become solid, habitable globes; and who knows, but that when they are prepared for inhabitants, the fiat of the Almighty may cause them to revolve in circular orbits, like the planets, around some distant sun, and fill them with new races of happy beings!

There appears to be a great resemblance between comets and nebulæ; and indeed, Dr Herschel, in some of his latest remarks on the subject, 'concludes them to be peculiar condensed matter, and supposes that they may constitute, or become, comets.' We might, therefore, apply to these nebulæ, remarks similar to those which we have made upon comets.

Thus much in illustration of the sage maxim of Hermes; *συμπαθῆ εἶναι τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω, there is a correspondence between things above and things below.* We close with the concluding paragraphs of M. Cordier's Essay.

'We shall now be permitted to repeat, that it is not through the spirit of system that the notion of a central fire is restored. It is in spite of system; in spite of many prejudices. This revolution of opinion is produced by the influence of facts. It results from diligent study, profoundly devoted to phenomena of very different kinds. We cannot, in particular, believe, that it is by chance, that natural philosophy, astronomy, and geology arrive at the same conclusion in following routes so different. We can say, therefore, without fear of advancing too far, that the hypothesis, of which the sciences seem to stand in equal need, already presents the characters of a substantial, fundamental principle; and every thing presages, that it will have an influence on the theory of the earth, as powerful as that of the great principle of gravitation upon the theory of the motions of the heavenly bodies.

'If it is proved that the earth is not an inert mass, as has for a long time been supposed; if the appearance of inertness is owing to the tardiness of the phenomena, and to their feeble intensity;

if all is laboring and moving within, as all is labor and movement without, we arrive at a result of the highest importance, since it seems applicable to all the celestial bodies; and thus we obtain stronger proof of the existence of a great principle of *universal instability*, which was announced, or dimly seen, by Newton and other philosophers; a principle, superior to those grand rules, which we have been accustomed to regard as constituting exclusively the laws of nature, from the security which we see in it, above the longest and apparently perfect revolutions of the solar system; a principle, which appears to rule the universe, even in its smallest parts; which incessantly modifies all things, which changes, or misplaces them, and without return; and which carries them along, through the immensity of ages, to new ends, which human intelligence cannot certainly penetrate, but of which it may nevertheless be proud to have foreseen the necessity.' pp. 90–92.

ART. II.—*The Substance of Two Reports of the Faculty of Amherst College to the Board of Trustees, with the Doings of the Board thereon.* Amherst. 1827.

THE subject of education has of late excited so much of the public attention, that no apology will be required by our readers, if we occasionally introduce it to their consideration. It is well known to all, that the system of education in this country, in all its departments, has been for some time the object of severe scrutiny; that new text-books have been multiplied in all branches of study, and new views of instruction been adopted by teachers; that seminaries have been founded on new plans, and that, in their zeal for improvement, our older institutions have not been able to keep pace with the desire of reform which pervades the community, and are now meditating important changes. We avail ourselves, therefore, of the opportunity afforded by the public notice, which the Faculty of Amherst College have given of an innovation on the long established usages of the American colleges, to offer our views on some of the changes proposed in our system of collegial education. In the remarks which we shall make, we design nothing unfriendly to an institution which is supported by a large amount of influence. We propose to discuss a

subject of general interest to all the colleges of our land, and to inquire how far and in what way, they may respond to the loud calls, which are sounded from all sides with an energy which cannot be resisted, and which demand of them an important change in their system; a change, in which the institution here named, though the youngest, has at a single leap reached a point, which the oldest institutions have not thought of attaining, and which, from the deliberate caution of age, they would perhaps view, as placed beyond the bounds of reform, and within the borders of doubtful innovation.

Before, however, proceeding to this discussion, we think it best to state, as briefly and clearly as we can, the circumstances under which the zeal for improvements in education has arisen both in Europe and this country, so as to give our readers a general view of this subject, as it has presented itself to our minds.

For the sake of distinctness, we may consider the youth of a country as divided, in reference to the objects to be effected by a system of education, into three classes. The first embraces those, who are designed for professional or literary and scientific life, and who therefore need the best education that can be obtained; the second, those who, preparing for commercial and other pursuits demanding enterprise and wide information, do not require an education so extensive as those before mentioned; the last class is composed of those, who are designed for the ordinary employments of the mechanic and agriculturist, and whose education has fully answered its purpose, when it has prepared them to pursue with intelligence their respective occupations.

In Great Britain, until within a few years, the means of education were chiefly confined to the universities; the grammar schools, which were particularly designed to prepare youth for the universities; and the common parish schools, which, though most widely diffused in Scotland, are, as appears from recent and careful investigations, even there very far from meeting the wants of the community. There were, indeed, a few other institutions, such as the private academies established for the education of Dissenters, who are, in fact, excluded from the universities; but the course of education pursued at these institutions corresponded in general with that adopted in our colleges; so that no general provision was made for the wants of youth designed for commercial and active pursuits.

In Scotland, about thirty years since, a desire of improvement showed itself, of incalculable importance to the cause of general intelligence. At Glasgow a project was started for giving instruction to persons engaged in the mechanic arts. A public course of lectures was given for their benefit by Dr Birkbeck, which artisans were invited to attend. The plan succeeded beyond all expectation. Though it was long before the public could be persuaded of the importance or practicability of elevating the unlettered mechanic above the character of a mere machine, in time prejudices were overcome. In 1821 the School of Arts, as it was called, was established at Edinburgh, for the instruction of this class of the community in the principles of their respective arts by lectures from distinguished professors. The example was soon followed in London in the foundation of the Mechanics' Institution, and has by this time been imitated in most, if not all, the considerable towns of England. It is well known, that the individual who has done the most to open sources of valuable knowledge to this class of society is Mr Brougham. In laying before the English public the importance and practicability of a plan for the benefit of the poorer classes, he has reared the best and most durable monument of his usefulness and fame. By descending, if we may be allowed to use the expression, in accommodation to the prevailing estimate of the value of such labors, by descending from his proud elevation in the English parliament, to study the simple annals of the poor, and to devise, with great minuteness of detail, ways and means of throwing the light of intelligence and science into their obscure dwellings, once the neglected abodes of ignorance, he has set a noble example to men of the highest name, to prove, that, if they would consult the best welfare of their country, the interests of education are worthy of their profound concern.

Before the period which we have mentioned, the same general features were to be observed in the system of education on the continent, which we have pointed out in that which prevailed in England. There was a similar provision made for the poorer classes, though to a far less degree, and for those who were designed for the universities, while the intermediate classes were left without any public provision for their instruction. On the return, however, of a general peace in 1815, a zeal for improvements in education was soon manifested. In France, in particular, the system of common

schools received great attention; men distinguished for rank and learning, among whom may be mentioned De Gerando, participated in exertions for their improvement; and schools for mutual instruction have now been for several years extensively established not only in that, but in every kingdom of the continent. Primary schools are rapidly extending through the vast dominions of Russia; and even in the capital of Siberia, a high school of much respectability is in successful operation. But as France, more than seven centuries since, led the way in the great subject of education, and in her renowned university furnished the model of all the other European universities, so in these last days, more than any other country of Europe, has she given increased attention to this subject, and, under the imperial government, in one respect advanced beyond England; we refer to the means of education provided for those, who were to engage in the active business of life.

More than sixty years since an academical institution was founded at Soreze in the department of Tarn, in which a highly liberal and extended course of studies was established under the superintendence of able professors, and the pupils were permitted to pursue such branches as might be designated by their friends. The greatest advance in this part of the French system of education was made under the auspices of Napoleon, in the foundation of the Polytechnic and Normal schools, that for a time superseded the old schools, in which Latin and Greek alone were taught. These new institutions, under his patronage, enjoyed the labors of the ablest men, attained in a few years the highest celebrity, and were of great value in their influence on the cause of education, of science, and letters. But on the restoration of the Bourbons, they were abolished, and the reigning dynasty, by giving the Jesuits the exclusive control of education, checked the progress of improvement, and seemed to carry France back into a former age. The public attention is, however, now much directed to this part of the system of education. The 'Society of Christian Morals' at Paris awarded, in 1824, a prize of three hundred dollars to the author of a dissertation on the following question; 'Is there not in our system of public instruction between the primary schools and colleges a chasm, which it would be useful to supply by establishments of a special nature? What would be the advantage of such establishments, and what organization and plan of studies ought to be adopted in them?'

The most enlightened men now look forward with confidence to the establishment of seminaries similar to those, which the active genius of Napoleon called into being; and now that the Jesuits have lost the control of the literary institutions, they have reason to anticipate the speedy effect of more liberal views of the great purposes of education. Several institutions, however, are now in operation in France for the benefit of those engaged in the common occupations of life, such as the Schools of Arts and Trades, at which many pupils are supported from the royal treasury. A practical School of Mines has been for some time established, where gratuitous instruction is given in Mineralogy and the various operations of Mining. Free courses of lectures on Mechanics and Chemistry, as applied to the arts and to the common purposes of life, were founded at Paris in 1819. The king of France has, within a few years, expended more than a million of francs in the establishment of an institution for those, who wish to gain a practical knowledge of the principles of Agriculture. Few institutions, comparatively speaking, like these we have spoken of, are found in the other continental kingdoms; we would not, however, omit to mention those of Fellenberg and Pestalozzi, and others on the same plan, in which are found ample means of education for all ranks, from the common laborer to the prince.

In returning to England, we find, as a natural effect of the efforts made for the benefit of those engaged in the mechanic arts, that the public attention has been of late much directed to the importance of providing means of education for such as are unable to obtain, or do not require, an education at the universities, and whose wants are not well supplied by any existing establishments. In 1826, a meeting was held in London for the purpose of founding a seminary for instruction in commercial and professional science. Much discussion and much inquiry have at length resulted in the foundation of a new university, which will fully supply what is certainly a great defect in the English system of education. This institution, as is well known, will throw open its doors to all who wish to prepare themselves for what forms the business of a large proportion of the English population, the pursuits of mercantile life; though a prominent object in its establishment was, to provide the best means of education, both liberal and professional, for those designed for Medicine and the Law.

Taking then a general view of the facts in regard to the state of education in Europe, which we have gleaned from various sources, it appears, that, until a recent period, means of education were provided for the poorer classes in the common branches of knowledge, as well as for those who were preparing themselves for professional or literary life, while an intermediate class, composed of such as were to engage in active pursuits, like those of the merchant, the agriculturist, and head manufacturer, had no public provision made for them, and their education was left to be wholly a matter of private concern; that, however, within a few years public attention has been called to this important deficiency; and that measures are now in active operation, which will open to this large portion of every community the sources of a competent education.

This spirit of improvement in education has been caught in this country. Much has been said and written of late about the defects in our systems of collegial discipline, and about the importance of practical education. We do not intend to assert, that the complaints which have been uttered are without foundation, nor that great improvements may not be made in the long established usages of our highest literary institutions. It is, however, believed, that prevailing opinions have been adopted with less reflection, than the importance of the subject demanded; and that the zeal for reform is not tempered with sufficient caution and discrimination. We shall, therefore, suggest a few considerations to show, that there is a wide difference in the circumstances under which these opinions have arisen in Europe and in this country.

In the first place, there is not an institution in this country, which corresponds to an European university. An European university is designed for those, who, having completed an extensive course of study at the grammar school, or gymnasium, are desirous of preparing themselves for the professions, or for literary pursuits. There is, however, an important difference, though not in theory, yet existing in practice, between the English and the continental universities. The latter are resorted to by all students in the three professions; and whether we regard the spirit which pervades them, or the means of instruction which they afford, we are not aware, that they are obnoxious to the censures of the most earnest zealots in the cause of reform. The English universities, on the other hand, with

their stupendous libraries and ample apparatus, are resorted to by those only, who wish to accomplish themselves by a course of education, chiefly confined to classical and mathematical studies, or who are looking forward to the church. Not that in these venerable seats of learning, the whole circle of the sciences and the various departments of literature are not made the subjects of learned lectures by able scholars, but that, in consequence of the predominance given to certain studies to the neglect of others, and of defects in their modes of instruction, as well as of other causes, which it is here unnecessary to enumerate, they do not offer to any, except those we have mentioned, sufficient inducements to avail themselves of their advantages. A few facts, stated in a recent number of our journal, show that, in regard to professional education, they are in their operation confined to the church alone. The unhappy influence of this circumstance on the legal and medical professions is obvious to all, and has been long the subject of deep regret. To remedy this evil is a prominent object of the London University.

Enough has been said, it is hoped, to show the principal causes of the loud complaints which our English brethren have made against their universities. Now it should be recollected by those who are disposed to censure the system of education in our colleges and universities, that these institutions differ essentially from the institutions of the same name in England, and are not liable to the objections justly made against them. Our colleges are designed to give youth a general education, classical, literary, and scientific, as comprehensive as an education can well be, which is professedly preparatory alike for all the professions. They afford the means of instruction in all the branches, with which it is desirable for a youth to have a general acquaintance before directing his attention to a particular course of study, while professional studies are pursued at separate institutions, the law, divinity, and medical schools dispersed over the land. Although, therefore, there may be defects in our system of collegial education, it has few of the defects which exist in that of the English universities.

But, in the second place, there is another consideration, which should have been taken into view before adopting, in this country, the reasoning applicable to the state of things in Europe. In England and France, there were no intermediate seminaries between the grammar schools and the universities ;

with us, there always have been. Our academies and private schools are not like the grammar schools of England. They are not Westminster or Eton schools, established solely to prepare young men for the colleges or universities. In some of them the classical is separated from the English department, and in the latter youth are taught all the branches of an English education, which are necessary to qualify them to become well informed merchants and farmers and mechanics; and in most of them the studies suitable for preparing the pupils for active life are the principal object of attention. We do not say, that they have supplied the wants of the community in these respects; but they form a feature in our system of education, not to be found in that of Europe until a very recent period, and their defects are not so much in their theory, as in the manner in which it is carried into execution. One of these institutions we might mention, which enrolls on its catalogue many of our highest names, and which is amply furnished with the means of efficient instruction in both the departments of an extended classical and English education. The recent establishment of high schools in our principal towns, is an important advance in the cause of education among us; affording, as they do, to the poorest class of the community advantages, which heretofore could not be obtained except at the best endowed academies. Thus we perceive, that the complaints made by English writers against a liberal education, as it is termed, have been reiterated in this country too readily, and without considering sufficiently the circumstances, which make the actual state of education among us very different from what it is among them.

We are now prepared to consider the course, which improvements in education are taking among us, and the changes which are proposed in the usages of our colleges. And here we would remark, that in no country is there a wider field for displaying the power of education than in this; and no friend to his country would indulge the thought, that its operations in regard to any class of society should be fettered by usages, however sanctioned by age. For whatever situation he may be designed, the youth ought to have access to the best and most effectual means of preparation. If he is to engage in mechanical employments, let him be thoroughly taught the principles of his art, that he may become an intelligent workman, well versed in the laws of nature, and able to avail himself most

efficiently of her aid. If he is to be an agriculturist, let him not be contented to till his land as his fathers have done before him, but be enabled, by a skilful application of the principles of science, to triumph over the obstacles of nature, and, with more truth than ever before, to subdue the earth. If he is to be a merchant, let him become acquainted with the languages of foreign nations, and be well versed in the great principles which regulate the commerce of the world. A new science has sprung into being, which peculiarly invites his attention and regard. Is he to engage in professional or literary life? Throw open to him the avenues of science and literature, that by rigid discipline he may be prepared to exercise his high vocation with honor to himself and the community.

Such views of education have not, it must be allowed, been fully appreciated in this country until a recent period. The consequence of a more enlightened estimate of the value of the great objects of education has been to give rise to a new kind of institutions among us. We refer to those, which are designed to give the mechanic and manufacturer and agriculturist a thorough training in those scientific principles, a knowledge of which is of the highest importance to them in their labors. The first institution of this kind was established at Gardiner, in Maine; and others have been founded in different parts of the country, or are in contemplation. Viewing such institutions in connexion with our best academies and our high schools, and taking into consideration also the interest felt in their improvement, we may say without boasting, that the wants of the class of active men in regard to education are even now better supplied in this country than in any other. But the zeal for improvement does not stop here; it is extending to our higher institutions. The public are directing their eyes to our colleges, and the feeling is prevalent, that they ought to admit to their advantages such, as may pursue a course of education having a more direct reference to their future calling, than is deemed consistent with the established routine of studies.

Much has been said and written on the inutility of a course of education, which has not a direct bearing on the future profession in life. In regard to such remarks, so far as they relate to our colleges, we will offer a few suggestions, though the subject would admit of an extended discussion. We apprehend, that these remarks are often made without sufficient reflection on the design of these institutions. They profess noth-

ing more than to prepare young men for the study of the professions. The question than respecting such institutions is, what course of mental discipline will best effect this object; and it is idle to think of adapting the academic course to the future profession in any other way, than by such an arrangement of studies, as will best prepare the young men for their professional education, and for that kind of exercise to which their mental powers are to be put in after life. The Schools of Arts and Trades, which have as direct a bearing on the future calling as any can have, do not teach trades; their pupils must, notwithstanding the advantages which they afford, serve a regular apprenticeship. Precisely so must it be with our colleges. Improve them, change their system as much as we may, they will not, unless they are transformed into universities on the same plan with those of Europe, supersede the necessity of our law, medical, and divinity schools. They only lay the foundation, on which the student may afterwards build. And when we survey the wide range of inquiry which each of the professions opens before him who would reap its highest honors, when we reflect on the high intellectual discipline which it requires, and consider that the routine of studies adopted at our colleges is in its main particulars what professional learning and experience have for ages prescribed as a fit preparation for professional studies, who will undertake to assert with confidence of any one of the branches taught at our colleges, that it is of no use to the future lawyer or physician or divine; that the time devoted to it is lost; that it should be expunged from the code? When deciding on a general course for all three of the professions, much less, we believe, can any one affirm, that the one pursued at our colleges requires important changes.

But one department of study is in reality the chief cause of all the complaints made against our academic course, and this not because it is not allowed to have its merits and high merits too, but because it requires time and diligence, while a shorter way, it is thought, might be formed of getting into the business of life. The rage of the present day is to leave the great high way of knowledge, which has been trodden for ages, and seek out bypaths, which will lead the traveller to the end of his journey in less time and with less labor. The tendency of such opinions is, we believe, to give currency to a superficial education. Much may be done without doubt in the way of

improving methods of instruction; and in this respect we would shorten the avenues of knowledge as much as possible; but we must look with suspicion on those who say to the passer by, Turn not in here, go not there; when thousands have found, that those same ways open upon scenes, rich in every attraction that can reward the traveller for his pains.

We have no intention of discussing the claims of the ancient languages to the attention of all youth, who are preparing for professional or literary life. We have no overweening veneration for ancient usage; but we believe the old opinion to be a good one, that to high success in literature or the professions, to form such men as Clarke, Mansfield, Burke, Canning, Gregory, or Good, a liberal education, using the expression in its common acceptation, is in the highest degree important. We cannot believe, that the most distinguished names that have adorned the three professions, the statesmen who have guided the policy of their age, and the most eminent scholars whose writings now form our standard works in science and literature, ever looked back on the time, spent in their classical education, as lost to them; and that they would warn those, who would imitate their high example, and who aspire to reach the eminence which they attained, to avoid the path in which they walked during the years of their pupilage. In England notwithstanding the clamor raised against the universities, the value of a classical education (and we do not assert it unadvisedly) is still felt by professional men with undiminished force. The London University is mainly designed to afford the means of a liberal education to the legal and medical professions. For ourselves therefore we doubt much, whether our own college course of study requires any great modification, except so far as relates to the mode of instruction, which should undoubtedly be more thorough and efficient. There is no danger of having the standard of professional education too high. No young man should commence a preparation for the responsible duties of a profession with the idea, that he has but little to do. Let him be made to perceive, that he has a long and laborious duty before him, and his exertions will correspond to the occasion which calls them forth. What Quintilian says of eloquence, may be applied with equal force to eminence in any pursuit. 'Nam est certe aliquid consummata eloquentia; neque ad eam pervenire natura humani ingenii prohibet. Quod si non contingat, altius tamen ibunt, qui ad summa nitentur, quam qui, præsumptâ desperatione

quo velint evadendi, protinus circa ima substiterint.' Did our limits permit, we would devote more time to this topic. We wish that those who are more able would engage, with earnestness and careful reflection, in the discussion of the nature and extent of that education, which would fully prepare a youth for his professional studies. It is a serious subject, and not to be treated lightly. It is of deep moment in its influence on the professional and literary reputation of our country.

So far as the objections brought against the collegial course of study arise from the claims of that portion of our youth, who are not designed for the professions, but for what is termed the active business of life, we are disposed to listen to them, and would cheerfully coöperate in any plan for their removal, that would not compromise the interests of professional education. The prescribed course of study in our colleges effectually excludes such persons from their advantages. A second class of institutions, designed expressly for them, would be making the machinery of education more complicated and expensive than the case demands. We perceive then no reason, why this class of our youth may not receive a full education, comprising a competent knowledge of modern languages, political economy, and English science and literature, at our first institutions, where the best means of instruction in these departments must always be had; and why changes may not be made in the system of our colleges, which shall fully meet their wants. Such changes have been commenced in some of these institutions; they are the subject of deliberation in all. From the pamphlet with which we have introduced this article, it appears, that the institution at Amherst has done more in the way of innovation than any other. Students are to be received there on the same terms of admission as at other colleges. Two courses of study are then open before them; in one of which the modern languages are substituted for the ancient, and at the close of their college life, they who have gone through the respective courses receive the same college honors, the same degree. Other minor differences between the two courses might be mentioned, but our remarks will be confined to that which we have stated.

To the friends of learning it must be obvious, that great changes in the long established usages of our colleges are to be adopted with caution, inasmuch as they affect the whole system of education in our country, and their influence will be

felt for ages, nay will be permanent. Much has been said of the inflexibility of old institutions, and we are as ready as any to admit in many cases the justice of the reproach. But institutions, which guard the interests of education, we believe, ought to be cautious and slow in innovation. They should keep a watchful eye upon the world without, notice the progress of things, and seize all the benefits of increasing light; but if they are to change with every change of fashion, and conform to the caprices of the times, it will augur ill for the cause of letters, which they have in keeping. Whenever important changes in their constitution are in agitation, they must take comprehensive views, and not proceed rashly in the work of reform, lest in their eagerness to remedy existing evils, they promote the interest of one part of the community at the expense of another. With such impressions we cannot but think, that the wisdom of the sudden measure adopted by the institution to which we refer, to say the least, is questionable. We think it has fallen into the error we have just alluded to, and that in its zeal in favor of those who are not preparing for professional life, it may prove to have seriously injured the cause of liberal education, of which a good discipline in the ancient classics forms an essential part, and which the friends of learning feel should be more thorough and extensive.

We are altogether in favor of having studies placed at the option of the student, though this liberty of choice must obviously have its limits. We are persuaded that such a change in the system will have a tendency to give a character for vigor and thorough research to the scholarship of our colleges, which it has not hitherto sustained. Students will not be goaded and driven, as heretofore, to the study of any branch of learning, however it may be to them an object of indifference or of aversion. Each may consult his inclination, unless he aspires after literary honor; and in that case, he must go through a prescribed course, which will be imposing no other restraint upon him, than what exists in regard to all honors, that of using the exertions which are necessary to acquire them. It must be recollected, however, that in the event of such an innovation in the usages of our colleges, reference must be had to it in the honors which they confer. Literary degrees have now, and always have had, a determinate character. They have been for centuries the badges of liberal and professional education. The condition on which they are received must doubtless vary with the pro-

gress of knowledge. No one is so bound up in the love of prescription as to maintain that the requirements for a degree should be the same now that they were even thirty years ago. But these degrees as has been shown in a recent number of our journal, were originally designed to be the rewards of high attainments in a liberal education, and such, we are clearly of opinion, they should remain. It is true that they have not always been a sure test of meritorious industry; they are liable to abuse in common with every other honor, and we are aware that they were never less a distinction than at the present time. But this is no reason for destroying their value entirely. Introduce the rigid examinations of former days, and the honor of these degrees will be restored. The path of a liberal education is toilsome, and encouragements must be held out to the student when fainting in the way. Such encouragements are found in the literary honors which are awarded him at the end of his course, and he finds a sufficient recompense for his labors in the passport, which they give him, into that great community of various lands who have drunk deep at the fountains of learning. We speak of literary degrees not as they are, but as they should be, and as it was originally designed they should be. Change their significancy, and a liberal education will be without its appropriate rewards. Such we apprehend to be the tendency of this plan of parallel courses. It throws together into one mass students having in their education different objects before them, and pursuing plans of study in an important respect opposed to each other, as viewed by themselves and by the public at large; whichever of the two courses the youth pursues, at the end he receives the same honors, the same degree; and when he appears in the world with his title of A. B. or A. M. no one knows whether he has received a liberal education or not. The course, moreover, in which the modern languages are substituted for the ancient, is less laborious, less disciplinary; and what portion of our young men will be found to take from choice the more laborious in preference to the less laborious course, when each is crowned with the same honors?

But again, the object in establishing the new course is to meet the wants of a portion of the community, who do not need a classical education. But this object is not effected, so long as all who are admitted to this new course are required to go through the preparatory course in the classics usually required

for admission into college. This requisition must therefore, in the case of such, be given up in order to satisfy their demands; and when that is done, we shall have among us Baccalaureates, who have never attended at all to a course of study, with particular reference to which that degree was originally established and has always been conferred, on precisely the same footing with those, who have gone through the routine of a liberal education. Thus would these literary distinctions come to mean something very different in this country from what they have meant heretofore, and from what they do mean universally in Europe. Such we believe is the tendency of this plan of parallel courses. We cannot, therefore, but regard it as affecting materially the interests of liberal education among us; and if so, such an innovation ought to be viewed with distrust by the guardians of our literature. If a radical change is about to be made in our system of education, which is likely to be prejudicial to the interests of sound learning, they are the persons to take the subject into serious consideration, and to save the literature of the land, and they alone can do it.

While looking with jealousy on anything which threatens injury to the cause of classical education, its friends are influenced by no illiberal views, but by a deep solicitude for the best interests of our country. For let us consider for a moment what are our wants in respect to liberally educated men. Can we afford to spare any of those who receive the benefits of our present system, inefficient as it is? There have been sent forth the present year from our colleges about eight hundred young men, to meet the annual wants of a community of twelve millions in its three professions, to furnish well qualified instructers for the various seminaries of learning, and to supply the halls of legislation with enlightened statesmen; that is, on an average, one liberally educated man has been furnished for every fifteen thousand inhabitants, or, to confine our estimate to New England, one for every six thousand. If we reflect on the rapid increase of our population, and consider that to our liberally educated men we must mainly look for the support of sound learning and elegant literature among us, the best thoughts and most efficient exertions of the friends of these great interests of our country should be engaged in promoting the cause of liberal education, in its highest sense. While, therefore, the most strenuous advocates of classical learning would do all in their power to promote such a reform

in the colleges, as will lay open their advantages, so far as is desired, to those who are preparing for the duties of active life, they still must feel that changes should be made with caution.

Though we have thus plainly expressed our dissatisfaction with the plan which has been adopted by Amherst College, with a view of giving that institution a more popular character, we yet think that some scheme may be devised, which will solve the question, which is now the subject of much inquiry among all our colleges. We would not be wise over much, but we would offer for their consideration the outlines of a plan, which has suggested itself to our minds. Let that large portion of our youth, whose claims we have considered, be received at our colleges after such preparation, as shall fit them for entering upon their college studies. Let such a course of study in college be pointed out, as will qualify them, when they go out into the world, to conduct their respective callings with intelligence, and to take their stand with well educated men. But let the integrity of our literary degrees be preserved; let them, as heretofore through seven centuries, be confined to those who receive a liberal education, of which a thorough classical knowledge shall form an essential part. We would not, however, exclude this class of students from academic honors. Let them be stimulated by all the incentives of literary ambition. Let them take a part in the public exhibitions and commencements; and, lastly, let them have the testimonials of a diploma, which shall testify, as in the case of the other class of students, to their diligence, good morals, and laudable attainments, and let them receive an appropriate degree, which they may bear with them, as their insignia in after life. This is not the place, nor are we the persons to point out the details of such a system. There should be some general communication, on a subject of common interest, between the learned of the land, the guardians of our literary institutions, and, after mature deliberation, some plan of operations determined on, which shall go forth to the world sanctioned by the first names. And here we would remark, that the colleges of our country, as well as of any country, form a sort of community, governed substantially by the same laws, and the same rules of procedure. The *ad eundem* degrees suppose the course of education pursued at the different institutions to be in general the same. Such

being the fact, there is plainly a difficulty in a wide departure from the established usages of the several colleges in such matters, without a general consultation. The recent convention of the different medical schools of New England, for the purpose of establishing a uniform system of medical education, may suggest a valuable hint, as to the best mode of proceeding, when we would introduce important changes in our system of collegial education. The plan, however, which we have proposed, is no such innovation, as would interfere with the common law of our literary institutions, in regard to their degrees. But we believe that such a reform, while it would meet the wishes of the public, will have a direct tendency in favor of classical education.

As has before been intimated, a great obstacle to the advance of students in classical studies arises from the circumstance, that many engage in them not from choice, but because on the present system they cannot be separated from other studies, to which they desire to direct their particular attention. A few such individuals are sufficient to paralyze the exertions of a whole class, and even of the instructer himself; for in all instruction, there is a mutual action between the teacher and his pupils. The plan which we have suggested will, in a great degree, remedy this evil. The student will not feel himself restricted to a particular course of study, of which a large portion has no bearing on his future vocation in life. Is he preparing for active pursuits? He is engaged in a system of studies, which competent judges have thought best adapted to his purpose. Is he aspiring to reap the honors of literary or professional and public life? His object is to lay the same foundation, on which distinguished names in science and literature have reared the lofty superstructure of their fame. And when such a spirit animates the young men in our literary institutions, there will be a zeal and a vigor in their pursuit of knowledge, and an energy in the efforts of their teachers to urge them forward, now unknown.

But such a change in our system would in other respects be followed by important results. Our literary degrees being then marks of literary distinction, more peculiarly than heretofore, it will be felt to be a matter of importance to preserve their value, as incentives to effort, and to make them, more than has been the case in our country, the reward of industry and attainment. Our college examinations would then be

more searching, and would thus lead to a more thorough training and more laborious exertions. The most effectual method of raising the standard of education in its highest departments, is by means of improvements in those which are subordinate. Any important improvement in the education obtained even in the primary schools, will soon exert an influence on the highest institutions of the land. The scheme now proposed will, we conceive, have a similar operation. There will be two great classes of educated men in society; those who have received a liberal education, and those who, though they have not advanced so far, go out into the world with much higher attainments than in individuals of their class have before been known. As a natural consequence, larger demands will be made upon the former class, who, in order to maintain their standing in the community, must add to acquirements, no longer confined to their number, the attainments of a finished classical education. In the remarks which we have made, we have said nothing about the importance of all, who are engaged in the pursuit of a liberal education, securing a competent knowledge of modern languages and literature. Nothing need be said to enforce this upon them; their pride as scholars will forbid them to neglect knowledge, the possession of which, at least in a degree, now confers on liberally educated men little credit, while its absence is, we might almost say, a disgrace. To such, moreover, this knowledge comes almost as a matter of course, as their acquaintance with the ancient tongues affords the greatest facility in the acquisition of it. But we must now take leave of this subject. The views which we have set forth have produced a firm conviction in our minds, that while danger is to be apprehended from the spirit of innovation, which now pervades our country on the subject of education, changes similar to those which we have suggested, would be highly beneficial to the cause of learning.

ART. III.—*The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* By EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ. Fourth American, from the last London Edition. Complete in six Volumes. New York. 1826.

IF the 'Decline and Fall' could be purified of the disingenuous spirit of hostility to the Christian religion which pervades the text, and of the gross indelicacy which defiles the notes, it would afford a monument of profound erudition, of acute discernment, of lofty and comprehensive understanding, and of untiring industry, unsurpassed and perhaps unrivalled by any historical work of ancient or modern times. The character of Gibbon's style is too elaborate and artificial to be uniformly graceful; and too luxuriantly splendid to engage, without sometimes fatiguing, the reader's attention. It wants the ease, simplicity, and refined Attic elegance, which mark the style of Hume. But if occasional false ornament and overwrought elegance appear in the pages of Gibbon, the defect is amply atoned for by his teeming greatness of thought, and a confident strength, elevation, and richness of language, for all which he is peculiarly distinguished. In creating for his great work the style of composition which he invariably maintains, he seems to have set before himself the nature of his subject as the model to be copied; and in the contemplation of the imperial majesty of Rome, to have attained something of appropriate dignity of conception and expression. The accuracy and extent of his learning have been proof to the severe scrutiny, which his constant efforts to render Christianity odious, have justly drawn upon his work. Its permanent popularity, wherever the English language is known, bears witness to his complete success, in extracting a continuous and interesting narrative from the unpromising mass of materials, upon which he was compelled to labor, and which a mind of less resolute perseverance would have abandoned in despair. Always discriminating, always arriving at his conclusions after the most careful examination of evidence, he is never uncandid but when his religious prejudices exert their influence, never mistaken but when they mislead his judgment. In reading the 'Decline and Fall,' we are charmed by the harmonious roundness of its periods, and struck by its vivid and emphatic descriptions of the important events, which crowd upon us in quick succession. We admire

the sagacity, which ministers to so profound learning; and never cease to be delighted, except when forced to lament the extraordinary perversion of taste, which so frequently descends from the lofty tone of dignified history to riot in impurity and irreligion. And notwithstanding the unfortunate blemishes, which detract so much from the merit of the work, it possesses qualities of sterling value, which must continue to secure for it a high station among the great classics of our language.

The period of time comprehended in the 'History of the Decline and Fall' forms the connecting link between the events, institutions, governments, literature, men, and manners of antiquity, and those of our own age. And the work itself, while it relates to the former, presents an instructive example of the influence of the latter, upon the spirit of history. We embrace the occasion thus offered us, to discuss the relative merits, and explain some of the distinguishing traits, of ancient and modern historians. They, who shrink from the sight of a Greek or Latin name, or deem all reference to the literature of Rome or Athens, nothing but unprofitable pedantry, may skip over the pages which follow, and seek out something of a nature more practical, and more congenial to their taste and pursuits. But we trust to find a few readers, at least, who may take pleasure in turning aside with us for a while, from the heartless bustle of the world's affairs, and the all absorbing interests of the day, to refresh their minds by recurrence to the never-fading charms of classic lore.

Utility, we know, is the idol of the present age; and a selfish estimation of what the mode of the time designates by that name, has thrown into the shade many of the objects which our fathers favored. But time has been, when all that was most perfect in matters of taste, whether embodied in the speaking silence of the sculptured marble, or in the nobler efforts of eloquence and poetic inspiration, was claimed as the exclusive birthright of the ancients. And the caprice of fashion, or perhaps we should rather say our literary dependance upon the Greeks and Romans, restricted the proud appellation of 'the ancients' to these two favored nations, the masters in learning of the inhabitants of modern Europe, and through them of their colonies in America. We still gaze, with almost despairing admiration, on those forms, which the creative chisel of the Grecian artist animated with mimic life; and on the architectural remains of Rome or Athens, splendid even in their deso-

lation and ruin. Let the classical scholar stand amid the monuments of their departed greatness, or imagine himself among the poets, historians, and philosophers of antiquity, and the very air itself, which surrounds them, will seem to him as if consecrated by the hereditary devotion of ages. Such precious fragments of their eloquence as survive to us, appear more beautiful than the finished works of modern genius; and even their errors have come to be regarded as a kind of eccentric greatness, which, in defiance of rules, exacts, and must receive, our applause. Borne along by the enthusiasm of so many centuries, which, like the gravitation of a falling body, acquires increased intensity as it continues to descend to later times, we half forget that the ancients were men like ourselves, who, if they often exhibited all the gentle and lofty feelings of our nature, were no more impeccable than ourselves, and in many things were unquestionably inferior to us, if they were not in all.

How large a portion of the unbounded admiration, which ripe scholars generally entertain for the remains of antiquity, may be ascribed to prejudice, and to other causes apart from the genuine merits of the ancients, we need not stop to inquire. Enough will be left, which nothing but undeniable excellence can satisfactorily account for, affording complete evidence of the delicacy and spirit of their perceptions of elegance in matters of taste. We judge of beauty by a certain sympathetic intelligence, whether implanted in our bosoms by nature or introduced there by education, it matters not, since, when refined by cultivation, it constitutes correct and exquisite taste. Hence the conspiring praises of mankind for many successive ages are generally considered unequivocal proof of excellence in the fine arts and in polite letters, although no excess, no continuance of admiration may ensure the soundness of a philosophic deduction. It was rather flippantly said by Boileau, and yet with considerable truth; 'Il n'est plus question, à l'heure qu'il est, de savoir si Homère, Platon, Cicéron, Virgile sont des hommes merveilleux. C'est une chose sans contestation, puisque vingt siècles en sont convenus. Que si vous ne voyez pas les beautés de leurs ecrits, il ne faut point conclure qu'elles ne sont pas, mais que vous êtes aveugles, et que vous n'avez point de goût.' * But the prepossession in

* Réfl. Crit. sur Longin.

favor of antiquity in matters of taste is not purely a matter of prescriptive opinion. We may reconcile ourselves to this apparent partiality by passing in review some obvious causes of the superior elegance of the classical writers as a body.

It might reasonably be presumed that the ancients would have attained excellence in mere oratory; since of all the arts of intellectual refinement, eloquence is that which most naturally and rapidly acquires perfection. The art of communication is cultivated even among savage nations. Its rules do not require, and it may be questioned whether they admit, the most elaborate investigation of causes. The analysis of the passions, interests, and caprices of mankind; and in fact all those properties of understanding, and all those acquisitions, which directly minister to masterly eloquence, at least to spoken eloquence, are the plainest, if not the most alluring objects of inquiry and study. Mere naked logical reasoning is not what we now intend; but the persuasive talent, which renders arguments available, and which speaks to the heart, if the understanding fails to receive the desired impression. This peculiarly depends upon a knowledge of the intricacies of the human breast, a knowledge to be obtained rather by practical acuteness, than by means of the condition which characterizes a learned age. It requires observation, unquestionably; but a kind of observation, wherein the accumulated facts of centuries are of little value, in comparison with the force of native sagacity of mind. It is the eloquence of nature, which rules the passions with the most imperious dominion, or wins them over by the most seducing allurements. Experience seems to confirm the supposition, that improvements in science do not effect a corresponding improvement in eloquence. Perrault, the author of the 'Parallel between the Ancients and Moderns,' once so much talked of, erred in maintaining that the advancement of philosophy necessarily inferred that of the fine arts; and thus exposed himself the more to the attacks of Boileau. This not being the fact, of course there is no antecedent presumption against the alleged superiority of the ancients in respect to eloquence.

The rhetorical beauty of ancient writings is owing in some degree, to the mechanism of the Greek and Latin languages. Wotton, the well known champion of the moderns in opposition to Sir William Temple, attributes much of the charms of Greek poetry to the natural melody and ductility of that un-

rivalled tongue.* The regular cadence of long and short syllables, for which accents are substituted in the modern languages, is a peculiar beauty in classical composition. Modern European languages are distinguished, also, by various changes in the structure of their verbs and nouns, which increase the simplicity of the rudiments of language, but impair its variety, sweetness, and energy. Not only are we thus embarrassed with a multitude of particles, which but serve, in the words of Campbell, 'to clog the expression and enervate the sentiment;' but we are almost totally deprived of the liberty of inversion, through which the classical tongues were moulded at will into whatever forms of elegance or force the purpose of the speaker might demand.† These considerations alone might induce us to despair of attaining the significant energy, the rich, pregnant, compressed meaning of Tacitus, or the unsophisticated gracefulness of Xenophon's style, which calls to mind, by contrast, the expression of Ovid's,

'simulaverat artem
Ingenio natura suo.'

Again, did not the limited means of publication, which the ancients enjoyed, prove favorable to them in this particular? All the materials of books were costly, and of course freely accessible only to the rich. The art of printing, that wonderful invention, which multiplies, at so cheap a rate, all the productions of the mind, was unknown; and its place was imperfectly supplied by the slow process of copying in manuscript. Would not this have a tendency to stimulate the ancient writer to greater exertions to excel, and thus enrich his language with that exquisite finish, which no art, no elaboration, can carry further? Would it not tend also to strangle mediocrity in the birth, by confining the public patronage, and with it the public applause, to works of undoubted merit. Sir William Temple hazards the strange belief that the ancients possessed as many valuable books as the moderns. Such a position hardly deserves refutation. But while the art of printing has multiplied, to a wonderful extent, the number of books, on the other hand, by thus placing the elements of science and facility

* Reflexions, p. 232.

† See this subject fully discussed in Campbell's Rhetoric, and in Adam Smith's ingenious Essay on the Formation of Languages.

of publication within the reach of all, has it not made first rate elegance of taste more rare in proportion to the number of writers, and the examples of mediocrity more abundant?

And does not the mere subserviency of our taste to that of the ancients operate to their advantage? Just as the slavery of the body causes the moral sensitiveness to languish, so this servility of the taste may tend to deaden the spirit and flatten the elasticity of the imagination. The whole field of invention lay fresh before them in all the luxuriance of virgin nature. They could pluck its brightest flowers and richest fruits, leaving to us to glean where they had gathered. The realms of fancy lay unrifled before them; and, like Sinbad in the Valley of Diamonds, surrounded by countless and unimagined riches, they might well disdain all but the most resplendent gems. It was theirs to invent, to conceive, to utter the first coinage of the fancy, undimmed, bright, fresh from the mint of inspiration; ours to imitate, embellish, arrange, and reproduce the images and ideas, which, with them, came welling up with unstinted prodigality from the exhaustless fountain-head. The vivacity of the fancy, the richness, variety, and life of its creations, that inspiration, which is the very soul of genius,—all are sacrificed by a slavish adherence to authority, and by always following implicitly the forms and models which others have set before us, without ever attempting to strike out an original conception of our own. These remarks, nicely considered, may not all be susceptible of strict application to the subject; yet they serve to show, we think, that in matters of taste the bare priority in time may have given the ancients some advantage over the moderns.

After all, the superior excellence of antiquity in the fine arts, in poetry, and in eloquence spoken or written, is a problem not perfectly easy of solution. And if we confine our attention to eloquence and fine writing simply, the taste, fashions, and feelings of the people, and the nature of their public institutions, will probably approach nearest to accounting for the superiority of the Greeks and Romans. The constitution of those old republics held forth every inducement, which could inspire and sustain the noblest powers of eloquence. Look, for instance, at the condition of the Greek, who might be ambitious of excelling in oratory; and you find that the whole system of his country's institutions aimed to cherish and perfect this admirable faculty. He wrote or

spoke in that delightful tongue, which is justly characterized by Gibbon as 'a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy.' The busy, imaginative, mercurial temperament of the nation prompted them to cultivate assiduously the arts of persuasion and of social communication. Even in the primitive days commemorated by Homer, we perceive abundant traces of this national predisposition, in the insinuating character of Ulysses, and in the description of the venerable Nestor, whose words, the poet says, flowed sweeter than honey. In after times, the fondness of the nation for dramatic spectacles, the enthusiastic applause bestowed on the literary exhibitions at the Olympic games before the flower of all Greece, *flos delibatus populi*, but especially the democratic forms of government prevailing in the great cities, where every thing was discussed before the people, and the factious emulation of so many rival republics, whose policy required the exercise of all the magic of persuasion,—these circumstances explain the extraordinary success of Greeks of gifted genius, in the exercise of this divine art. Here we discern the combination of causes, which, acting upon the ambition of Pericles, produced that magic talent, which suggested to Eupolis the bold figure, of the goddess of persuasion hovering upon his lips;* and which created in Demosthenes that perfect model of severe, chastened, sublime eloquence, which even the scrutinizing spirit of the present day admits to be yet unsurpassed.

And if examples of the fact be required in written eloquence, we might specify the majestic richness of Plato, so much admired by the philosophers of the Academy as to induce them to affirm that, if Jupiter were to address mankind, he would use the language of Plato.† A still more pregnant illustration of the point is the case of Herodotus, who is styled by Cicero the father of history. It was at the games of Olympia that he claimed and acquired for his work the admiration of Greece;‡ and for this end, of public exhibition at such a scene, it was most exquisitely adapted. He wrote at a period when genius was not fettered by prescription; the whole world was before him; and he chose from its unculled

* Cic. Brutus, c. 15. † Cic. Brutus, c. 31.
‡ Lucian, ed. Bipont. tom. iv, p. 117.

treasures of instruction, that which was most peculiar in manners, most noble in enterprise, and most striking among events, for the entertainment of his hearers. They were charmed by the placid, mellow harmony of his style, which pleases, like female beauty when it is most fascinating, by animated loveliness predominating over strength, and serene dignity rather than magnificence. His eloquence flattered the religion of his audience, it honored their dawning literature, it celebrated their enthusiastic attachment to liberty, which had broken, scattered, and repulsed the armed array of the barbarians; and the spirit of every Greek was elevated by the exhibition of his fathers' deeds, and he instinctively admired the historian, who first commended them to immortality.* And such was the stimulating influence under which, in Greece, the graces of composition were cultivated.

The Romans possessed a less flexible and copious language than the Grecians, and less constitutional devotion to literary pursuits. Montesquieu would never have described them as he did the Greeks, to be 'grands parleurs, grands disputeurs, naturellement sophistes.' The Latin language, therefore, was perfected more slowly than the Greek; but in its golden age, it was certainly preëminent for the most absolute facility, richness, strength, and significance. All remember the well known passage of Cicero, in which he expresses the extraordinary efficacy of the public institutions of Rome in producing rhetorical excellence.† When the empire of the republic was extended over the civilized world, and the ambition of its youth had less scope in military service, they universally devoted themselves to the study of eloquence under Greek masters; and in the importance and variety of the occasions for public speaking at Rome, they had an ample field for the display of talent in oratory, which became the key to all that was splendid in wealth, power, and glory. Hence the acquisition of eloquence rose, in the flourishing days of the republic, to be the highest aim of ambition; and was deemed an attainment worthy of the sublimest genius, and the most persevering elaboration. It seemed to be regarded as an heirloom which the ingenuous Roman inherited with the images of

* G. J. Vossius de Hist. Gr. 1, 3; Mém. de l' Acad. des Inscr. tom. 19, 21 et 23.

† De Orat. lib. i, c. 4.

his ancestors, and which alone could preserve their blood in purity and honor. It is risking little to say that precisely such a state of things, where the rewards of eloquence were so great and the cultivation of it so universal, has never existed since, although the condition of England and of America somewhat resembles it. Ascribing to the Greeks and Romans, then, only the same natural intellects with ourselves, yet we must continue to fall behind them in eloquence, until the same elaborate efforts to excel are prosecuted under equally powerful stimulants to honorable ambition.

If the reader has followed us in the somewhat desultory course of our observations, he will be disposed to accord with us in the conclusion of the superior eloquence of the ancients, their superiority, that is, not in the natural power itself, but in the more advantageous use of that power. This general inference will include the particular one, that in the mere beauties of composition, the rhetoric of history, the ancient historians, as a body, surpassed the moderns. It is no derogation from the exalted desert of so many admirable writers in all the living languages of Europe to confess this; for, as we shall presently see, if to the venerable names of Greek and Roman story be awarded the palm of excellence in style, their successors may assert the better and wiser merit, of superiority in the inductive elements of history, of being more exact, more finished, more useful. The taste so prevalent among the ancient historians, of placing fictitious speeches in the mouths of prominent persons in their history, speeches conceived and composed by the historian himself,—a practice judiciously relinquished by nearly all modern historians of eminence,—illustrates the difference in spirit between the respective writers. Botta has greatly erred, we conceive, in attempting to revive this obsolete usage, founded altogether upon the rhetorical aim and taste of antiquity in the composition of history, in contrast with the devotion to truth and simplicity, which is demanded by a more enlightened judgment.

For nothing is plainer than the principle, that the value of history depends upon its certainty, that is, not only its conformity to truth in the narration of individual facts, but its general accuracy, fidelity, and fulness. It is this which should essentially characterize history; since the charms of eloquence are equally fascinating when embodied in mere works of fiction. Absolute certainty, to be sure, is incompatible with hu-

man affairs. 'Dubitare cogor,' says Tacitus, 'fato et sorte nascendi.' History, therefore, although its end should be faithfully to mark the frailties, and celebrate the virtues of humanity, yet, like its object, is necessarily subject to imperfections. Too often has it betrayed the confidence of the great and good, who had leaned upon it, as the advocate of their worth and the pledge of their glory; as the means of securing to their names, when dead, that justice from posterity, which the petty passions of their contemporaries had denied to their character when living. For it has obscured their worth and intercepted their glory, by the extravagance or faintness of its eulogium; by total silence or the faultiness of its details; and by the undue elevation of the merit of their competitors and opponents. But few, of the multitudes who assume the name of historians, resemble the abstract idea of historical perfection. The attainment of this lofty distinction, like the acquisition of the *spolia opima* at Rome, is the rare event in a long series of anxious efforts. But none, we think, can deny, that the standard of excellence, in this department of writing, has been considerably raised in modern times, without any diminution of the proportion of those who have reached it. This we shall perceive by considering those attributes of history, which the moderns have either improved or newly created; to understand which, let us briefly premise a summary of the critical principles, which apply to the subject.

The principal fountains of history are tradition and contemporary relations. Tradition relates to accounts handed down orally from generation to generation, their origin being generally clouded in the remoteness of time, and their credibility established by no contemporary writings. It is essential to the plausibility of traditions that they contradict no other tradition which is equally plausible; that they appear to be as old as the events which they commemorate; that they appear to have been believed, as long as known; that they be inconsistent with no existing public institution; and that they coincide with all the better authenticated kinds of historical evidence. Traditions should not only be strengthened by these favorable presumptions, but they should be refined from every imputation of prejudice, interest, and misrepresentation. It is essential to the general credibility of contemporary memoirs, that an unbroken series of proofs be adducible to show that they are genuine and free from adulteration; that the facts

therein related agree with all other equally credible histories; and that the opinion of contemporary and subsequent writers bear witness to the fidelity, accuracy, and means of information of the author of the documents. These are the canons, by which to judge of the credibility of history properly so called. But the express relation of an event may be corroborated by constructive and subsidiary evidence. Such are monuments, medals, and inscriptions, which are so frequently made use of to illustrate obscure points in Roman history; such are the *quipos* or knotted cords of the Peruvians, and the pictorial records of the Mexicans; such are the ruins, or any other equally certain traces of an ancient city; and such is any public institution, whose origin can be explained only by the particular tradition or writing under consideration. Examples of all these things, and of their utility in supporting or disproving accounts, which rest more immediately in human testimony, will readily occur to the learned reader.

In short, the whole matter is a question of evidence, to be tried by the same rules, which are of every day's application in courts of justice, and which, more than any other portion of jurisprudence, are remarkable for being founded upon plain common sense and fortified by the inductions of the soundest practical philosophy. Is the evidence adduced of the highest kind, or is it of an inferior class? Is the witness of such standing and character that his veracity cannot be suspected, nor his intelligence impeached? Had he sufficient means of ascertaining the facts, which he undertakes to relate? Does he stand contradicted by any other witness; and if so, which of the two is the more credible, and gives the more plausible account of the affair? Is the fact related likely in itself, or is it intrinsically impossible, incredible, or improbable? Is the testimony of the witness corroborated by any circumstantial evidence, which, to borrow the language of the bar, cannot, like man, forget, misrecollect, or wilfully falsify? All these are pertinent inquiries, and according as a history sustains the application of such tests, are we to judge of its certainty and real value.

Much of our historical knowledge, it must be confessed, depends upon evidence which is of a secondary kind, and therefore, of necessity, less sure. This uncertainty is wrought into the very texture and fabric of all our knowledge of complicated facts; because it does not always happen that we have the

best evidence of them; and even the most positively attested relations must be imperfect without the comparison of different statements, some of which must result in hearsay, and therefore partake of the defective nature of mere traditionary information. Very few events have been recorded, in all their causes, progress, bearings, and effects, by one who was himself the eye-witness of them, through each of these predicaments. Suppose him to be the most credible and intelligent witness that ever testified on earth, yet his narrative must depart more or less from certainty, either by omitting material particulars of which he was ignorant, or by trusting to the information of others, of whose credibility we may be less fully assured. A history then, will be more or less valuable, in proportion as its proofs consist more or less of that evidence, which is of the highest and best character. Now these considerations being premised, we say, that, modern history resting upon evidence incomparably better than ancient, it therefore deserves the praise of superior certainty and utility. In entering into the details of this proposition, we shall first examine the relative purity of the sources of ancient and modern history; and next inquire if modern historians have not more judiciously employed their advantages.

In all ancient histories, a very striking circumstance is the frequent reliance upon traditions, which relate to events that happened long before the traditions were committed to any authentic record for preservation. Tradition, after all, is little better than common rumor,—fame—

'Tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuntia veri;'

and is never admissible but in the absence of less authentic evidence. Even the most credible traditions, those which are connected with a particular monument, and which do not contradict any written document, frequently have an equivocal authority. From the multitude of such cases, a few instructive examples may be selected. Thus the fable of Attius Navius, who is said to have performed a miraculous feat by cutting a whetstone through with a razor in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, is attested by the existence of the identical razor and whetstone in the latter days of the republic.* In a battle fought by the dictator A. Postumius against the Latins, the twin gods Castor and Pollux were believed to have fought on the

* Cic. de Divin. lib. i, c. 17; Liv. lib. i, c. 36.

side of the Romans; in evidence of which a temple was erected to commemorate the legend, and the horse of Castor left the track of his hoof imprinted upon the surface of a siliceous rock near lake Regillus.* An altar was erected to Ajus Loquens, a god made for the occasion, being a mysterious voice which warned the Romans against the approaching capture of the city by the Gauls.† Tacitus relates that a *Ficus Ruminalis*, reputed to be the very tree under which Romulus and Remus were suckled, existed in the Comitium more than eight hundred and forty years afterwards, to attest the fact to those who were credulous enough to believe it.‡ Greek examples without number to the same effect might be cited; but we content ouselves with Roman ones, because the books in which they are found are more familiar to readers in general, and to ourselves in particular. The curious student may see a specimen of them in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (tom. vi), a collection of pieces, which, out of France, is not prized so highly as it deserves to be.

These traditions do sometimes, it is true, corroborate some credible fact, as the battle and the invasion in the second and third of the above instances; but, as in the first and fourth, they are as often attached to fables; and of the whole we may say with Tully, 'Nihil debet esse in philosophiâ commentitiis fabellis loci.' And we learn from them how easy it is for numerous interests, such as the purposes of superstition, national vanity, and even the trifling passions of individuals, to give rise to traditions, which only serve to perpetuate falsehood. This it is, which has conferred dignity, and even divinity, upon the origin of empires. 'Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut, miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat.' This it is, which has poured such a blaze of holiness around all that is obscure, all that is suspicious, in the remoteness of antiquity. Scarce was there a single ancient nation, but could point you to a deity for its founder. Nay, lying tradition traces the origin of Romans, English, French, Turks, and Germans, each by separate derivations, down from the all-prolific Trojans.

Reliance upon tradition, secondary evidence, and other imperfect proofs, is too common throughout all ancient history.

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* Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii, c. 2. comp. lib. iii, c. 5.

† Cic. de Divin. lib. i, c. 44; Liv. lib. v, c. 22, 50; Plutarch, Camillus.

‡ Annal. lib. xiii, c. 58.

But the fault assumes its most obnoxious form in the early Greek accounts of foreign nations. They seem to be a sort of triumph to fraud and credulity. At that day, the examination of a foreign land was no inconsiderable enterprise; and immediate reputation was the consequence to the intelligent traveller, who safely returned from his wanderings. It was thus that the fairest flowers were gathered by Herodotus and Xenophon, by Pythagoras, Democritus, and Plato, to adorn the works they severally published.* Sometimes the inspection of original annals, but more frequently the conversation of Egyptian priests, or Persian magi, or some other equally unsafe authority, was the only source of the stranger's historical information. 'The Greeks,' said the most perfect of ancient historians, 'admire only their own perfections;' *sua tantum mirantur.*† Still they had an ardent, an enterprising curiosity; but it was too often a morbid appetite for novelties, indulged without sufficient discrimination as to the objects of pursuit, or the means of gratification. Oftentimes they seemed to inquire, not to judge, but to believe. At any rate, their foreign histories abound with errors and legendary falsehoods. Hence arise the mistakes contained in the classical accounts of the Jews in Tacitus ‡ and Justin,§ who doubtless copied the Greek historians. Hence the clashing and confusion of the traditions with regard to the Persians in the 'Persæ' of Æschylus, in Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon.‖ And if we may credit so competent a judge as Strabo, the loquacious Greeks were not to be trusted in their accounts of other foreign countries,¶ which Lucian has so keenly satirized in his 'True History.' Indeed, their uncertainty is very generally admitted by the critics; and the attempt to reconcile them has engaged and baffled the most persevering industry, and the most enlightened genius.** So imperfect and erroneous was the knowledge of the Greeks concerning the Barbarians, that is, every people but themselves, during the golden age of their literature and until after the conquests of Alexander.

The same fault, of neglecting to pay proper attention to the

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* Cic. de Fin. lib. v, c. 29. † Tac. Annal. lib. ii, ap. fin.

‡ Hist. lib. v. § Lib. xxxvi.

‖ Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. i, c. 12; Hutch. Dissert. ad Cyropæd. lib. i, c. 3.

¶ Lib. xi, p. 774.

** See Newton's Chronol. Intr.

evidence of alleged facts, vitiates the domestic history of Greece. Without going into a minute analysis of this proposition, which would occupy too much space and time, let us believe some of the most learned and irreproachable among the ancients themselves. Strabo, in the place already cited, testifies to the fact; and Thucydides, who set the example of a better proceeding, even apologizes for not being a fabulist.* The history, as well as the philosophy, of Greece, previous to the reign of Cyrus, was identified with works of imagination.† The historians who succeeded from Cadmus the Milesian to Herodotus, if we may rely on the universal belief of the ancients, with the blood of the poets of the age before them, inherited also the license of poetic fancy.‡ The historical memoirs of that period were perplexed, interrupted, and often equivocal; and writers supplied by fables or conjecture, the numerous deficiencies, which essentially belong to all traditional relations. Partly from this suspicious character of preceding historians, though more indeed from his own admirable eloquence, Herodotus was esteemed the father of history. His work we may therefore consider a favorable specimen of what the Greeks effected in history, previous to the publication of Thucydides. In all facts, which came under his personal observation, his veracity is unquestioned; but elsewhere the absence of original documents, in depriving him of the only proper source of history, has exposed him to the reproach of succeeding writers. But for this, Cicero would not have hazarded the expression, that the works of Herodotus and Theopompus contain innumerable fables; 'innumerabiles fabulæ;§ nor would Juvenal have made the remark so often quoted,

> 'Creditur olim
> Velificatus Athos,‖ et quicquid Græcia mendax
> Audet in historiâ.'

It was not until the most vigorous age of Grecian genius, that, in the hands of Thucydides and Xenophon, the contemporary domestic history exhibited any pretensions to judgment, research, and, by consequence, certainty.¶

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* Lib. i, c. 20; comp. Lucian. de Hist. c. 42.
† Plin. Maj. lib. vii. c. 57. ‡ Quinctil. lib. ii, c. 4.
§ Cic. de Legg. lib. i, c. 1. ‖ See Herod. lib. vii.
¶ A. Gellius lib. iii, c. 10; Plutarch. ed. Bipont. tom. ix. p. 393; Joseph. cont. Ap. lib. i, c. 2.

As to the Romans, most of their knowledge of foreign nations, previous to the last days of the republic, was derived from the Greeks. 'Abest enim historia litteris nostris,' says Tully. Their first domestic historian, Fabius Pictor, flourished more than five hundred years after the supposed era of the building of Rome, and much of the earlier history of the city is involved in doubt and obscurity. Even if this were not the express admission of Livy and other equally competent critics, yet the contradictory statements of the most important events, the perplexed and broken series of their chronology, and the many relations in their histories, which are confessedly fabulous and legendary, would remove all hope of certainty in the early Roman historians. The attention of scholars has been recently drawn to this point by the writings of Niebuhr and Wachsmuth; but the same things were discussed many years ago, in some valuable dissertations, by MM. Sallier and Pouilly in the French *Mémoires* (tom. vi.) The essays of the latter, especially, are sensible, clear, and direct; his arguments are convincing, and his illustrations numerous, and pregnant with conclusions. It is not our purpose to consider the subject at length; but a cursory view of it is too pertinent to be passed over entirely.

It is admitted that, except treaties and laws, resolutions of the senate or votes of the people, and insulated inscriptions, all engraved upon public monuments or tables of brass or stone,* the early Roman history, if preserved at all, must have been preserved in the records called *annales maximi* or *commentarii pontificum.* These consisted, according to Cicero, of public annals, composed yearly by the *pontifex maximus,* from the foundation of the city *(ab initio rerum Romanarum)* down to the time of P. Mucius, in which the memory of important events was preserved for the information of posterity.† Now there is no doubt that such a record was, for a certain period, carefully compiled in Rome; but was it commenced at so early a period, and if so, how long did the genuine record exist? We reply, first, it is wholly incredible that it went back so far, because in those ancient times, when laws and treaties were preserved only upon tables of brass and

* Liv. lib. vi, c. 1; Sueton. Vespasian. c. 8; Polybius, p. 181, B. ed. Paris.; Tac. Annal. lib. iv, c. 43.

† De Orat. lib. ii, c. 12.

stone, there could not be either the disposition or the means to write such a circumstantial account of events as Livy, Plutarch, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus give us; and secondly, if there was such a record, it perished long before any history was composed from the materials it furnished. Cicero, twice in his works, refers to the ancient *annales maximi* as existing in his time.* In one of these passages he says, nothing can be more delightful to peruse; a text which has greatly puzzled the commentators; for the words, 'Nihil potest esse *jucundius*,' are plainly written in all the manuscripts; and the critics appear to be agreed that Tully could not mean what he said; and therefore some are for substituting the word 'jejunius'; and others for slyly inserting a negative particle, so as to read '*in*jucundius.'† Their industry, we think, could well have been spared on this occasion. They forgot the taste of Cicero for antiquities, and his pride in the historical greatness of his country. For if the books of which he spoke contained a pretended record of the early history of Rome, as we find it in Livy, we can readily conceive that he took pleasure in reading it; for it is throughout, every body must admit, as entertaining as a romance, and probably as veracious too.

The truth is, Plutarch expressly says that a work of that name existed, but pronounces it to be a forgery.‡ And how could it be otherwise? Clodius Albinus as cited by Plutarch,§ Livy,‖ and Plutarch himself,¶ all declare that the genuine old *annales maximi* were burnt by the Gauls when they sacked the city. And various circumstances confirm this account. For instance, the *annales maximi* contained, as we learn from Dionysius,** what no Roman ever believed; as that Romulus was the son of Æneas; that Remus built four cities, Rome, Anchisa, Capua, and Ænea; and the exploded fables of Hercules, and the kings of Alba, which Livy also declares to be false.†† Again, neither the chronology of Rome, nor the consular *fasti* are settled, even to a probability;

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* Ubi supra, et de Legg. lib. i, c. 2.

† Ernesti says, 'Quomodo *jucundi* illi annales, ita tenuiter scripti? Sed omnes libri in illo verbo consentiunt, quod varie tentatum est a viris doctis. Mihi placent, qui *in*jucundius legunt.' See also G. J. Vossius de Hist. Lat. lib. i, c. 1, 10; Taylor's Civil Law, p. 79; Ovid. Trist. ii, 219.

‡ Numa. § Numa. ‖ Lib. vi, c. 1. ¶ Fortun. Rom. sub fin.

** Lib. i, c. 73. †† Præf.

as Livy* and Cicero† both state in express terms; which could not be, if the *annales maximi* existed. The most important events in ancient Roman history are uncertain, and many of them are what Taylor calls 'ambulatory stories,' that is, facts told of several cities, and in the present case evidently copied from Greek histories. Finally, the first native historian of Rome, Fabius Pictor, instead of recurring to the *annales maximi*, which he undoubtedly would have done if the book existed, professedly copied Diocles Peparethius, a foreigner and a Greek.‡ These proofs, which might easily be extended, corroborate the statement of Clodius Albinus, if it stood in need of any other support than the opinions of Plutarch and Livy.

Such is the state of the case, with respect to the early history of Rome. And the sources of information of many subsequent historians were fallacious and insufficient. Prominent among them were the *libri lintei*, and the *laudationes mortuorum*. But the imperfection of his materials extorts frequent complaints from Livy. And Cicero says, the *laudationes* introduced much falsity into the Roman history; because they described false triumphs, fictitious consulates, and genealogies fabricated to gratify family pride.§ But the leisure consequent on the third Punic war, together with the cultivation of Grecian arts and letters, increased the number and added to the value of Roman historians. From this period, the annals of the republic are probable and coherent; but it was not until long afterwards, that history was successfully cultivated by the citizens of Rome. For the sources of history, the writer then had, in addition to private memoirs and the materials before mentioned, the acts and public despatches of generals and magistrates,‖ and the records of the senate.¶

It thus appears how slowly, both in Greece and Rome, but especially in the latter, history assumed even the semblance of veracity. But the sources of knowledge increase, both in extent and purity, as literature approaches to perfection; and perhaps, therefore, the materials of ancient history, in the most experienced ages of modern learning, were capable of producing the highest degree of moral certainty. That this is

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* Lib. iv, c. 23, et alibi. † Brutus, c. 18. ‡ Plutarch. Romulus.
§ Brutus, c. 16. ‖ Cic. Epist. lib. xii, 23; lib. xv, 1, 2, 4, &c.
¶ Tac. Annal. lib. xv, c. 74.

not the fact; that the utmost perfection to which ancient history could possibly attain, is far short of modern accuracy, will best appear by reference to some of those positive advantages, which are peculiar to modern times.

Foremost in the list, stands the art of printing, that wonderful invention, whose influence over the whole range of human affairs almost defies measurement or estimation. By means of this, the indigence of the ancients in materials is converted into the most exuberant plenteousness. By multiplying and diffusing the evidence of events, it has removed the most penetrating defect of ancient history. The knowledge of what is passing around us, or of what has taken place, is not confined to the erudition of the few; nor does it live only in the broken, impure, and perplexed rumors of the multitude. Histories and original memoirs of every degree of merit and pretension, from the splendid quarto to the modest duodecimo; public records, in such voluminous abundance in every country, that the industry of a life would not exhaust their contents; parliamentary debates and executive documents, printed in such profusion that we are more likely to sink under the weight of our riches, than suffer from their deficiency; periodical works, annual, quarterly, monthly, weekly, and daily, whose end is 'to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure,' —such are the sources of historical knowledge, which exist in modern times, and which, by means of the press are multiplied to an indefinite extent and beyond the possibility of destruction. How striking is the contrast in ancient times, as to which, no small portion of the most important facts are necessarily believed on the personal credit of a single historian, unsupported by monuments, unaided by any subsidiary evidence.* It needs no labored discussion to show that this single advantage, the possession of the press, settles at once the question of the relative certainty of ancient and modern historians, so far as regards the materials and sources of history.

Nor is there any more doubt concerning the second branch

* We are here reminded of the quaint lamentation of Lipsius, on occasion of the fine character of Helvidius Priscus given by Tacitus. 'At tam illustre sidus (heu quid speremus ?) in tenebris pene jacebat, absque unâ hac Taciti face.' (Tac. Hist. lib. iv, c. 5, in notis.) The idea of discovering a brilliant star by means of torch-light is quite new and clever!

of our inquiry, namely, whether we have not employed our advantages to greater profit than the ancients did theirs. Indeed superior critical skill would be the necessary consequence of the general diffusion of knowledge, which the invention of printing has produced. It has infused life, health, and vigor into the whole system of literature and science. Not only, therefore, are more original memoirs preserved from dispersion and loss in the libraries of the rich and of public bodies, but the literary ambition of the whole world is awakened and sustained by the facility of acquiring knowledge. Hence arises the authority, the efficiency, if not the being of sound public opinion, that sublime power, which corrects error, subdues presumption, cherishes genius, and consecrates truth, marking for infamy or glory every thought and action of life, which comes within the sphere of its operation. The utility of this power being measured by the diffusion of learning, its beneficial influence must evidently be greater upon modern, than it could ever have been upon ancient history.

Besides, in our day, the influence of public opinion is not only apparent in the bosom of a single nation, but the false judgments of any one people are modified and corrected by the criticisms of other nations. It is obvious that this circumstance is peculiarly conducive to the certainty of history, by making the partialities of each community the corrective of those around it. The public sentiment of a single people may easily be vitiated; but their prejudices will not be likely to extend through other states, whose interests are distinct, whose taste is peculiar, and whose national partialities are watchful and alert. Truth alone can endure the keen scrutiny, to which all historical writings are now subjected. The separate states of modern Europe and America constitute a vast community of nations, whose peculiarities act and react upon them as nations, precisely in the same way, followed by similar beneficial results, as single individuals improve each other, by contact and intercourse in society.

Something analogous to this, it is true, might be imagined to exist in the Greek republics; and in the Roman empire, after it had come to embrace so many distinct nations. But the case was widely different from what it is now. Lacedæmon was jealous of Athens; and Thebes of both; and Asia Minor and the Islands had interests apart from each of them; but still the feeling and character of the inhabitants of all these various re-

gions was Greek, their taste was Greek, their spirit and philosophy were Greek. The influence which one city exerted over the peculiarities of another was greatly circumscribed and limited by this consideration, of their community of language and general national character. Their case more nearly resembles that of the Italian republics of the middle age, or of the several states in our confederacy, or of the Spanish American republics of the south, than it does that of the great family of nations of the European race. And the overwhelming influence of the city of Rome, towards which all the ambition of the various nations that composed the empire centred and converged, and by which all their tastes were controlled, modified the operation of the power of which we are speaking, upon the literature of the later Romans. Everything is now radically changed. We have ceased to think that there is but one blessed region wherein genius is vernacular and patrimonial, and in whose embellishment nature exhausted all the might and fertility of her invention. There is no longer a people, who can claim, with Rome, the insolent prerogative of universal empire; or with Athens, the exclusive heritage of taste, of genius, or of elegance. The division of the literary world into distinct languages and communities is attended with this useful effect; and each nation has learned to prize its own excellences, without despising or neglecting whatever is learned or ingenious elsewhere. History derives from this comprehensive and enlightened curiosity, this enlarged literary tolerance, a certainty, variety, and copiousness, which were hardly known to the ancients even in speculation.

Apprehensive lest we may prove tedious, we shall confine ourselves to remarking upon but one topic more, under this head. The value of modern history is enhanced we conceive by the greater research, which is the consequence of greater scientific attainments. Science may repress the spirit and exuberance of fancy; but it will, at the same time, compensate for this inconvenience by the bestowment of still greater benefits, having peculiar influence upon the certainty of history. By means of experience, we are disciplined to habits of circumspection, of hesitancy, shall we say of distrust? Every day which adds to our knowledge and judgment, diminishes our credulity, and our tendency to rely upon imperfect proofs; since it teaches us a delicate, timorous, and laborious estimate of the grounds of moral evidence. It is an advantage, which

the mere lapse of time, the simple circumstance of living at a particular age of the world, confers upon us. Experience instructs us in the errors of our fathers; it discloses the various passions, interests, and caprices, which may delude us into false judgments; and it also reveals the means of guarding the candor and simplicity of the understanding. Here we obviously excel the ancient historians. Not only do we examine facts with more penetrating discernment, but we also purify our opinions and conclusions from those numerous errors, the sole support of which is prejudice, and their origin credulity. There is no longer overpowering authority in names; for we learn to see error as it is, cleared from the lustre of false beauty, the factitious good thrown around it by party, by fashion, and by prescription. Whenever a work of high pretension is now published, how strict is the scrutiny to which it is subjected. Witness the universal alertness of criticism excited by the appearance of Sir Walter Scott's 'Napoleon,' which is read, studied, examined all over Europe and America, and, since Asia, Africa, and the Pacific Islands are no longer exempt from the illumination of English literature, we may add, all over the civilized world. The spirit of unsparing investigation, which characterizes modern history, is the pledge and guarantee of its greater certainty; for it exposes the interested praises or censure of the contemporary chronicler, discloses his prejudices in their naked deformity, and reveals to the world those monuments of truth, which time had overturned in his flight, and left to lie concealed under the obscure and dusty ruins of the past.

In the plan of the foregoing remarks, we have disregarded those circumstances, whose influence is equally beneficial or equally injurious to ancient and to modern history. Our design is only to elicit distinctions. Of the passions incident to humanity in every age, and which are therefore equally prejudicial to certainty in all human inquiries, we have deemed it unprofitable to speak, unless where they were corrected or exaggerated by circumstances, so as to constitute a specific difference. And we are, of necessity, limited to the deduction of general inferences, exceptions to which may be met with in particular cases. But there is another aspect of the subject, eminently rich and prolific in reflexion, we mean, that class of differences between ancient and modern history, which refers to what is often called the philosophy of history. The perfection of the ancient writers consisted in describing the

causes, progress, and consequences of events with eloquence and truth; and nicely discriminating the character and motives of men. It seldom looked higher than this graphic art, which painted the deeds of the past in bold, manly, and vigorous coloring, the coloring of nature and of passion, which steals the heart, and ravishes the fancy. Now, we do indeed conceive the same enchanting eloquence to be essential to a perfect history; but we require more; we demand minute details on legislation and political economy; on the fluctuations in the public and private rules of thought and action, of whose value Sallust evidently formed a true idea; on the progress of science, letters, and the arts; in short, on every subject of an historical nature, which may enlighten the philosopher, or improve the man. It is this comprehensive spirit of philosophy, which embraces the past, the present, and the future, in a single view;

Ὃς ἤδη τὰ τ᾽ ἐόντα, τὰ τ᾽ ἐσσόμενα, πρὸ τ᾽ ἐόντα·

and which, in describing the past, employs the experience of the present, and infers from both the yet unexisting events of futurity. We may claim as our own, an attention to the sources of the wealth of nations, and to the causes of their grandeur and decay; for we meet in the Greek and Roman historians with but little illustrative of political economy, and whatever does occur, is brief and incidental.

If it be asked why the ancients did not dwell upon such facts in their histories, it may be answered, perhaps, that they were never placed in a situation to appreciate their value and interest. We occupy a position of which they had none but imperfect precedents, and no adequate conception. They can hardly be said to have had the full experience which we have, of a state of extreme ignorance, following close upon the sublimest exhibitions of genius. At the commencement of their literary career, there existed no monuments of departed splendor, whereof the study might guide their curiosity and enlarge their understanding. But among the moderns, a curiosity respecting the philosophy of history was awakened, by knowing, and in one sense witnessing, the subversion of the institutions of antiquity, and the substitution of others totally diverse. When the mind of Europe, if we may hazard the personification, started up from the slumber of the middle ages, it awoke instructed and enlightened by a deep sense of the evils, which had produced that lethargy. As it continued to

press forward in the race of improvement, it added the experience of age to the vigor and conscious greatness of Roman genius. From the wreck of all that was beautiful, all that was magnificent, we had preserved some of the most perfect specimens of the masterly skill and intellect of antiquity. In these peculiar circumstances, it was easy to discern the greatest defect in preceding historians, and to discern the defect was to perceive the remedy.

The historians of Greece generally derived their knowledge either from personal inquiries in foreign countries, or from books written in their own language, and modelled according to their peculiar taste. They enjoyed not that general literary intercourse with foreign nations, which operates so efficaciously to improve our taste and critical acuteness, as well as to guide, enliven, and invigorate our curiosity. A modern historian well knows, and should be proud of the fact, that he does not write for his own country only, but for numerous nations, all preoccupied with separate national partialities. From the interested scrutiny of the great republic of letters, presumption has no refuge, ignorance no sanctuary. But the Greek wrote for his own people only, or at least only for his own countrymen and the Romans; and this distinction, which we have already remarked upon in another connexion, has contributed to confirm a relish for the philosophy of history. Each individual state or empire may be regarded as a grand experiment, from which the philosophic observer will deduce principles, and also judge of their tendency. Tracing the progress of a government from its obscure beginnings, to the noblest efforts of its power and grandeur, and thence downwards through the several gradations of its feebleness, decline, and final subversion, we shall discover that every part of this progress, from incipient greatness, to oblivion, abounds in lessons of instruction, which will be numerous in proportion to the many polished nations, whose reciprocal intercourse creates and cherishes a mutual curiosity.

To illustrate the application of our doctrines by a minute analysis of particular historians, by contrasting the classical historians of Greece and Rome with the classical historians of Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, England, or Germany, would afford much matter of useful criticism and interesting speculation, but would greatly overrun our limits. We must be content with general reflections, leaving the reader to try their justness

for himself, by applying them to particular cases. Let it be observed, however, that what we have said is intended, in its full extent, only for the classic age of Grecian letters, which immediately preceded the conquests of Alexander. It requires some qualification, to be strictly correct in reference to the period, when learning was disseminated by the victories, and patronized by the successors, of that conqueror; when genius and letters had acquired a domicil in Egypt. But the Greeks had then lost the inspiration of freedom; and learning itself was enslaved by that pernicious tyranny of the intellect, the spirit of system and dogmatical philosophy. Who looks to the court of the Ptolemies for the classic school of their poetry or philosophy? And still less should we think of finding it in later times at Constantinople, among the series of Byzantine authors, whom the eloquence of Gibbon has rescued from oblivion.

Our observations must be taken with some allowance, when applied to the Romans. This wonderful people emerged, at once, from a state but little better than barbarism, to the bright light of Athenian arts, science, and elegance.

> 'Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
> Intulit agresti Latio.'

At the time of the conquest of Greece by the Romans, they were remarkable for a kind of rustic simplicity in all that relates to the fine arts, which is well illustrated by the characteristic anecdote of L. Mummius Achaicus, who, when unique specimens of Greek art were shipped from Corinth to be transported to Rome, assured the carrier that if the statues and pictures were damaged or lost by his negligence, he should be forced to make restitution in kind, of article for article. But they were more signally distinguished by the specious and prudent qualities, love of their country, love of glory, and of dominion. They were ever more attentive to practical than to abstract philosophy. They had less than the Greeks of what is technically called genius, less of that subtle ingenuity, certainly, which delights in the mysteries of abstraction, and less of that vividness and activity of the imagination, which shine forth in works of poetry and invention. Hence, although more noted for their admiration of productions of ingenuity, than for their successful imitation of Greek models; yet they soon rivalled their masters in eloquence, history, and jurisprudence, in those more practical branches of polite knowledge, which could im-

mediately subserve their national pride and ambition of supremacy. Besides, many of the causes, which, as we have seen, contribute to the perfection of history, had acquired a partial efficacy in Roman literature, during the latter years of the republic and under the first emperors.

For these reasons, we feel disposed to concede that in the qualities common to both, the classical Greek historians were surpassed by those of Rome, who seem to have reached the standard of excellence, according to the spirit of the times and the influence of existing circumstances. Who can turn away sated, from the richness and charming beauty of Livy's descriptions, or fail to esteem the candor, delicacy, and exactness of his judgment? Who can sufficiently admire the skill of Tacitus in discriminating character, and in developing the causes and relations of events, the indignant majesty of his sentiments, and his powerful, compressed eloquence, to be valued, like fine gold, for purity and brilliancy instead of quantity? And some of the Greek historians, who flourished at Rome under the Cæsars, evidently exhibit improvements in the matter of their works, even if the style be less chaste and terse than that of Thucydides and Xenophon. The gossiping and discursive, but amiable and intelligent, Plutarch in himself alone is a treasure. But it was impossible, for the reasons which we have explained at large, that the ancients should equal us in the fulness and certainty of history; and inconsistent with the fashionable character of it among them, inconsistent with their standard of taste, that it should contain all those details, which are so indispensable according to our ideas of its perfection.*

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* To show how little dependence can be placed upon the minor historians of antiquity, we take an example, at random almost, from Nepos. Comparing his life of Annibal with other more credible writers, we readily find errors of commission, almost in every chapter, setting aside the faults of omission. The following are a specimen.

1. 'Nemo ei in acie restitit,' &c. c. 5. Not true. Annibal retreated into his camp before Fabius, and was three times beaten by Marcellus at Nola. (Livy and Plutarch.)

2. 'Alpes, quas nemo unquam cum exercitu,' &c. c. 3. False. (Liv. lib. v; Polybius, lib. iii, c. 48.)

3. 'Conflixerat apud *Rhodanum* cum P. Scipione.' c. 4. Nobody ever heard of this battle but Nepos. (Vossius, Hist. Lat. lib. i. c. 14.)

4. 'Cum hoc apud *Padum* decernit.' c. 4. The place was *Centumviæ apud Ticinum.* (Liv. lib. xxi, c. 39; Polyb. lib. iii, c. 64.)

How deficient are the best historians of ancient Rome, in comparison with the great names of historical composition in modern times. They described the succession of alternate public victories and civil broils, out of which grew the splendid power of republican Rome, in her best days; they painted her in the vigor of her greatness, yet sinking beneath her countless laurels; crushed by accumulated misfortunes, yet struggling under them with a relic of her democratic energy; and at length sunk, overpowered, consigned to helpless ruin, yet still bearing the aspect of her living majesty, like her own brave soldiers on the field of Liris; 'Omnium vulnera in pectore; omnium in manibus enses; et relictæ vultibus minæ; et in ipsâ morte ira vivebat.'* Such was the sublime object, which they delineated with a pencil of light. But the machinery of the government, the condition and sources of the revenue, the composition of the army, the organization of society, and all the instructive points of national polity, which enter so largely into the staple of modern history, they leave us to gather as we may from incidental notices, scattered along amid rhetorical accounts of party animosity, foreign warfare, the civil tumults of distinguished men, private vice, and public corruption.

But it is time our speculations should be drawn to a close. We ask to be indulged only in subjoining a few words on the principle and degree of our estimation of antiquity, in explanation of what has occasionally fallen from us in reference to this topic. Some authors have imagined that the course of nature was analogous to the life of man; that the intellect of the human race once had its infancy, from which it advanced to the spirit and vivacity of youth, and the vigor of maturity; but that now old age has enervated and deadened its power. But the idea is a mere assumption, without the shadow of a foundation in truth. There is no probability that, in the same climate, the simple passage of two thousand years should produce any difference in the natural powers of man. Any alleged superiority of ancient writings, if it existed, would not prove that we cannot surpass the ancients. And what is the fact? Have the ancients exhibited greater excellence than the moderns, in their respective productions? If the question were to be dis-

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6. 'Hac pugnâ pugnatâ Romam,' &c. c. 5. An anachronism.
7. 'Dictator Rom. in agro Falerno,' &c. c. 5. The same.

* Florus, lib. i. c. 18.

cussed, in this shape it ought, we apprehend, to be primarily considered.

Now any individual discoveries of the ancients prove little, abstractly regarded; since the answer to them is, that we were anticipated only; that those precise departments of ingenuity were merely preoccupied by those who happened to come first, and who are not entitled to any merit on that account. Still less weight have the casual discoveries and unproductive conjectures of the Greek philosophers. Contrary to all sound reasoning, Dutens* exalts the barren guesses of the ancients to an equality with the fruitful and demonstrated truths of Newton. But to suspect a philosophic truth, without knowing whether it be one or not, and without dreaming of any useful application of it, amounts to nothing. Nor is the merit of actual invention, closely examined, of all the intrinsic value which is apt to be ascribed to it. If we trace the most admired, and apparently the most wonderful human inventions to their fountain-head, we find them to have been originally suggested by chance, or by some common and trivial work of nature. The merit rather lies in the quick apprehension, which rescues the infant art from oblivion, and rears it into vigor and utility.

In everything appertaining to philosophy, the fact, of our being subsequent to the ancients, the fact that we are moderns, is of inestimable advantage. *Antiquitas sæculi, juventus mundi.* It would be presumptuous to undertake to look into futurity, and imagine how many ages upon ages may follow the present, or how many vicissitudes and revolutions human affairs are fated to undergo. If, therefore, we may not say that philosophy, in our own times, has arrived at maturity, we may safely affirm that, as respects that of Greece and Rome, it has made a striking advancement towards maturity. The crude and imperfect reasonings of the ancients are verified and completed by us. Productions of their ingenuity, acting almost without object or direction, which formerly possessed no value except as monuments of human industry, we have drawn from obscurity, and made the support of physical theorems; of which the application of the Conics of Apollonius to natural philosophy is an example. Again, we not only avail ourselves of the truths of the ancients, but we profit by their errors. In the pursuit of truth, philosophy gains by defeats as well as victories. The folly of

* Origine des Découvertes attribuées aux Modernes.

our fathers is literally our wisdom. It was this which gave Fontenelle, in his good-humored and spirited essay upon this subject, occasion to say, that, as we stood upon the shoulders of the ancients, we could take a wider and more comprehensive view of things than they, although we were but pigmies, and they were giants. For he must be strangely blinded by prejudice, who can deny that our philosophy is incomparably superior to that of the ancients, whatever may be thought of their literary merit. We pretend not to settle the controversy on this point, so often agitated and with so little profit; frankly admitting the unfairness of having the question determined by one of the parties, and being deterred also by other obstacles to a just decision of it, which are described by Addison in a posthumous discourse on ancient and modern learning, written with his customary ease, delicacy, elegance, and good sense. Confessing, on the one hand, that enduring esteem is the final and most certain evidence of literary merit; and recollecting, on the other, that constitutional malignity of men, which prompts them to lavish on the dead those eulogies which belong only to the praiseworthy; and thus avoiding equally the extremes of humility and of self-admiration; let us modestly strive to excel, by emulating the deserts of the great and good, on whose fame the seal of time has stamped the impress of immortality.

Art. IV.—*The Course of Time, a Poem, in Ten Books.* By Robert Pollok, A. M. Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 12mo. pp. 295.

In the literary world, the appearance of a poem with a title and dimensions like those of the one before us, is an important event. Expectation is awakened by its first annunciation. We are impatient to learn what new addition has been made to the stores of fancy, and we hasten to the perusal with eager curiosity. Especially is this the case, when the candidate for our suffrages is one, of whom we have never before heard. Then, in addition to the usual incentives, there is a delightful uncertainty as to the result of our examination, which greatly heightens our interest. We are to have an interview with a stran-

ger of lofty, but as yet unacknowledged pretensions. There is a chance that we may admire him, and there is also a chance that he may offend us. But whatever opinion we may form, it is to be our own. There is an opportunity to exercise our individual judgment. The voice of fame has not predisposed us to be charmed. The tribunal of taste has not made up a decision. Of Homer and Virgil, Dante and Tasso, Shakspeare and Milton, we had heard the praises from boyhood. The world had weighed and graduated their merits; and when we opened their works for the first time, it was with the feeling that no choice was left us; that we could not help subscribing to the universal sentiment. What millions and millions had ratified, we might not gainsay. If we failed to be enraptured, we must charge it to ourselves. There certainly were transcendent beauties, and if we did not perceive them, it must be the fault of our own feeble vision. This being the humiliating alternative, there could be little doubt that we should admire. We should feign delight if we did not feel it, and seem to have discrimination if we did not possess it. But not so with respect to new poems like this before us. We opened it with no prepossessions. We had never heard the author's name, until we saw an American edition of his work announced. We have since learned that he was a Scottish clergyman, of obscure birth and a feeble frame; that he wrote this poem while at the university, and never distinguished himself by any other production; and finally that he died prematurely at the age of twenty-eight.

The recollection of these facts should go to soften the severity of criticism, where, under other circumstances, severity would be just. Were the author living, we might reproach him with indiscretion and too much haste to be known. However noble the design, we might reasonably complain of the execution, which might have been greatly improved by retouching and revision. But now that Providence has interposed, it becomes us to be indulgent on this point; and to regard this almost juvenile production, rather as a bright indication of what Pollok would one day have become, had his life been protracted, than as a fair ground for any absolute decision respecting his character and abilities. Viewing it in this light, and judging from the impressions made upon ourselves by more than one perusal, we are induced to believe that a high place will be assigned him among the gifted sons of

song. If, like Chatterton, his life was often clouded and his death premature, so, like that lamented genius, we believe his name will be remembered and pronounced with eulogy. We should feel more diffidence in expressing this opinion, if we did not know that the work has already gone through several editions, both in Great Britain and in this country.

The subject is one of the most comprehensive that man ever chose. The title, though perhaps the most appropriate, is too indefinite to give us any distinct conception of the poet's design. The first lines we happened to read were the last of the poem, in which the bard sums up his narrative; and our immediate conviction may well be supposed to have been, either that the poet possessed an exalted genius, or that he had fallen infinitely below his theme.

> 'Thus have I sung beyond thy first request,
> Rolling my numbers o'er the track of man,
> The world at dawn, at mid-day, and decline;
> Time gone, the righteous saved, the wicked damned,
> And God's eternal government approved.' p. 295.

No other poet has adventured upon a theme so vast. The design of Milton extended only to the fall of man. That of this writer embraces his whole history and final doom. It is, therefore, with the utmost propriety that he invokes Almighty aid, before commencing his daring flight. The following lines terminate his solemn invocation;

> 'Hold my right hand, Almighty! and me teach
> To strike the lyre, but seldom struck, to notes
> Harmonious with the morning stars, and pure
> As those of sainted bards, and angels sung,
> Which wake the echoes of eternity—
> That fools may hear and tremble, and the wise
> Instructed listen, of ages yet to come.'

We wish the last two lines had been omitted. They have no congruity with those which precede or with the occasion, and sound too much like preaching. We mention this, because it is one of many instances, in which the poet has greatly injured the effect of an otherwise striking passage, by the introduction of a common phrase or a merely prosaic idea. In this particular, even more perhaps than in any other, the reader perceives his vast inferiority to Milton, with whom it is his special infelicity that his subject continually exposes him to be compared. With an imagination of uncommon resource,

he cannot be said to unite a very delicate perception of poetic beauty, or a nicely discriminating ear for the harmony of verse. In the 'Course of Time' there are single passages of beauty and power not often equalled. But, as we have already intimated, it is not uniformly well sustained. There are moments when the poet's inspiration seems to have forsaken him, and when the full forfeit is paid, of his boldness in the choice of such a theme. But we will not array these instances before the reader, for criticism is in a measure disarmed, as we before remarked, by the consideration that the poet himself might have corrected them, had opportunity been granted him.

The scene is laid in heaven, long after the inhabitants of this planet had received their final doom. The celestial paradise is represented as a vast plain surrounded by a tall range of hills. In the midst, towering to an almost immeasurable height, arises the Mount of God. On its summit, surrounded with ineffable glory, is seated the Eternal. The light which the heavenly inhabitants enjoy, is the radiance which beams from His countenance. But this radiance illuminates only the abodes of the blessed. Beyond the frontier mountains, 'in the vast external space,' are dimly seen, by the fainter light of their own suns, myriads of orbs performing their stupendous circuits with a harmony never disturbed, and which none but the inhabitants of that paradise can bear. On the top of one of these mountains, to which angels and saints resort for pastime, two heavenly youths are seen, intent upon observing those who arrive from the innumerable distant worlds, which throng the cloudless expanse. At length one approaches, whom having greeted with a holy welcome, they offer to usher into the presence of the King of kings. But observing an expression of anxious concern upon his countenance, that kind solicitude which such pure spirits feel even for strangers, prompts them to ask the cause. The whole answer to their inquiry may be taken for a specimen of the author's characteristic power. This emigrant from one of the remote worlds has never heard of earth or man. But during his journey to heaven, strong curiosity impelled him to deviate from his luminous path, and penetrate

> 'those nameless regions vast,
> Where utter Nothing dwells, unformed and void.'

After a long, dark, and laborious flight, he reaches the place assigned for the punishment of earth's sinful inhabitants. Here

the description rises to a character of sublimity, which borders upon the horrible. The fiery adamantine wall, the worm that never dies, eternal death, the incessant dashing of the infernal waves, the loud and ceaseless wailings of the damned, all these are conceived and expressed with a force, which even Dante, drawing from a fancy which was a magazine of horrors, may be thought to have scarcely surpassed. The impression made upon the stranger by these new and terrific objects, and the awful obscurity which veiled their design, were the cause of that melancholy shade which darkened his countenance. The two, with whom he now conversed, were unable to explain the mystery of these torments. But there was one, 'an ancient bard of earth,' to whom the whole history of man was known. To this bard, therefore, they introduce their new companion. The seat of the bard is surrounded with the most enchanting scenery; and we select the description as a proof how far the poet was endowed with a true feeling for natural beauty.

> 'Fit was the place, most fit for holy musing.
> Upon a little mount, that gently rose,
> He sat, clothed in white robes; and o'er his head
> A laurel tree, of lustiest, eldest growth,
> Stately and tall, and shadowing far and wide—
> Not fruitless, as on earth, but bloomed, and rich
> With frequent clusters, ripe to heavenly taste—
> Spread its eternal boughs, and in its arms
> A myrtle of unfading leaf embraced;
> The rose and lily, fresh with fragrant dew,
> And every flower of fairest cheek, around
> Him smiling flocked; beneath his feet, fast by,
> And round his sacred hill, a streamlet walked,
> Warbling the holy melodies of heaven;
> The hallowed zephyrs brought him incense sweet;
> And out before him opened, in prospect long,
> The river of life, in many a winding maze
> Descending from the lofty throne of God,
> That with excessive glory closed the scene.'

In the second Book, this 'ancient bard,' complying with the request of the stranger, commences the history of man, which occupies the remainder of the poem; so that the poet no longer speaks in his own person. This arrangement is intended to give a unity to all that follows. As the narrative is

designed for the information of one who had never heard of the origin or destiny of man, many circumstances are properly introduced, which might otherwise appear trite or unnecessary. And as the narrator is one who had himself shared the passions and frailties of human nature during his earthly existence, upon which he now looks back through an almost infinite lapse of ages, it is natural that his memory should occasionally linger upon particular scenes of individual joy, or woe, or tenderness, the description of which furnishes specimens of genuine pathos. Of this character is the picture of faithful love, in the fifth book; where a lover, long absent in the service of his country, returns covered with glory, and finds her in whom he had 'garnered up his heart,' retired to a solitary spot whither they had been accustomed to resort, and pouring out her soul in fervent prayer for him. Another instance is that of the dying mother in the same book. This moving description closes with a simile of singular beauty. Speaking of the eyes of the dying mother, brightening to the last and then closing in death, the poet says,

> 'They set as sets the morning star, which goes
> Not down behind the darkened west, nor hides
> Obscured among the tempests of the sky,
> But melts away into the light of heaven.' p. 140.

In this connexion, we are unwilling to pass over the following gorgeous description, in the same book, of the grandeur of nature, as displayed in her vast solitudes.

> 'Pleasant were many scenes, but most to me
> The solitude of vast extent, untouched
> By hand of art, where nature sowed, herself,
> And reaped her crops;—whose garments were the clouds;
> Whose minstrels, brooks; whose lamps, the moon and stars;
> Whose organ-quire, the voice of many waters;
> Whose banquets, morning dews; whose heroes, storms;
> Whose warriors, mighty winds; whose lovers, flowers;
> Whose orators, the thunderbolts of God;
> Whose palaces, the everlasting hills;
> Whose ceiling, heaven's unfathomable blue.' p. 128.

In what we have just said, we have departed from our immediate purpose, which was to present a general view of the conduct of the poem. The bard begins with an account of our first parents in their state of innocence, and then describes their fall and its consequences. This leads him to dwell at

some length upon leading doctrines of theology, especially upon original sin, native depravity, and atonement. The metaphysical and controversial character of the second book, prevents it from possessing so general an interest as most of the others. Yet there are detached passages, the power of which all must feel. One of these is in praise of the Bible; a theme, which it is high honor to have made an approach towards treating well, since to do it justice the strongest language must needs be found inadequate. That which is inferior may be elevated by being compared with that which is superior, and hence bold imagery may dignify what is in itself humble. But that which is of all things most excellent and precious, may lose, and certainly can never gain, by being compared with any other thing. There are objects which impress us most forcibly, when set before us in their simple, unadorned majesty; and when the poet endeavors to heighten their effect by lofty phraseology and rhetorical embellishment, he is in danger of making every addition a burden instead of a support to the idea. It is as if the proud titles that do honor to men, should be applied to that Being, whose shortest name expresses more than man can comprehend. We accordingly believe that the sublime truths of revelation, as well as the volume which contains them, are never to be approached by the poet, but with fear and trembling. All he can hope to do is to rise up to them, never to go beyond them or lift them up with him. They stand, by their own nature, at the farthest limit in the range of human thought; and he who would sing them worthily, requires that his lips should be touched by a living coal from the altar. With regard to the peculiar doctrines and tenets wrought into this poem, we consider them as having no connexion with its merits. Whether the reader embrace them or not, he must respect the sincere and deep convictions of the poet, and unite with him in his supreme abhorrence of sin, and his fervent love of virtue and truth.

The almost boundless compass intended to be embraced in the 'Course of Time,' made it necessary for the poet to touch but slightly upon the Creation and Fall, the two great topics upon which Milton concentrated the whole force of his genius. In this respect Pollock has imitated the solemn brevity of the sacred historian, never substituting the light of his own invention, where the silence of Moses has left us in darkness. Perhaps he may have thought that the subject was too awful

for fiction; for it is to be observed, that in all cases where he describes as past what is yet to come, he fixes a most rigid curb upon his fancy, and ventures no further than the prophetic intimations of Scripture seem to him to warrant. To this remark, the whole poem does not furnish an exception; and we regard this folding up of the wings of invention, where flight would have been so hazardous, as an exercise of the soundest discretion. Milton, we know, is generally thought to have farthest exceeded all other poets in the power and grasp of imagination, when he dared to supply from his own invention, the momentous ellipses found in our world's first history. Nor do we dissent from this opinion. Still we may be permitted to regret one evil consequence that has followed from these interpolations, sublime as they unquestionably are. We sincerely believe that a majority of the readers of Milton make no distinction between what he has himself invented and what he has taken from the Oracles of truth; and that if called upon to state what they know respecting the Creation and the Fall, they would unconsciously state more upon the authority of Milton than of Moses; so indelible are the impressions left upon the mind by that inimitable work.

Having summarily described the origin and destiny of man, the bard proceeds to notice the great outlines of the human character. This is a difficult undertaking, since it requires an almost boundless exercise of the powers of generalization and abstraction. To paint, with distinctness and truth, the character of a single people in a single age, demands a combination of talents and acquirements, possessed only by one in many millions. What then shall we say of the attempt to bring together, into one contracted portraiture, the traits of all mankind in every age? Pollock has made this attempt. His plan not only permitted but required him to do it; and the picture is one, we were going to say, of mingled light and shade. But the dark tints are so many and so deep, compared with the light ones, that the whole may be likened to one blot. Satan, in the conception of Milton, though fallen, had still some noble qualities; he was the 'Sun shorn of his beams.' But man, in the conception of Pollok, scarcely possesses one bright excellence. 'The trail of the Serpent' covers all. Depravity cleaves to him in every aspect and in all circumstances. The successive generations are born to the inevitable heritage of corruption, and when they pass away, they leave it to their

children. This is the abstract of Pollok's history of man. From the day when the flaming sword was planted over Paradise, to the day when the flaming chariot of the final Judge appeared, evil was constantly prevailing over good, with a most fearful preponderance.

Now the question arises, Is this the view for a poet to take of human nature? As a tenet of religion we do not meddle with it. The poet may believe that men really are those unlovely and polluted beings, which they are here represented to be; but, we ask, need he call in the aid of poetry, to strengthen the impression of their utter unworthiness? Should he not rather employ this divine instrument, to make them appear less odious than they are? When the sculptor throws drapery over his statue, it is to heighten the effect of the nobler lineaments, by concealing those which are least graceful. In like manner, why should not the poet cover the vices of human nature under the folds of fiction, that its virtue may appear more striking and beautiful? Let those, whose vocation calls them to it, uncover the human heart, and expose the base passions and low desires that inhabit there. But the poet lies under no such uncompromising obligation. He is not compelled to do it by his fealty to truth, for fiction is his lawful prerogative. He cannot be tempted to do it, by the agreeableness of the subject, for who can feel complacency in vilifying a nature which he himself shares? And if his aim, in such representations, be to affect powerfully the feelings of the reader, let him remember that in exciting ever so strongly the feelings of disgust and abhorrence, he only effects what the mere exhibition of any loathsome object would do in an equal degree. But, as we have already said, Pollok was in a measure forced, by the plan he had chosen to mark out for himself, to exhibit human nature under a dark and repulsive aspect. He had conceived, for the punishment of men, a hell replete with all imaginable horror. How creatures could deserve such torments, was the question which perplexed the stranger, for whose information this account of man was given. To resolve this doubt, men must be represented as altogether bad. As in the case of the torturing bed of Procrustes, the victims must be fitted to their place of torture; and this required no moderate share of moral turpitude. If men were a shade less vile than this poem paints them, they would deserve a milder hell than it has furnished for them. The only way, therefore,

in which, with a due regard to consistency, mankind could have been represented in a more amiable light, would have been to make their place of punishment less hideous.

We have ventured to express an opinion, that the dark side of human nature is not the one which the poet should contemplate. In the real world, human vices and infirmities must be encountered; otherwise earth would become heaven. But in the ideal world, we would escape from their contaminating presence; and by conversing with purer, holier, lovelier beings, than are to be found on earth, we would faintly anticipate the joys of the Christian's heaven. It is true that another kind of poetry than this requires, has of late been fashionable; and it owes its popularity to the influence of one mighty but corrupted mind. Byron endeavored to be a misanthrope; and with the exception of those brief intervals in which he forgot himself, and allowed the nobler part of his nature to triumph over the baser, he succeeded wonderfully well. He rails at human nature and his fellow creatures, as if he were in solemn earnest in his hatred; and if we are to take his heroes as illustrations of what he conceived mankind to be, we should justify him for all his sneers and maledictions; for most of them are very devils in miniature. But unless we greatly mistake, these heroes are fast ceasing to be favorites in the fashionable world; and Byron himself begins to be judged by the qualities of his heart, as they are displayed in his works; and thus, by a retaliation which he might have foreseen, he is now receiving back from the world some portion of that contempt, of which he was so profusely lavish. And this is chiefly, we suppose, to be ascribed to his misanthropy. The individual feels insulted in the abuse of his species. The maxim, *Nil de mortuis*, is in a measure overruled. Men are not willing to show mercy even to the memory of him, whose life was passed in vaunting his scorn for them. The praise they yield him is extorted praise, and while the lips pronounce it, the heart protests against it. The memory of other poets, of vastly inferior powers, is cherished with far more fondness than his, merely on account of their benevolent and philanthropic views of human nature. Because they never vilified mankind, but, on the contrary, made the world appear better than it is, their memory has left a grateful fragrance behind it. When they are eulogized, it is without reservation, for the heart responds to the decision of the head.

Having been thus led to speak of Byron, we shall quote a portion of Pollok's description of him, which occurs in the fourth book. It perhaps deserves to be designated as the most powerful passage in the 'Course of Time.' Our limits will not permit us to give the whole of it.

'He touched his harp, and nations heard, entranced.
As some vast river of unfailing source,
Rapid, exhaustless, deep, his numbers flowed,
And opened new fountains in the human heart.
Where fancy halted, weary in her flight,
In other men, his, fresh as morning, rose,
And soared untrodden heights, and seemed at home,
Where angels bashful looked. Others, though great,
Beneath their argument seemed struggling whiles;
He from above descending, stooped to touch
The loftiest thought; and proudly stooped, as though
It scarce deserved his verse. With Nature's self
He seemed an old acquaintance, free to jest
At will with all her glorious majesty.
He laid his hand upon "the Ocean's mane,"
And played familiar with his hoary locks.
Stood on the Alps, stood on the Appennines,
And with the thunder talked, as friend to friend;
And wove his garland of the lightning's wing,
In sportive twist—the lightning's fiery wing,
Which, as the footsteps of the dreadful God,
Marching upon the storm in vengeance seemed—
Then turned, and with the grasshopper, who sung
His evening song, beneath his feet, conversed.
Suns, moons, and stars, and clouds his sisters were;
Rocks, mountains, meteors, seas, and winds, and storms,
His brothers—younger brothers, whom he scarce
As equals deemed. All passions of all men—
The wild and tame—the gentle and severe;
All thoughts, all maxims, sacred and profane;
All creeds; all seasons, Time, Eternity;
All that was hated, and all that was dear;
All that was hoped, all that was feared by man,
He tossed about, as tempest, withered leaves,
Then smiling looked upon the wreck he made.
With terror now he froze the cowering blood;
And now dissolved the heart in tenderness;
Yet would not tremble, would not weep himself:
But back into his soul retired, alone,
Dark, sullen, proud; gazing contemptuously

On hearts and passions prostrate at his feet;
So ocean from the plains, his waves had late
To desolation swept, retired in pride,
Exulting in the glory of his might,
And seemed to mock the ruin he had wrought.

'As some fierce comet of tremendous size,
To which the stars did reverence as it passed;
So he through learning, and through fancy took
His flight sublime; and on the loftiest top
Of Fame's dread mountain sat; not soiled, and worn,
As if he from the earth had labored up;
But as some bird of heavenly plumage fair,
He looked, which down from higher regions came,
And perched it there, to see what lay beneath.'

'Great man! the nations gazed, and wondered much,
And praised: and many called his evil good.
Wits wrote in favor of his wickedness;
And kings to do him honor took delight.
Thus full of titles, flattery, honor, fame;
Beyond desire, beyond ambition full,—
He died—he died of what? Of wretchedness.
Drank every cup of joy, heard every trump
Of fame; drank early, deeply drank; drank draughts
That common millions might have quenched—then died
Of thirst, because there was no more to drink.
His goddess, Nature, wooed, embraced, enjoyed,
Fell from his arms, abhorred; his passions died;
Died all but dreary solitary pride;
And all his sympathies in being died.
As some ill-guided bark, well built and tall,
Which angry tides cast out on desert shore,
And then retiring, left it there to rot
And moulder in the winds and rains of heaven;
So he, cut from the sympathies of life,
And cast ashore from pleasure's boisterous surge—
A wandering, weary, worn, and wretched thing;
Scorched, and desolate, and blasted soul;
A gloomy wilderness of dying thought—
Repined, and groaned, and withered from the earth.'

pp. 112—115.

The description of man being finished, the bard approaches the awful subject of his final doom. Here he may well demand an angel's lyre. The day of judgment, what mortal tongue can adequately sing! The mind sinks under the over-

whelming sublimity of the idea. The assembling of the universe, the breaking up of nature, the countless retinue of angels, the blazing throne of judgment, and, last of all, the Judge himself; where is the language competent to such ideas! Yet Pollok has fearlessly approached them; and, it must be owned, has combined noble elements in the description. The morning of the last day dawned like that of other days. The sun moved upward in his golden path, without omen of change. All the tribes of men are represented as commencing, secure and unapprehensive, their accustomed employments. All this part of the description, being that of least difficulty, is executed unexceptionably. The picture is crowded, but yet the objects are distinct and vivid. But now comes the trial of the poet's strength. An angel in the midst of heaven has *sworn, that time shall be no more.* How shall the wreck of nature be described? The sun extinguished in his mid career; trees withered in their bloom; birds struck lifeless in their flight; rivers stayed in their rapid course; the tides of the ocean stopped; consternation seizing all the living, and earth and ocean yielding up their unnumbered dead; and then, when all the sons of men are brought together, the consummation of all things by the irrevocable sentence; the wicked driven to everlasting woe, the righteous conducted to the throne of God;—these are the closing topics of the poem. But if the reader has ever attempted to form to himself an image of this solemn winding up of the human drama, we fear he will be disappointed here. For the ideas are too vast and lofty to be expressed by words. In the mind, they rise and swell into undefinable magnitude and sublimity. But to clothe them in language would be like bounding infinitude. Strong language as this poet has made use of, we doubt not that the images existing in his own mind, were tenfold more vivid, and the conceptions immeasurably more grand, than they appear in his verse. And when he looked upon his work, and saw his thoughts thus narrowed down to the limited dimensions of the medium through which he must transmit them, we doubt not that he felt a painful consciousness, how poorly and impotently they represented what was at the moment passing before his imagination. Let us not be thought visionary or mystical in what we are saying. We speak of a fact, of the truth of which every man may find evidence in his own experience. Who has not been conscious of thoughts and feelings, which he could

not by any possibility express fully and perfectly to another? Words might convey some faint intimation of what they were, but their depth, their fulness, their integrity could not be communicated. Nor is this matter of regret. On the contrary, we rejoice that the mind is capable of thoughts, which nothing but consciousness can measure. All human modes of communication must have limits; but in the unutterable, the incommunicable emotions of the soul, we discern glorious evidence of its immortal nature.

We shall close this article by citing the following description of the Ocean, where summoned to cease the heaving of its billows and render up its dead. We ought not, however, to allow the passage to pass without a protest against the ungrammatical form of the second person singular.

> 'Great Ocean too, that morning, thou the call
> Of restitution heardst, and reverently
> To the last trumpet's voice in silence listened!
> Great Ocean! strongest of creation's sons!
> Unconquerable, unreposed, untired;
> That rolled the wild, profound, eternal bass,
> In Nature's anthem, and made music, such
> As pleased the ear of God. Original,
> Unmarred, unfaded work of Deity;
> And unburlesqued by mortal's puny skill.
> From age to age enduring and unchanged;
> Majestical, inimitable, vast,
> Loud uttering satire day and night on each
> Succeeding race, and little pompous work
> Of man. Unfallen, religious, holy sea!
> Thou bowedst thy glorious head to none, fearedst none,
> Heardst none, to none didst honor, but to God
> Thy Maker—only worthy to receive
> Thy great obeisance. Undiscovered sea!
> Into thy dark, unknown, mysterious caves,
> And secret haunts, unfathomably deep,
> Beneath all visible retired, none went,
> And came again, to tell the wonders there.
> Tremendous sea! what time thou lifted up
> Thy waves on high, and with thy winds and storms
> Strange pastime took, and shook thy mighty sides
> Indignantly—the pride of navies fell;
> Beyond the arm of help, unheard, unseen,
> Sunk friend and foe, with all their wealth and war;
> And on thy shores, men of a thousand tribes,

Polite and barbarous, trembling stood, amazed,
Confounded, terrified; and thought vast thoughts
Of ruin, boundlessness, omnipotence,
Infinitude, eternity; and thought,
And wondered still, and grasped, and grasped, and grasped
Again—beyond her reach exerting all
The soul to take thy great idea in,
To comprehend incomprehensible;
And wondered more, and felt their littleness.
Self-purifying, unpolluted sea!
Lover unchangeable! thy faithful breast
For ever heaving to the lovely moon,
That like a shy and holy virgin, robed
In saintly white, walked nightly in the heavens,
And to thy everlasting serenade
Gave gracious audience; nor was wooed in vain.
That morning, thou, that slumbered not before,
Nor slept, great Ocean! laid thy waves to rest,
And hushed thy mighty minstrelsy. No breath
Thy deep composure stirred, no fin, no oar;
Like beauty newly dead, so calm, so still,
So lovely, thou, beneath the light that fell
From angel-chariots sentineled on high,
Reposed, and listened, and saw thy living change,
Thy dead arise.' pp. 195—197.

ART. V.—1. *Proceedings and Fourteenth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Baptist General Convention, at their meeting held in New York, April*, 1828.

2. *A Discourse on the Occasion of Forming the African Mission School Society, delivered in Christ Church in Hartford, Conn. on Sunday Evening, Aug.* 10, 1828. By J. M. WAINWRIGHT, D. D., Rector of Grace Church, New York. Hartford, 1828.

WE have perused these publications with the interest that belongs to the cause of missions, and missionary achievement. And we make use of the occasion to call the attention of our readers to a subject of increased, and increasing importance, to a large and respectable portion of the community; we allude to the efforts which have been made for the spread of

knowledge and Christianity, among the native tribes within our own territorial boundaries.

More than three hundred years have now elapsed since Columbus first set foot upon the little island of Guanahani, in the New World. And the great moral problem which then began to be discussed, the civilization and conversion of the natives, though materials have been accumulating for its solution, cannot be said to have been satisfactorily solved. It is still questionable whether tribes thus situated can be brought within the pale of civilized and Christian communities by any other means than those, which, operating through the silent and imperceptible influence of general example, continued through long periods of time, converted the rude and warlike hordes of Northern Europe, into statesmen, scholars, and divines. That the well directed efforts of zealous individuals and societies to eradicate error and implant truth (had we evidence that any analogous efforts were made in their case) would have accelerated their emancipation from the bonds of ignorance and superstition, cannot admit of a doubt. And there can be as little question of the policy and effects of sending men of education and practical wisdom, to teach our own wandering and barbarous tribes.

Arguments to enforce the expediency of the measure must be worse than useless, since it is acknowledged by the enlightened of all nations. It has always appeared to us, that the whole question remaining in relation to missionary enterprise, is one which respects the *mode of operation*, the time and place, condition and circumstances of the tribe, the efficiency of the means and their application, and those numerous points of administration and discipline, which present themselves at the outset, and attend every stage of the undertaking. And that these particulars are much more difficult in the adjustment, than is generally supposed, may be inferred from the length of time, and the amount of means and labor, devoted to the object, compared with the known practical results.

To every unprejudiced observer, the tribes that still exist, as tribes, within the forests of North America, seem as far from appreciating the advantages of European manners and customs, maxims and morals, and certainly as far from acknowledging the importance of the Christian dispensation, as were the haughty and spirited cotemporaries of Powhatan, or Miantonomoh. We speak in general terms, and without any

intention to conceal partial instances of better success, wherever they have existed, or may still exist.

These people still retain their primitive theology, a belief in one, great, over-ruling Being, who is, in some of the languages, styled Universal Father, and in others, Great Spirit, Master of Life, Creator or Maker; and in a counteracting Spirit, who concentrates in himself the powers and dispositions of an enemy of the human race, and is hence denominated Bad Spirit. Subordinate spirits are supposed to exist; and there is a general belief that all classes of spirits may be propitiated by sacrifices, such as the fumes of tobacco, or a portion of food cast into the fire. Bits of scarlet cloth, or other esteemed articles, and sometimes a dog hung upon a pole near the dwelling, are also among the number of propitiatory offerings. Magic and sorcery are extensively believed in; and their whole system of medicine (apart from the surgical art) is little more than a system of magic, operating through certain visible signs, which are endowed with the property of causing or curing diseases, mental and physical.

The habits of the hunter and warrior are undoubtedly adverse to the acquisition of book-knowledge, though not particularly so to the introduction of verbal Christianity, and its rites. For, roam as far as he will, the Indian returns periodically to his village, and has his particular and appropriate seasons of feasting and fasting, and, so to speak, religious observances. And Christian duties and discipline, could he be persuaded that they would be equally propitious to the fortunes of his life, might be observed effectually during these periodical intermissions from the chase.

With opinions and customs thus open to the advance of missionary reasoning, and withal a strong bias to penitential feeling, it is matter of surprise that the labors heretofore employed, have produced effects so disproportionate. We propose briefly to advert to the origin and progress of these labors, among our own tribes, in which the French, the English, and the Americans have each participated. And it may be safely said, that they came to the task without having derived any aid from the course pursued by their predecessors in this interesting work in Spanish America.

Wherever the Spanish power manifested itself, among the native inhabitants, a rapid declension of numbers and a state of absolute servitude ensued. The rapacity of gain quenched all the noble aspirations of the soul, and cruelty and misery kept an equal pace with conquest and discovery. Cortez in

Mexico, and Pizarro in Peru, afforded only preëminent examples of a reckless spirit of avarice, which were followed by hundreds of inferior actors in the great drama.

As respects the conversion of the new found tribes to Christianity, whatever may have been felt and desired by certain noble-minded Spaniards from the era of Columbus and Las Casas, it was a secondary object with those entrusted with the administration of affairs, and, like all secondary objects, was often liable to be lost sight of altogether. Those whom the sword spared, were doomed to the mine, or the plantation. And such as were attracted to the altar found themselves in a situation, in which they must address thanks to their bitter oppressors, and supplicate the divine mercy in their favor. That rapid conversions did not take place, under such circumstances, is not surprising. That any accessions should have been made to a church sanctioning such injustice, is rather to be wondered at. Great success was, however, reported by the Catholic priesthood. What this success would have amounted to, had the tests of a Protestant conversion been required of their catechumens, is very doubtful.

But an easier task was set before them. When they had been taught to make the sign of the cross, to kiss the crucifix, and to kneel before the shrine of the Virgin, or some tutelary saint, three essential points of the conversion were accomplished. The history of the Spanish missions affords full testimony, that the baptized natives were allowed to enter the chapel with their drums and rattles, and dance round the altar after the manner practised by their ancestors, and the same which may be observed among the North American Indians at the present day, in their *wabenos*, and other national or mystic dances. But what beneficial effect was produced upon their minds and hearts, by these external observances, is not very clear.

Whether the profession of a religion thus easy in its requisitions, led to the reported triumphs of the Catholic missionaries of New France, or whether their Algonquin and Huron converts had, in reality, taken up a new faith, cannot now be satisfactorily determined. But there is too much reason to believe that the good fathers, in their overweening zeal, went at least half way to accommodate themselves to the existing institutions and manners of the Indians. A Jesuit skilled in the doctrines of *next power* and *probable opinion*, as illustrated by Pascal,* could

* Provincial Letters.

not long hesitate in suggesting conscientious expedients to reconcile Indian idolatry and superstition with the profession of Christianity. And the miracles ascribed to the Iroquois Virgin 'La Bonne Cathérine,' as detailed by Cholence and Charlevoix in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, are sufficient to show, to what means they were willing to resort, to increase the number or settle the faith of their nominal converts.

That zeal, and devotion, and perseverance, such as the Jesuit missionaries evinced, were attended with some useful fruits, is undoubted. But while they were enforcing the observance of the decalogue, and the ceremonies of the Romish ritual, their countrymen, who traversed the Indian country in pursuit of the fur trade, were setting the example of unrestrained licentiousness. Example became more powerful than precept, and they, who were not able to restrain their own countrymen, had not much chance of putting a moral curb upon lawless warriors and hunters. Hence the severe remark of Denonville, 'Those with whom we mingle do not become French, but our people become Indians.'

Kind and indulgent they were to the Indians, palliating their faults, and observing, themselves, many of their ceremonies. And up to this hour, there are no people in America, who pay the same degree of respect and deference to Indian customs as the Canadian French. And hence it cannot excite surprise that the Indians should revert with a fond remembrance to the period of French domination. Whatever effects certain theorists may impute to climate, the French character for courtesy seems not to have deteriorated in the frigid latitudes of the Canadas.

> 'They please, are pleased; they give to get esteem;
> Till seeming blest, they grow to what they seem.'

But we shall not stop to trace the course of the Jesuit missions in this division of the continent, contenting ourselves with the remark, that among most of the tribes with whom they labored and suffered a century ago, few traces beyond the bare tradition of the fact, remain to attest the piety and perseverance with which they devoted themselves to the work.

A hundred and twenty-eight years after the discovery of America, the *Mayflower* landed her adventurous band of Pilgrims on the bleak, snow-clad rock of Plymouth, two months later in the season than Columbus had touched at the Lucayos, and in a latitude of comparative inclemency. They were re-

ceived in a friendly manner by the natives, and their earliest efforts were directed to acquire and perpetuate a friendship, upon which their existence for many years depended. And considering the numerous points of collision that must naturally have arisen between two races of men, so diverse in their manners, and thus suddenly brought into close contact, it is evidence of capacity for self-government on the part of the Pilgrim fathers, that, for more than half a century after their landing, their good understanding with the natives was not interrupted by any act of general hostility. It was the policy of those early times, whenever cause of complaint arose, to settle it by prompt negotiation, and above all, to prevent any combination for purposes of hostility among the various tribes.

The war with the Pequots under Metacam, commonly called Philip, broke out in 1676, and continued three years. The defeat and death of this chieftain gave the first effectual blow to the Indian power in New England. During the latter part of this contest, hostilities also broke out with the Narragansets, their former allies, who had refused to join Philip at the commencement. A tribe which, at the era of the landing, could muster five thousand warriors, was still a formidable enemy; but by delaying to take up the hatchet till the Pequots had been crushed, the Narragansets entered single-handed upon a war, for which the colonists were prepared. Had they supported Philip, says Hubbard, 'it would, according to the eye of reason, have been very difficult, if possible, for the English to have saved any of their inland plantations from being utterly destroyed.'

After some partial successes, the Narragansets were attacked in their favorite position, and defeated with a loss of seven hundred warriors, besides three hundred who died afterwards of their wounds, without estimating their families.* They continued to wage a desultory warfare, however, till the capture of their chief Canonchet, who was carried to Stonington, and shot by two young chiefs of the Mohegan and Pequot tribes. From this period we may date the preponderance of power on the side of the Colonists. It is not necessary for our purpose, further to notice the events of this, and the subsequent wars, which, although they continued to retard the New England settlements, no longer put their existence in jeopardy.

* Mather's Magnalia.

About nine years of peace (but not of security) after the Pequot and Narraganset wars, were succeeded by ten of open hostility, bringing down the time within two years of the close of the seventeenth century. In 1702 hostilities were resumed, and notwithstanding the peace of Utrecht of 1713, by virtue of which they should have ceased, they were not terminated till 1725, the close of the Old French war, so called. In 1744 open hostilities again broke out, and scenes of plunder and scalping were renewed upon the frontiers, and continued with more or less activity till the peace of 1763, by which the Canadas were ceded to the British crown. Twelve years of feverish peace terminated in the war of the American revolution, and this being conducted by the British authorities of Canada with the virulence of a family quarrel, in which all the right was assumed to lie on the side of the parent, Indian hostility received a new impetus; and more murders and burnings and scalpings were crowded into the short space of seven years, which preceded the definitive peace of 1783, than were probably known within double that time, during any prior era since the settlement of the country.

It thus appears that during the century that elapsed from the beginning of the general and final Pequot war of 1676, to the declaration of American Independence, the Colonists had not only been able to defend themselves from the almost uninterrupted attacks of the natives, but had so far increased in numbers and resources as to risk a contest with the parent state. During all this time, the feelings created by a state of hostility, the wants and cares of new settlements, and their straitened means, were not favorable to missionary efforts. Yet it was during these early times that Mayhew preached, and Eliot translated the Bible; and there appears to have been but little intermission, at least from 1630, in the labors of pious and benevolent individuals to better and reclaim their aboriginal neighbors.

In 1643 Roger Williams published in London his 'Key to the Language of America,' the result of his observation among the Indian tribes 'wherever English dwell, about two hundred miles between the French and Dutch Plantations.' This is probably the earliest tract upon the New England languages extant, and is a curious and valuable document to the philologist. But it seems to have been regarded by the author in no other light than as affording the means of converting the tribes by

whom this language was spoken. His vocabulary of words and phrases, which is clearly of the Algonquin type, was collected chiefly among the Narragansets, with probably some intermixture of Pequot and Mohegan. 'There is a mixture of this language,' he observes, 'north and south from the place of my abode [Providence] about six hundred miles; yet within two hundred, aforementioned, their dialects do exceedingly differ; yet not so, but, within that compass, a man may by this help converse with thousands of natives all over the country. And by such converse it may please the Father of mercies to spread civility, and, in his own most holy season, Christianity; for one candle will light ten thousand, and it may please God to bless a little leaven to season the mighty lump of those peoples and territories.'

He found them tractable, of ready apprehension, kind and hospitable; believing in a Great Spirit, and other subordinate spirits, and that the souls of men and women, after death, would go to the Southwest; to which quarter their traditions pointed as the source whence they derived their corn, and whence all their temporal blessings emanated. The account he has preserved of their manners and customs, opinions and observances, is sufficient to show, how very little change a hundred and eighty-five years have effected in the manners, opinions, and ceremonies, and even in the *condition*, of the remaining tribes of this stock. So strong is this resemblance, that, striking out names and dates, entire pages of his descriptions, and (with slight changes) of his examples of the language, might be transferred to the affiliated tribes, who, at this day, occupy the borders of the upper lakes and the sources of the Mississippi.

As respects what he terms 'that great point of their conversion, so much to be longed for, and by all New English so much pretended, and I hope in truth,' he speaks with a degree of caution suited to inspire respect for his judgment and veracity. 'For myself, I have uprightly labored to suit my endeavors to my pretences; and of later times (out of a desire to attain their language) I have run through varieties of intercourses with them, day and night, summer and winter, by land and sea. Many solemn discourses I have had with all sorts of nations of them, from one end of the country to the other.' 'I know there is no small preparation in the hearts of multitudes of them. I know their many solemn confessions to myself, and one to another, of their lost, wandering condition. I

know strong convictions upon the consciences of many of them, and their desires uttered that way. I know not with how little knowledge and grace of Christ, the Lord may save, and therefore neither will despair, nor report much.'

It is much to be regretted that all writers of the seventeenth century, Protestant as well as Catholic, have not evinced equal caution and discrimination in their reports and descriptions of the apparent conversions among the native tribes, and their supposed avidity to embrace, at once, the doctrines of Christianity and the practices of civilization. It should be borne in mind, that these passages were written at a time when (as Roger Williams remarks) the following questions were in the mouths of all men; 'What Indians have been converted? What have the English done in those parts? What hopes of the Indians receiving the knowledge of Christ?' and when 'an edge' had been put to the question 'from the boasts of the Jesuits in Canada and Maryland, and especially from the wonderful conversions made by the Spanish and Portugals in the West Indies.'

Eliot's translation of the Bible into the Natick dialect was printed at Cambridge (Massachuetts) in 1663, and was subsequently reprinted at the same place in 1685. He appears to have been fifteen years employed on the work, including the previous acquisition of the language. He began to preach about 1646, and five years afterwards the first church of 'Praying Indians' was established at Natick. About this time other churches were gathered together from various tribes. And we find, a few years afterwards, the names of Cotton, Gookin, Thatcher, and others, mentioned by Mather, as persons actively engaged in the work of converting the Indians; besides the Mayhews, father and sons, the former of whom had in fact commenced preaching at Martha's Vineyard, some years before the establishment of the congregation at Natick.

Commissioners sent out by the king in 1665, who were enjoined, among other duties, 'to make due inquiry what progress had been made towards the foundation and maintenance of any college, or schools for the education of youth and the conversion of Infidels,' reported, as Hutchinson states, 'that there was at Cambridge a small fabric of brick for the use of the Indians, built by the corporation in England, in which there were then eight Indian scholars, one of whom had been admitted into college; that there were six towns of Indians in

the jurisdiction, professing the Christian religion, and that they had schools to teach the youth to read and write, and persons appointed to instruct them in civility and religion.'*

In 1675 Sausaman, a Pequot, who had been educated for the ministry, was assassinated on a mission to his native tribe, not so much, it would seem, on account of his doctrines and reproofs, which were, however, unpalatable to Philip and his coadjutors, as from the belief that he acted the part of a spy.

In a letter from Dr Increase Mather to Professor Leusden at Utrecht, in 1687, he states that there were then 'six churches of baptized Indians in New England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens professing the name of Christ;' that there were four English ministers who preached the gospel in the Indian tongue, and 'four and twenty' native preachers.†

Dr Dwight, in referring to this period of active missionary labor among the Indians, states, on the authority of Gookin, that there were in Massachusetts colony 1100 praying Indians, in Plymouth colony nearly 6000, in Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket about 1500, and in Connecticut a sufficient number to bring the sum total 'not far from ten thousand.'‡

In later times, extending through the remainder of the seventeenth and the long and fearful wars of the eighteenth century, strenuous efforts continued to be made, by the inhabitants of Old, as well as New England, for improving the condition of the Indians. And the writers of those times have left copious and minute accounts of these efforts, and the various success which attended them. The formation of separate societies, by royal charter, in England and Scotland in 1701 and 1709, having this object in view; the preaching of Sergeant and Brainerd; and the arduous exertions of Dr Wheelock, which resulted in the establishment of Dartmouth College, primarily with a view to the education of Indian youth,—are sufficient to show, that the obligations of our forefathers to reclaim and enlighten the wandering sons of the forest, were fully felt and acknowledged. Nor was the defeat of their efforts in one quarter, sufficient to deter them from making the attempt in another. They evinced in this, as in other concerns, a resolution, and a patient and careful adaptation of means to ends, which have

* History of Massachusetts. † Magnalia.
‡ Travels in New England, Vol. iii, p. 87.

stamped a practical character upon their times. Nor should we doubt the contemporary evidence which has survived in print, that much good was effected, and much evil prevented. Making every allowance for exaggeration and overwrought zeal, it is hardly to be questioned, that some of the reported conversions were real, and that Indian converts died in the hope of a happy resurrection through the faith of the gospel. The establishment of schools and churches, the dissemination of the precepts of a pure religion, and the examples of piety, order, and religious sobriety set them by numerous gifted individuals, aided by the severe exterior of puritanical morals in the whole people, must have inspired many a contrite and heart-broken warrior with Christian sentiments and feelings.

Of this triumph of the American church, ecclesiastics have written, and poets have sung. Even so late as 1810, the following lines were deemed a fair inference from an inspection of the missionary authors.

> 'Where roll Ohio's streams, Missouri's floods,
> Beneath the umbrage of eternal woods,
> The Red Man roved, a hunter-warrior wild;
> On him the everlasting gospel smiled,
> His heart was awed, confounded, pierced, subdued,
> Divinely melted, moulded, and renewed;
> The bold, base savage, nature's harshest clod,
> Rose from the dust the image of his God.'

But, apart from the transient and partial triumphs of the period, what permanent and general benefits have resulted to the Indian population of America, from these pious and benevolent exertions? Fame is still pursued as the acme of earthly felicity, and vengeance remains a settled prerogative of individual prowess. Where are the children of the eighty thousand souls* who inhabited the territory of New England alone, on the landing of the Pilgrims? Most of them were numbered with their fathers, before the close of the seventeenth century. A few still survive upon small and solitary reservations of their ancient patrimony,† like those rays of the sun which linger behind, after the setting orb has sunk beneath the horizon.

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* Gookin.

† According to a schedule attached to Mr Monroe's Message, in 1825, on the state of the Indians, 2526 Indians live in 11 villages or reservations, in the states of Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

The physical supremacy of the wasted tribes is past away, no more to be renewed. Whether it be possible to fulfil the wishes of philanthropy for the miserable remnant, by shedding moral and spiritual illumination upon their minds and hearts, is a point of more uncertainty.

And the questions which have been so often asked, during the last two centuries, still recur, with a force in some measure proportioned to our extended population and increased means. What steps can be taken to avert the fate which menaces the extinction of our aboriginal population? What measures are best adapted to improve their condition? What well grounded hopes of their being made partakers of the Christian dispensation? And we confess these questions do not admit of a ready solution. It is much easier to declare what has been done, or attempted to be done, than to pronounce, with any degree of certainty, what ought to be done, to secure these important ends. The renewed experiments which are now making upon our frontiers to introduce schools and churches, and teach the natives husbandry and the mechanic arts, as they are made upon a more extended scale and with increased means, promise greater success than those of any former period. The age is peculiarly favorable to efforts of this kind. A noble spirit of philanthropy is awake. Missionaries and teachers are piercing the deepest recesses of our western forests; and missionary houses are rising to cheer and illuminate wastes, where paganism and idolatry have held undisputed sway for centuries. It is a totally new feature in the capacity of the Indian mind, that one of the tribes has invented a system of alphabetical notation, and set up a printing press. On the final success of these exertions, it would be premature to decide, and we shall therefore, in the words of Roger Williams, 'neither despair, nor report much.'

The *difficulties* attending the task, as stated by Brainerd,* whose success entitled him to speak with some authority, may be reduced to the following heads, preserving his order of arrangement.

1. *The influence of bad example set the natives by the white population in their immediate neighborhood.* In specifying instances under this head, he takes no notice of the im-

* Edwards's Life of Brainerd, published by the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge. Lond. 1818. See Appendix. p. 498.

moderate use of ardent spirits, which has become so formidable an obstacle at the present day; although it is evident, from his journal, that this use prevailed to an alarming extent.

2. *Their strong attachment 'to the customs, traditions, and fabulous notions of their fathers';* which lead them, among other absurdities, to believe, 'that it was not the same God made them, who made the white people.' He also attaches much importance to the pernicious influence of Wabenos and Jossakeeds, or what he denominates 'powwows,' who are supposed to have the power of enchanting, or poisoning, &c.

3. *Their erratic and dispersed state,* inducing habits which are unfavorable to stated preaching, and leading to long intervals of time, during which they roam the forests without restraints of any kind.

To counteract these influences, and to displace savage modes of acting and thinking by the knowledge of letters and religion, is the task, the more than Herculean task, set before us. We cannot command greater piety or devotion than were directed to the object in the last century. But we may hope to command as great, with means and opportunities more auspicious. And it would ill become us, under any circumstances, to be cast down. That charity, which 'hopeth all things,' that faith, which 'can remove mountains,' may bring about ends, which appear both difficult and distant.

For ourselves, we are free to declare, that we have no faith in the preaching to adult Indians, while they remain hunters and warriors. Consequently we deem any measures of removal, or future location, which are fitted to perpetuate their present habits, as hostile to the object. Any changes which it may be in our power to effect in the condition of Indian society, must be of slow growth, and to ensure permanency they must be general. Half a dozen educated Indians, placed among six or eight hundred in a rude state, will be much more likely, upon the ordinary scale of probabilities, to retrograde into barbarism, than to exalt and reclaim their countrymen. And we think the experiments which have been made from the respective eras of Eliot and Wheelock are in favor of the former result. It is not often that native chieftains possessing the influence of a Philip or a Pontiac, can be expected to appear; and when they do, experience teaches us, that their talents will be exerted rather to preserve and renovate the warlike habits and traditionary rites of their people, than to induce them to listen to the schoolmaster and preacher.

It is not so easy to transform the habits and manners of a whole people, as certain theorists may imagine. And of all people 'under the sun,' our North American tribes seem most firmly attached to practices and opinions, which constitute the distinctive traits of their character. They hate the very idea of labor, and do not separate the idea of a laborer from that of a slave. Freedom constitutes the *beau idéal* of their existence, though it be that kind of freedom, which is enjoyed amidst poverty and wretchedness. Whatever enslaves the mind enslaves the body. This seems to be sufficiently understood among them, and is doubtless one cause of their repugnance to the principles of Christianity and the practices of civilization, which equally impose a system of moral discipline, and physical restraint, very formidable to the mind of a simple hunter.

Another impediment to success may, we think, be found in the limited talents and acquirements, both literary and practical, of some of the laborers to whom, in our own times, the momentous task of civilization and conversion has been committed. Visionaries and enthusiasts have nowhere accomplished much. Practical sound sense is important in this office as well as practical piety, and, if it be possible, the two should never be separated. In the judgment of all Christians, the hope of special works of divine grace, does not dispense from steady and continued exertions on the part of men. The sense that judicious means are to be judiciously pursued, does not exclude, but rather justifies reliance upon extraordinary interpositions of Providence. We speak on this subject, not without having had opportunities of personal observation upon the field of missionary labor; and, were it not invidious, we could cite instances of persons engaged in these high and holy offices, who are not pre-eminently qualified

'To raise the genius, and to mend the heart.'

The Indian seldom thinks, but when he is compelled to think, and then he is not slow to suggest plausible arguments to fortify himself in heathenish practices. We may be permitted to inquire, Is it just that persons should be licensed to preach the gospel to *Indians*, who would not be deemed suitable or promising candidates to preach among the whites? Can it be expected that he, who is not capacitated to engage the attention of European society, where the doctrines of Christianity are generally acknowledged, should succeed with cavilling Indians,

disposed to controvert first principles? And is such a course dealing fairly with a community, whose sympathies have been excited, and whose contributions have been drawn forth, for the spiritual and moral welfare of the wandering and impoverished tribes that still linger upon our extensive frontiers? We make these strictures without personal asperity, and with the sincerest wishes for the promotion of a great and good end.

ART. VI.—*Definitions in Political Economy; preceded by an Inquiry into the Rules which ought to guide Political Economists in the Definition and Use of their Terms, with Remarks on the Deviation from these Rules in their Writings.* By the Rev. F. R. MALTHUS, A. M., F. R. S., A. R. S. L., Professor of History and Political Economy in the East India College, Hertfordshire. 8vo. pp. 261. London. 1827.

ALTHOUGH we have not the honor to agree with Mr Malthus in his theory of Population, and even entertain doubts of the truth of some of the principles advanced in his treatise on Political Economy, we have been pleased with the candor and urbanity which in general distinguish his writings. The work before us is by no means entirely deficient in these valuable qualities, but it is marked, we think, by a little more asperity towards persons of a different opinion than we have observed in those which preceded it. Whether it be that the frequent attacks made upon the system on which the author's philosophical reputation principally rests, have led him to fear that the ground is shaking under him, and disturbed in some degree the serenity of his humor; or whether (for either supposition is perhaps equally tenable) a constantly increasing confidence in his peculiar theories induces him to look with diminished toleration on the supposed errors of opponents; certain it is, that we find in the treatise before us an occasional display of bitterness not exactly proportionate to the nature and aggravation of the offences, and an air of superiority not always perhaps sustained by a corresponding strength of argument. Without meaning to attach too much importance to these superficial blemishes in the style of an eminent philosopher, we

shall nevertheless lay before our readers one or two specimens of the defect in manner to which we allude, before we proceed to remark upon the substance of the work. In the following passage, Mr Malthus while controverting certain opinions advanced by Mr M'Culloch, uses some expressions which we think hardly consistent with the respect due from the Professor at the East India College to the Professor at the London University.

'The tendency of some of our most popular writers to innovate without improving, and their marked inattention to facts, leading necessarily to differences of opinion and uncertainty of conclusion, have been the main causes which have of late thrown some discredit on the science of political economy. Nor can this be a matter of much surprise, though it may be of regret.

'At a period when all the merchants of our own country, and many in others, find the utmost difficulty in employing their capitals so as to obtain ordinary profits, they are repeatedly told that, according to the principles of political economy, no difficulty can ever be found in employing capital, if it be laid out in the production of the proper articles; and that any distress which they may have suffered is exclusively owing to a wrong application of their capital, such as "the production of cottons, which were not wanted, instead of broad-cloths which were wanted." They are further gravely assured that if they find any difficulty in exchanging what they have produced for what they wish to obtain for it, "they have an obvious resource at hand; they can abandon the production of the commodities which they do not want, and apply themselves directly to the production of those that they *do* want, or of substitutes for them;" and this consolatory recommendation is perhaps addressed to a merchant, who is desirous of obtaining by the employment of his capital at the ordinary rate of profits, such an income as will enable him to get a governess for his daughters and to send his boys to school and college.

'At such times, assertions like these, and the proposal of such a remedy, appear to me little different from an assertion, on supposed philosophical principles, that it *cannot* rain when crowds of people are getting wet through, and the proposal to go without clothes in order to prevent the inconvenience arising from a wet coat. If assertions so contrary to the most glaring facts, and remedies so *preposterously ridiculous* in a civilized country, are said to be dictated by the principles of political economy, it cannot be matter of wonder that many have little faith in them. And till the theories of popular writers on political economy cease to be in direct opposition to general experience; and till some steadiness is given to the science, by a greater degree of care among its pro-

fessors not to alter without improving,—it cannot be expected that it should attain that general influence in society which (its principles being just) would be of the highest practical utility.'

Some of these expressions, we say, appear to us quite as strong as the occasion would require, whether Mr M'Culloch be right or wrong on the point at issue; but even these do not satisfy the zeal of Mr Malthus, who complains in a note, that he can find no language sufficiently powerful to express his feelings.

'I own I want words to express the astonishment I feel at the proposal of such a remedy. A man under the intoxication of what he conceives to be a new and important discovery, may be excused for occasionally making a rash statement; but that a proposal directly involving the discontinuance of the division of labor should, in a civilized country, be repeated over and over again, by succeeding writers and considered as an *obvious resource* in a sudden fall of profits, absolutely passes my comprehension. What a strange and most inapt illustration too is it to talk about the possessors of broad-cloths wanting to change them for silks! Whoever heard of a great producer of any commodity wishing to obtain an equivalent for it in some *one* other sort of completed commodity? If he is to produce what he wants, it must not be silks but raw materials, tools, corn, meat, coats, hats, shoes, and stockings, &c. &c. and this is the *obvious resource* which is at hand in a glut.'

The language employed by Mr Malthus in these passages would perhaps be considered by most readers as unnecessarily emphatic, supposing him even to be in the right upon the point at issue. Without pretending to decide authoritatively between the two learned disputants, we must nevertheless add that, on our view of the subject, Mr M'Culloch has the best of the argument. The principle to which Mr Malthus takes exception—if we understand the matter rightly—is, that an excess of production in one department of labor regularly produces a transfer of a part of the capital employed in it to some other, which transfer after a while corrects the evil, and equalizes the demand and supply. This proposition is, we believe, as generally admitted by competent judges as perhaps any other within the compass of the science, and may be viewed in fact as one of its elementary axioms. The evidence of it is not, as we conceive, at all invalidated by the objection suggested by Mr Malthus in the first of the above extracts. It is not meant by Mr M'Culloch, that each of the persons who

abandon the production of the commodities which they do not want, and apply themselves directly to the making of those that they *do* want—is to supply in future *all* his own wants by his own personal labor. He does not mean, for example, that if the business of navigation and commerce should happen to be overdone and some of the persons engaged in it should withdraw their capital from it, each of them would afterwards be his own butcher, baker, tailor, bootmaker, and governess. The division of labor would continue to exist as before. Of the persons withdrawing their capital from navigation and commerce, one would invest it in the woollen fabric, another in that of cotton or iron, a third in agriculture, and a fourth in some mechanical art. In each of these branches of business profits, by the supposition, are higher than they were in navigation. Those persons who from the low rate of profits realized in navigation were unable to employ governesses and tutors, having transferred their capital to a line of business in which it yields the ordinary rate of profits, are now at their ease, and are able to indulge themselves in these luxuries, or any others that may suit their condition.

The proposition to remedy the excess of production in one department of labor by a transfer of a part of the capital employed in it to others, appears to us, therefore, a much more reasonable one than those with which Mr Malthus compares it, namely, the assertion that it *cannot* rain at a time when crowds of people are getting wet, or the proposal to go without clothes in order to prevent the inconveniences arising from a wet coat, which, by the bye, as we are told by Humboldt, is the precise method adopted by some of the natives inhabiting the Spanish Missions in South America.* If a person should deny that there was an excess of production at a time when many individuals were notoriously suffering in consequence of it, his error might no doubt be compared to that of one who should assume that it did not or could not rain at a time when crowds were getting wet; but in the case before us no one, we be-

* 'En rencontrant les naturels hors de la Mission nous les vimes, surtout par un tems de pluie, dépouillés de leur vêtemens et les tenant roulés sous le bras. Ils aimaient mieux recevoir la pluie sur le corps tout nu, que de mouiller leurs vêtemens. Les femmes les plus vieilles se cachoient derrière les arbres, en jetant de grands éclats de rire lorsqu'elles nous virent passer.' *Humb. Voy.* vol. iii, p. 287. édit. in 8vo.

lieve, denies the possibility of a temporary excess of production in one or more departments of labor. Mr M'Culloch and other writers, in pointing out the way in which such an excess naturally corrects itself, admit of course the possibility of its existence. In the same way, a person who should recommend as a remedy for such a temporary excess in a particular branch of business, that a part of the capital employed in it should be withdrawn and left entirely inactive, might be compared to one who should recommend a return to the completely unsophisticated state of nature as a remedy for the inconvenience of an occasional wet coat. But in the case before us, no one recommends that the capital withdrawn from the line of business in which production is excessive, should be left inactive. The remedy proposed is, on the contrary, that it should be employed in some other line, where it will afford higher profits, and thus enable its possessor to enjoy his usual comforts. It is therefore, to keep up the simile of our author, as if we should advise a man who, from having accidentally got his coat wet, could no longer derive from it the comforts usually afforded by such a garment, to take it off and put on a dry one. We cannot think that the remedy is in either case so 'preposterously ridiculous' as Mr Malthus is pleased to represent it, and we are even compelled to give it as our opinion, that the very strong language used by him upon this occasion—which, were he even in the right, would be rather ungraceful—is not sustained by a corresponding correctness of principle.

The following passage affords another example, though in a less degree, of the same unnecessary emphasis in forms of expression. A dispute appears to have grown up among the economists of the mother country upon the question, whether a person who carries goods to market for sale does it for the purpose of getting the money for which he expects to sell them, or the other goods which he means to buy with the money after he has got it. If for instance (and the case we understand has really occurred) a citizen of New Hampshire catch a large salmon on the Merrimac river early in the season, sell it in Boston market for two dollars a pound, and invest the proceeds in a good yoke of oxen, the question is, whether his object in making the sale was to procure the oxen or the two dollars a pound. Mr Mill and many other writers affirm that his intention is to get his money's worth. Mr Malthus as stoutly maintains that his object is the money itself.

'The hop-planter who takes a hundred bags of hops to Weyhill fair, thinks little more about the supply of hats and shoes than he does about the spots in the sun. What does he think about, then? and what does he want to exchange his hops for? Mr Mill seems to be of opinion, that it would show great ignorance of political economy to say that what he wants is money; yet, notwithstanding the probable imputation of this great ignorance, I have no hesitation in distinctly asserting that it really is money which he wants, and that this money he must obtain in the present state of society, in exchange for the great mass of what he has brought to market, or he will be unable to carry on his business as a hop-planter; and for these specific reasons; first, that he must pay the rent of his hop-grounds in money; secondly, that he must pay for his poles, his bags, his implements, &c. &c., in money; thirdly, that he must pay the numerous laborers which he employs on his grounds during the course of the next year, in money; and fourthly, that it is in money and in money alone of all the articles brought to the fair, that he can calculate his profits.

'It is perfectly true that both the landlords and the laborers who are paid in money will finally exchange it for something else, as no one enjoys money *in kind* except the miser; but the landlord who may spend perhaps a good deal in post-horses, dinners at inns, and menial servants, would be little likely to accept from the hop-planter the articles which he could get at the fair in exchange for his hops; and though the expenditure of the laborer is much more simple, and may be said to consist almost entirely in food and clothing, yet it is quite certain that the power of commanding a given quantity of labor can never be represented with any approach towards correctness, by a given quantity of corn and clothing. As a matter of fact, the laborer in this country is paid in money; and while it often happens that for many years together the money price of labor remains the same, the money price of corn is continually altering, and the laborer may perhaps receive the value of twice as much corn in one year as he does in another.

'What an entirely false view then does it give of the real state of things, what a complete obscuration instead of illustration of the subject is it, to represent the demand for shoes as determined by the supply of hats, or the demand for hops by the supply of cloth, cheese, or even corn. In fact the doctrine that one half of the commodities of a country necessarily constitute an adequate market or effectual demand for the other half, is utterly without foundation. The great producers, who are the great sellers, before they can venture to think about the supplies of hats, shoes, and cloth, on which perhaps they may expend a tenth part of

what they have brought to market, must first direct their whole attention to the replacing of their capital, and to the question, whether, after replacing it, they will have realized its profits. Whatever may be the number of intermediate acts of barter, which may take place in regard to commodities, whether the producers send them to China, or sell them in the place where they are produced; the question as to an adequate market for them depends exclusively upon whether the producers can replace their capitals with ordinary profits, so as to enable them successfully to go on with their business.'

The tone employed in this passage is, we think, too decisive not to say intolerant, supposing even Mr Malthus to be in the right. The heresy of his opponents—if such it be—is apparently harmless. To say that the object of a hop-planter in carrying his hops to Weyhill fair, is to procure hats and shoes for his wife and children, seems to us to be a proposition which, even if erroneous, is fraught with no very dangerous consequences to the public; and the warmth of manner with which our author repels it, reminds us of the comic indignation employed by the logician in the play at the *frightful, execrable,* and *abominable* expression of the *form of a hat.* We must also add, that while we disclaim as before any pretention to decide between these great rival authorities, we must honestly confess that, as far as we can trust our feeble judgment on a point of this importance, our author is with all his confidence clearly in the wrong. It is possible that a hop-planter, while conveying his hops to Weyhill fair, may not be thinking directly about hats and shoes, although in point of fact we believe it to be true that a cultivator who carries agricultural produce to the fair or the market does generally bring home a considerable part of the proceeds of it in manufactured articles for the use of his family; and this being the case, we see no reason why his reflections on the road should not turn upon his intended purchases, as well as on his intended sales. But admitting, for argument's sake, that the money, which is doubtless the first, is also for the moment the exclusive object with the hop-planter, it is nevertheless certain, that it is considered by him as a desirable object merely because it is the representative of hats, shoes, beer, and the other articles which he habitually consumes,—that if he could not exchange it for these articles he would not consider it as a desirable object, while these articles would be equally desirable, were there no such thing as money in existence. From these plain, and, as we suppose, incon-

trovertible considerations, it does seem to us to follow, that the purpose which the hop-planter really has in view, is that of exchanging his hops for hats, shoes, beer, stockings, petticoats, tortoise-shell combs, and other articles of rural comfort or luxury, and that money merely intervenes as an instrument to facilitate this exchange. Mr Malthus suggests, that it would be difficult for the hop-planter to pay his rent in hats and shoes, and that although these articles would answer the purpose of his laborers nearly as well as money, yet that the money price of them is a good deal more variable than that of labor, and that he might often be a great loser by employing them instead of cash in the payment of wages. Now if our author merely meant to affirm, that the precious metals are from the great comparative steadiness of their value a convenient medium of exchange, and may be usefully employed as such in the transaction of all economical business, we should readily concede the point, which would also, we imagine, not be contested by any person, tolerably well versed in the first elements of political economy. But the object of Mr Malthus in assuming that a hop-planter, while carrying his hops to Weyhill fair, is thinking no more of hats and shoes, than of the spots in the sun, and that his whole mind is bent on money, is not, as we understand it, to prove that money is a better medium of exchange than hats and shoes,—a proposition which nobody would dispute,—but to prove that the quantity of hops which the planter can dispose of is not determined by the quantity of hats and other articles that are brought to market at the same time. Mill and most other writers assert, that, in proportion as there are more persons ready and willing to give hats, shoes, &c. for hops, or rather for beer (which is the form under which they consume them), more beer will be called for, and consequently more hops wanted to make it. In a more general phrase, the demand for hops is determined by the supply of hats, shoes, and other articles; or still more generally, the amount of production in one department of labor bears a regular proportion to that which takes place for the time being in all the rest. Mr Malthus (we believe he is nearly or quite alone in his opinion on this subject) warmly denounces this proposition as *épouvantable*, *effroyable*, *exécrable*, an 'entirely false view of the state of things'—a 'complete obscuration instead of illustration of the subject'—a 'doctrine utterly without foundation.' But how does he refute this very dangerous

and alarming heresy? Simply by assuring us, as we have seen, that money is steadier in its value, and of course more suitable for a circulating medium than almost any other article; a well known truth, but one which has not the most remote bearing on the subject. It is quite clear, that what the hop-planter might lose at one time, by exchanging his hops for hats and shoes instead of money, an account of the greater fluctuation in the value of those articles, he would for the same reason gain at another, and that his situation would on either supposition be in general substantially the same.

Mr Malthus afterwards suggests, that the object of the great producer is not to procure hats and shoes for himself and his family, upon which he may not perhaps lay out a hundredth part (or as our author more rhetorically expresses it, *the tenth part of a tenth part*) of his products, but to replace his capital with ordinary profits. This time, at least, the object is not money, but capital, that is, as our author himself describes it in the same connexion, machinery and materials; so that we do not exactly see how Mr Malthus reconciles this new suggestion with his former unhesitating assertion, that money, and money alone, is what the hop-planter wants, and what he must have. Although the hop-planter may not be thinking of hats and shoes, yet if he be thinking of tools and raw materials, he is clearly not thinking of money. Without dwelling on this inconsistency, which is, however, palpable, we may remark that the only way in which a man can replace his capital with ordinary profits, is by exchanging his produce either directly or by the aid of some circulating medium for the produce of an equal amount of labor under some other form, that is, in the present case, by exchanging his hops for hats, shoes, and other articles. The distinction which Mr Malthus seems disposed to take between capital and other articles, that is, between articles intended to be used in reproduction, and those intended for immediate consumption, does not appear to us to bear upon the present question. The quantity of machinery and raw materials, or capital, which a hop-planter wants, depends upon the quantity of hops which he can raise with profit, and this, in turn, upon the quantity of hats, shoes, and all other articles, which are offered in exchange for beer; so that the extent to which he can replace capital with profit, which determines the extent of his production, is itself determined by the extent of the production of the ordinary articles

of consumption intended for the same market. Mr Malthus intimates, apparently with a view of supporting his objection, that a capitalist may send a part of his products to the other side of the globe; but this fact tends, we think, to confirm rather than invalidate the principle, since it shows that in the present state of commerce, the world itself is to a certain extent one great market, and that the amount of production in Europe is regulated in some degree by that which takes place in Asia, Africa, and America, and *vice versâ*. Because a brewer in London sends a part of his porter to the West Indies to pay for the sugar, rum, and coffee consumed by himself and his neighbors, does it follow that the quantity of porter which he can afford to brew is not regulated by the amount of hats, shoes, rum, sugar, coffee, &c. in the market? It is easy to see that the conclusion is exactly the reverse. The more extensive we suppose the mutual influence of the different branches of industry carried on through the world to be, the more evident will be the principle, that the amount of production in any department is regulated by that which takes place at the same time in all others.

But we had nearly forgotten, in following out these trains of thought, that we are still upon the threshold of the work, and have not yet distinctly made known to the reader its nature and object. Our purpose thus far has principally been to indicate a defect in the author's manner, which we have the rather been induced to do, as it forms an unfavorable contrast with that which has generally prevailed in his former productions. It may seem ungracious to commence by pointing out faults, but as the error in question is merely of a superficial kind, it appeared more natural to dispose of it, before we took in hand the substance of the treatise. Without attaching too much importance to any merely external qualities, we confess that we estimate very highly the advantages of conducting philosophical discussions in a cool, good-humored, and polite manner; and we feel it a sort of duty to notice any deviation from propriety in this respect, in the works of a writer whose high reputation naturally holds him up to others as a model.

It appears from the Preface to the little treatise now before us, that Mr Malthus has been for some time past impressed with the opinion, that the obscurity and uncertainty, which, as he says, overhang the science of political economy, are mainly owing to an incorrect use of language by the contemporary

writers on this subject. He conceives that, if the meaning of the most important terms could be clearly stated and generally agreed upon, there would be but little danger of any further dispute upon principles, and that the world would be relieved from the scandal of seeing the most distinguished doctors in the science at swords' points about the most familiar practical truths. The present essay is a well meant effort to aid in the accomplishment of these desirable objects. It consists of a series of chapters, in which the author successively points out the errors in the use of language, that have been committed by the French economists, by Adam Smith, by Messrs Say, Ricardo, Mill, M'Culloch, and by the author of 'A Critical Dissertation on Value;' and afterwards undertakes to correct these errors by furnishing himself a list of definitions of the most important words that occur in economical discussions.

Agreeing, as we do, with our author in the opinion that there is a good deal of confusion and obscurity in most of the economical works of the day, and satisfied, as we also are, of the great importance of correctness and precision in the use of language, we are yet free to confess, that we greatly doubt whether the method of preliminary definitions, which Mr Malthus recommends by precept and example, be the best that can be adopted for remedying the evil of which he complains. A definition, as we understand the matter, must always be substantially the statement of an acknowledged and settled principle. Whether for example we define the *sun* as a luminous body, about half a yard over, that appears in the eastern part of the horizon, passes gradually over our heads, at a great distance from us, and at night disappears in the west; or whether we define it, on the principles of the Newtonian philosophy, as a vast globe situated in the centre of the system to which our planet belongs, we suppose in either case that the facts are admitted, and our only object is to intimate that they are signified by a certain word. If the correctness of either the popular or Newtonian theory be disputed, we cannot determine the controversy by defining the word according to one or the other system, but must do it by an appeal to facts. If, on the other hand, the facts are agreed upon, the more or less imperfect use of language by particular writers will have little or no effect in rendering them doubtful. We incline, therefore, to reverse the order of cause and effect supported by Mr Malthus in undertaking the present work, and

instead of attributing the uncertainty of the science to the incorrect use of language by the popular writers, we should rather attribute their faults to the uncertainty of the science. Let a great truth be once fairly settled, and it soon becomes familiar to all. Different individuals enunciate it with different degrees of correctness and elegance as respects the forms, but all make themselves understood. The silliest girl at a boarding-school (as a writer in the Edinburgh Review somewhat indiscreetly expresses himself) could instruct Tycho Brahe or Ptolemy in the theory of the solar system. But if facts are still doubtful, and principles unsettled, the same words must, in the nature of things, be used by different writers in different senses; and an attempt by any one writer to induce others to use them in the sense which he prefers, is, in substance, an attempt to induce them to receive, upon his authority, principles of which he cannot satisfy them by his logic. If we suppose it to be doubtful whether the Newtonian or the popular theory of the universe be correct, it is quite evident that a writer who should undertake to force the former upon the public in the shape of definitions would fail in his purpose. The work now before us, we conceive to be substantially an attempt of this description, and we therefore doubt whether it can produce much effect. Nothing short of the bold speculations of Copernicus and Kepler, backed by the rigorous and complete demonstrations of Newton and Laplace, could have fixed the science of astronomy; and with all the respect that we feel for Mr Malthus, we must venture to suggest to him, that if he means to render a similar service to political economy, he must do it by observation and argument, and not by definition.

But although a series of definitions, however excellent as such, could never be of much use in fixing a science, they might, if well drawn up, serve at least to elucidate the peculiar opinions of their author, and enable the public to judge more accurately of their correctness. We have some doubts, however, whether the work of Mr Malthus will answer even this purpose; and we are compelled to say, that even assuming the truth of all his principles, we do not think the statement given of them, in his definitions, peculiarly just or happy. In fact, the framing of a good definition demands a rhetorical and not a philosophical talent, and although Mr Malthus be in the main a very good writer, his turn of mind and habitual occupa-

tions have doubtless led him to cultivate philosophy rather than rhetoric, and to attend to things more than forms of expression. When he follows out naturally the train of his thoughts, he generally expresses himself with perspicuity and correctness; but when he sets about the purely rhetorical operation of formal definition, he succeeds very ill in bringing out his meaning. He seems, indeed, to have a very indistinct notion of the qualities, in which the merit of a good definition consists. 'In all definitions,' he remarks, 'the same meaning may be conveyed in different language; and it is the meaning rather than the mode of expression, that should be the main object of consideration.' Now it is quite obvious, on the contrary, that in a definition, considered as such, the meaning is of no importance whatever, and the form of expression every thing. A word, of which the meaning is unknown and unsettled, cannot be defined. The meaning is therefore in all cases given or assumed, and the object of the definition is to express this given meaning with precision and exactness. In this respect the definitions contained in the present work are far from being faultless, and are indeed among the most remarkable specimens of looseness and inaccuracy of style, that we recollect to have lately met with.

The very first on the list, which is that of *wealth*, will serve to illustrate the truth of these remarks. It appears from other passages in the work, that our author's notion of the meaning of this term is substantially correct. Thus he remarks very justly, that 'when Adam Smith says that a man is rich or poor, according to the quantity of the necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life which he can command, he gives a most correct definition of wealth.' Let us now compare with this most correct definition, the one which stands at the head of our author's list.

'Wealth. The material objects, necessary, useful, and agreeable to men, which have required some portion of human labor to appropriate or produce.'

Independently of the inelegant and even ungrammatical structure of this definition, it not only varies materially from that of Smith, which the author has pronounced to be most correct, but wholly omits the leading and only important idea conveyed by the term, which is also distinctly expressed in the other. This idea is obviously that of *quantity*. The definition given by Malthus is a circumlocutory and rather awkward equivalent

for the more familiar and intelligible phrase, 'necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life,' which is employed by Smith. But the mere possession of the necessaries and comforts of life, or of 'the material objects necessary, useful, and agreeable to man, which have required some portion of human labor to appropriate or produce,' does not constitute wealth. The poorest man possesses these as well as the richest, and the only difference between the two in this respect is, that the latter is able to command a large quantity of them, and the former only a small one. *Wealth*, as correctly defined by Adam Smith, is therefore the power of commanding a *large quantity* of the necessaries and comforts of life, and our author, in omitting entirely the notion of quantity, has in fact omitted the very essence of the definition. It is rather remarkable that most of the contemporary writers, although they differ a good deal among themselves in the terms of their definitions, have all fallen into this error. But while they omit the only important idea conveyed by the term, they all inquire very curiously, and dispute very warmly among themselves upon the questions, whether wealth do or do not include immaterial as well as material objects, and if material objects, those which are not the produce of human labor, as well as those which are. These controversies appear to us to reflect but little honor on the sagacity and good sense of the disputants, and resemble too nearly the frivolous debates that occupied the cloisters of the middle ages. But however this may be, it is obvious that they are irrelevant to the definition of the term *wealth*. The questions to which we have alluded, if they in fact deserve the name of questions, would be, when properly stated, whether *wisdom and virtue* (immaterial objects, that are useful and agreeable) on the one hand, or *light and air* (material objects, not the produce of labor) on the other, be or be not, in the correct use of language included under the phrase *necessaries and comforts of life*. In whichever way the point might be settled, the definition of *wealth* would remain the same. It would always signify an abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life, the particular articles of which these are composed being left for the moment entirely out of view.

So imperfectly has Mr Malthus succeeded in expressing his own correct notions of the meaning of the term *wealth*. Another proof of his want of precision in the use of language, which occurs in the same connexion, may be found in his

anxiety to guard his readers against confounding the terms *wealth* and *value*. After giving a definition of *value*, which, though clumsy, and indeed almost unintelligible, appears to be an attempt to express what is in fact the proper meaning of the term, he adds;

'Value is distinguished from wealth, in that it is not confined to material objects, and is much more dependant upon scarcity and difficulty of production.'

He even accuses Adam Smith of occasionally confounding these terms, remarking that 'when Adam Smith says that a man is rich or poor according to the quantity of labor which he can command, he evidently confounds wealth with value.'

Some of the other modern writers appear to be equally anxious to guard against this dangerous confusion, and the author of 'A Critical Dissertation on Value,' upon which Mr Malthus bestows a good deal of attention, has a separate chapter on *The Distinction between Riches and Value*. Now we beg leave to ask, how it is possible for any one at all accustomed to a correct use of language, or indeed for any person of common education, to confound the meaning of the words *wealth* and *value*. Who, except Mr Malthus and his brother economists of the new school, ever imagined that they could be supposed to mean the same thing? Certainly not the illustrious author of the 'Wealth of Nations,' one of the most correct and elegant writers, as well as just and powerful thinkers, that ever appeared. Synonymous terms may be substituted for each other, without altering the sense of the phrase with which they are connected. But who would think of saying that the great work to which we have just alluded might be called, without altering the meaning of the title, 'An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the *Value* of Nations?' Who, that was at all acquainted with the English language, would think that he could say indifferently, *the value of this book is five dollars*, or *the wealth of this book is five dollars*. It is quite clear that a writer, who should for a moment deem it possible to confound the two terms, must have a very loose and inaccurate notion of the meaning of one if not both.

The definition of *value* given by Mr Malthus, and to which we have already alluded, is in fact, like that of *wealth*, a curious example of the obscurity that may be thrown over a word, which every body understands perfectly, by an attempt to explain it in philosophical language. Mr. Malthus, like all

the rest of the world, knows well enough what is meant by *value*, and when he uses the word naturally in the course of his composition always uses it correctly; but when he undertakes to define it, his efforts are not only wholly unsuccessful, but so awkward and laborious as to be almost ludicrous. His definition is as follows.

'VALUE. The relation of one object to some other or others, in exchange, resulting from the estimation in which each is held.'

Now we greatly doubt, whether a person to whom this definition should be presented without the key, would know what was meant by it. By *the relation of one object to another in exchange*, our author probably intends the capacity of one object to exchange for another; but in endeavoring to express himself in an abstract and philosophical way he has failed completely in making himself understood. *Relation in exchange*, or *relation of objects in exchange*, are phrases which, if interpreted according to the proper use of the terms, signify nothing. They border too nearly on the refined and elegant style of Mrs Malaprop. Compare now with the above definition, the one given in the 'Wealth of Nations.'

'The value of an object, in exchange, is the power of purchasing other goods given by its possession.'

With this simple and satisfactory (though not in form wholly unexceptionable) explanation of the term by the master of the science before his eyes, it is really singular that Mr Malthus should have supposed himself to be promoting the progress of truth by substituting another definition, and such another as the one which he has proposed.

We may add here, that our author has not in our opinion been more fortunate in his attempt to improve the theory of Dr Smith upon the *measure of value*, than in the above effort to amend his definition of the term. It is maintained in the 'Wealth of Nations,' as our readers are aware, that labor is the real measure of value, that the capacity of objects to exchange for each other depends upon the quantity of labor respectively laid out upon them, and that every object will always command the same quantity of labor which was employed in its production. If it require, for example, two days' labor to make a hat, and also to make a pair of shoes, a hat and a pair of shoes will exchange for each other, or will possess equal value, and each will purchase two days' labor, or any other articles which it requires the labor of two days to produce. These

principles approve themselves to the common sense of every judicious reader, and have been generally admitted for half a century by intelligent men. The somewhat hypercritical acumen of our contemporary economists has detected various supposed errors in this as in many other parts of the work of Dr Smith. Some of these writers affirm, for example, that there is and can be no such thing in nature as an invariable standard or measure of value, and that the worth of labor fluctuates as much as that of any other article. This may be considered as, on the whole, the prevailing opinion at the present day. Mr Malthus rather inclines to admit the theory of Smith, but not without some alterations and improvements of his own, which he considers as being of essential importance. Labor is in general a correct measure of value, but the value of particular objects is determined not by the quantity of labor only, but by the quantity of *labor and profits* invested in them, or employed in their production. If a man purchase a quantity of cotton which is the produce of a hundred days' labor, and employ himself for a hundred days in making it into cloth, the cloth (leaving out of view, in order to simplify the question, the cost of the machinery) will be equal in value, on the theory of Dr Smith, to the ordinary product of two hundred days' labor, and will purchase this amount of labor, or the product of it in money or any other article. Not exactly so, says Mr Malthus; for in order to know the real value of the cloth, you must add to the two hundred days' labor the interest on the value of the cotton for a hundred days. The weaver, when he purchases the cotton, advances the value of it, which is equal to the ordinary product of a hundred days' labor, and he will lose by the operation unless he replace his capital with ordinary profits, and also receive the ordinary produce of his own labor for a hundred days. Hence the sum total of the value of the cloth must be equal to the ordinary produce of three hundred days' labor, and not of two, and it will purchase this amount of labor, or its product in money or any other article.

This objection, which, if well founded, would destroy the simplicity and beauty of the theory of Dr Smith, and which may appear at first view in some degree plausible, is easily shown to be without foundation. The weaver who, by laboring a hundred days, has realized the ordinary product of that amount of labor in money, and exchanges it for cotton, obtains

in the cotton the full reward of his previous labor. His account is balanced, and he has nothing more to expect for his past exertions. He now works a hundred days more in making his cotton into cloth, and obtains, at the end of that time, a quantity of cloth equal in value to the ordinary produce of two hundred days' labor. With this he replaces his cotton, and retains the ordinary product of a hundred days' labor as the reward of his own labor for that time. What more then has he to wish or expect? He has wrought two hundred days, and he has received the ordinary produce of the labor of two hundred days. If he were to receive in addition the ordinary produce of a hundred days' labor, under the name of interest on advances, he would realize the product of three hundred days' labor, after having wrought only two. His profit would exceed the common rate, and competitors would engage in the same business, until the balance were restored. It is clear, therefore, that the value of the cloth, and in general of all articles, is fairly measured by the quantity of labor employed in their production, without making any allowance for profits on advances made for materials or machinery employed in the production. The error of Malthus apparently results from an indistinct notion of the meaning of the word *profits*, which he seems to consider as a sort of spontaneous product of capital entirely independent of the labor bestowed upon it, and over and above the product of this labor. In reality, *profits* are the returns which a man receives for the labor he employed upon his own stock or capital, as *wages* are the returns of his own labor employed upon the stock of others, and *interest* his share of the returns of the labor of others employed upon his stock placed in their hands. It seems quite clear that he cannot employ his capital himself, and place it in other hands at one and the same time. How then can he receive both profit and interest on the same capital? To replace capital with ordinary profits is to obtain from the labor employed upon it a return which will replace it, and leave as profits an amount equal to the ordinary produce of the same quantity of labor. It is not necessary or possible that any capital can yield in addition another return under the name of interest on advances, for the plain reason just intimated that no capital can be employed in two different ways at the same time; and that, if it remain in its owner's possession and yield profit, it cannot also be out of his possession and yield interest. These

considerations appear to us not only quite incontestible, but almost too familiar to require being mentioned; yet it is for want of having noticed them, that our author has brought forward his objections to the luminous theory of Dr Smith on the *measure of value.*

The rest of our author's definitions are generally not much superior in precision and perspicuity to those which we have quoted, and are, in our opinion, of little or no value. We deem it unnecessary to examine them in detail. The real defect of the work, as we remarked before, lies in its plan. A science which is completely settled, and no longer a subject of dispute, may conveniently, for certain purposes, be digested into a list of axioms. But while principles are still unsettled, definitions are obviously impossible, and when we find a writer proposing them precisely as a remedy for this unsettled state of the science, which precludes the possibility of their existence, we are tempted to suspect that he has not defined very exactly in his own mind the meaning of the word 'definition.'

We have been induced to notice this work, which is in itself of no great importance, and has excited little or no sensation in England, in order to give our readers a specimen of the general power of reasoning exercised by Malthus upon the topics which habitually engage his attention, and thus enable them to judge what probability the mere authority of his name ought to give to his theories on population, independently of the direct arguments, by which they are supported.

While writing this article, we have received the Edinburgh Review for September last, and we avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded by the subject we are treating, to notice a passage in the article on *Prussian Political Economy.* The reviewer commences by remarking, that his author, M. Schmalz, a privy counsellor in the service of the king of Prussia, does not appear to be acquainted with the great discoveries in political economy that have been made in England within the last fifteen years, and which have given a new aspect to the whole science. He concludes by intimating, that ignorant as the Prussians may be in this respect, it would be doing them great injustice to compare their commercial system with that of the United States, and affirms, in so many words, that the late tariff is ruinous to the best interest of the people, and disgraceful to the intelligence of the Congress of this country.

Without entering at large into a defence either of the state of political philosophy in Prussia, or of the act of our government to which the reviewer alludes, we cannot but remark that the tone in which he speaks of both appears to us to be liable to the objections which we made at the commencement of this article, to that adopted by Mr Malthus in some passages of the work before us. The reviewer expresses himself, in our opinion, in too overbearing and decisive a way. Admitting him to be as much in the right as he supposes himself to be, in regard to both classes of his opponents, it is nevertheless certain, that the north of Germany, and particularly Prussia, the country of the Jacobis and Schleiermachers, the Kants and Fichtes, the Humboldts and the Schlegels, whatever other faults it may be charged with, has rarely of late been reproached with *ignorance* of any branch of abstract science. We may say perhaps with confidence, that Berlin and Königsberg are on a level, in point of scientific information, with Edinburgh and London. If then the great discoveries in question have not been adopted in the former quarters, is it certain that the reason lies in the ignorance of the Germans, who are proverbially ignorant of nothing, and not in the errors of the British, who may possibly for once be mistaken? As respects the intelligence of the Congress of the United States, it does not of course belong to Americans to fix precisely the reputation of their own government as compared with others; but we cannot help thinking that the general decorum that marks the proceedings of the public functionaries, and the respectful language habitually employed in their intercourse with foreign states, entitle them in turn to expect common civility from a foreign reviewer, who may have occasion to find fault with any of their measures. Politeness and decency have their value as well as truth; and we may add that if the object of the journalist be to propagate his opinions in this country and in Prussia, he will probably succeed much better by employing a civil and conciliatory tone, than by indulging at the outset in contemptuous and insulting language.

But waving this point, which is merely formal, we would also take the liberty of suggesting to the reviewer, that it might perhaps be expedient for the economists of Great Britain, before they treat foreign nations with so much harshness for not adopting their systems, to agree among themselves in the first place about what these systems are. Mr Malthus, the

acknowledged founder of the new school of political economy, informs us in the present work, that it is as yet in a very distracted state. He calls up one after another of the most distinguished among his disciples, and takes them all to task in no very measured terms. The harsh phrase *preposterously ridiculous* is, as we have seen above, levelled at professor M'Culloch, one of the luminaries of the train. If common fame report truly the names of the writers in the Edinburgh Review, this ponderous missile must have been aimed at a point not very remote from the head of the author of the article on Prussian Political Economy. On the other hand, the disciples of the philosopher of Hertfordshire make pretty free at times with their master, and are all at daggers' drawing among themselves. What then becomes of the great discoveries of the last fifteen years? or how has the aspect of the science been changed, otherwise than by the substitution of acknowledged confusion and obscurity, for the state of comparative certainty in which it was left by Adam Smith, in our opinion the only writer upon it in the language of any real value? When the British economists shall have settled among themselves what their theories are, it will be time enough, as we just remarked, to complain of strangers for not adopting them; and it will even then be too early for an anonymous journalist to treat foreign governments of respectable standing with offensive rudeness, and accuse whole nations of disgraceful ignorance, upon no better ground than that they differ in opinion upon their own affairs with him and his club. We shall not at present enter into a defence of the tariff, against the vague and sweeping denunciations of this reviewer; but should he, as he promises, return to the charge in a future number, we may perhaps improve the opportunity to offer some remarks on the *American Economical System*, which, with all our respect for the doctors on the other side of the water, will, we think, for our purposes at least, bear a comparison with that which the British, very disinterestedly no doubt, are disposed to recommend to us.

ART. VII.—*Histoire de la Louisiane et de la Cession de cette Colonie par la France aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale; précédée d'un Discours sur la Constitution et le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis.* Par M. BARBE-MARBOIS. Paris. 1829.

IT is so rare to receive from Europe a work of interest and value on the United States, that we have peculiar pleasure in bringing to the notice of our readers a performance on that subject, sanctioned by such a name as that of the Marquis de Marbois. This gentleman has long been known, both in France and America, for his eminent talents, and the important stations which he has filled. Sixty years ago he commenced his public career, and during a large portion of the period since that time, he has been employed in the service of his country. His name and deeds are intimately blended with the events of the American Revolution. To no person are we more indebted for the good understanding which existed between this country and France after the ratification of the alliance; for although he acted in a subordinate capacity to that of M. de la Luzerne, the French minister to congress, who was also friendly to the interests of the United States, yet it is well known that Marbois was the principal agent in the most important operations of the embassy. At the close of the war, Luzerne returned to France, and Marbois was left in his place, which he filled till he was appointed governor of St Domingo. At the time of the Directory we find him in Paris among those, who voted against the measures of that body, and who were rewarded for this courageous exercise of their prerogative by a banishment to Cayenne. He remained in exile two years and a half. Under the consulate he was minister of the treasury, and after the second restoration he became minister of justice.

The Marquis de Marbois is now first president of the *Cour des Comptes*, a station of dignity, responsibility, and application, which demands much of his time; and, notwithstanding his advanced age, he is also one of the most active members of the house of Peers, constant in his attendance, and taking a lively interest in all the political movements of the day. He has nevertheless found leisure for other inquiries, not immediately connected with his pursuits, and by no means common to persons of any rank or profession in the old world. The

fruits are seen in the work which he has just published, and which, we do not hesitate to say, contains a wider knowledge and more accurate views of the government, institutions, progress, and political history of the United States, than any other which has appeared from a European hand. This is not high praise, perhaps, when we consider in what manner these topics, whether through real or affected ignorance, have been usually treated on the other side of the Atlantic. We will therefore add, that, although the author touches upon a great number and variety of subjects, relating to our civil and political condition, we know not how he could have been more accurate in his facts, or just in his reflections, or enlightened in his opinions, even if he had lived among us, and gathered his materials from their immediate sources; and the citizen of the United States must be a very fastidious patriot indeed, who is not charmed with the tone of candor and spirit of liberality, which everywhere pervade his remarks. A few years ago M. de Marbois wrote an account of Arnold's conspiracy, containing such authentic particulars as he had collected in America at the time of that event, and also many judicious observations on the revolutionary history and the government of the United States.

The present work is divided into four parts, the first of which is a discourse on the constitution of the United States, with reflections on its principles, operation, and results. Secondly, a brief sketch of the history of Louisiana, both under the French and Spanish domination, from the time of its discovery till the treaty of cession to the United States. Thirdly, a history of the formation of that treaty by M. de Marbois on the one part, and Mr Monroe and Chancellor Livingston on the other, embracing curious details respecting the motives and designs of Bonaparte in making this cession. Fourthly, an account of the proceedings in taking possession of Louisiana, and a continuation of the history to the end of the last war.

As the third part is the one upon which the the author lays the most stress, and is indeed the main purpose of his book, we shall confine ourselves chiefly to that head. That our readers may see, however, in what manner an enlightened foreigner and a peer of France is disposed to view our political system, we shall select a few passages from his discourse on the constitution and government of the United States. He begins with an analysis of our great political charter, and en-

ters into a concise exposition of its principal features in such a manner as to show, that he has not only acquainted himself with the theory and form of this instrument, but has reflected deeply on its principles, examined its internal structure and movements, and watched its effects.

'All the affairs of the republic,' says he, 'are brought as soon as practicable to the knowledge of the people, without any exaggeration of the favorable condition of some or concealment of the adverse state of others. And why, indeed, should Congress and the administration concert together to deceive the public or to conceal from them untoward truths? They are themselves part of this public.

'Resolutions which concern the state are never adopted till after the most mature deliberation. They are determined on in the presence of the citizens, and during the discussion of them, those who are interested in the result seldom fail to make known their opinions by publications which the government never disregards. Publicity only incommodes those who would wish to make their private interest prevail over that of the public. When the law is once promulgated, no one would dare to prevent its going into effect or to elude it.

'The history also of every day cites at its bar the Presidents and other rulers, and does not await their death before judging them. Their acts are public; posterity already exists for them, and the powerful, as well as the weak, are disgraced or praised while they are still living.

'The two chambers profess the same political doctrines. Nothing in the tendency of their speeches distinguishes the one from the other. They are both animated by a desire to render their country happy. The deliberations of the Senate are, however, the most conspicuous for calmness and gravity, and those of the Representatives for warmth and vivacity. There is a cause for this difference. The members of the Senate are in office for six years, the Representatives for only two. The latter are therefore the most anxious to bring themselves into notice.

'Congress, in its uniform course, is always consistent with itself, and its policy does not vacillate. In order to remain free from those internal agitations from which the most happy country is not always exempt, it practises constantly and sincerely the maxim, that "the end of government is the happiness of society."

'There is not henceforth any fear of the triumph of despotism over liberty; the old nations of Europe would never have experienced this calamity, if, instead of simple traditions subjected to human and variable passions, at the will of an ambitious chief and of an ignorant multitude, they had had constitutions written by sages and confided to the vigilance of all the citizens.

'It is thus that the fundamental laws of the different states of the union are preserved. The sincerity and clearness with which they are expressed remove every opportunity for sophistical interpretations, and their legislators have been careful not to introduce any obscurity of which advantage may one day be taken with a view to an arbitrary explanation. If there are some differences in the constitutions, they exist only in the external forms of the government; they have justice and equality for their foundation; that which is just at Boston, is so at New Orleans.

'In every township or village, there are some well instructed in the true interests of their country, and if to the intelligence, which is required of those who are engaged in public affairs, they unite the virtues of the citizen, they will infallibly be raised to the first employments. Every man can be called to the highest functions. The great Washington had been a surveyor, Franklin a journeyman printer, Jefferson a planter. Magistrates, chosen by those whom they are to govern, are easily obeyed. The scarcity of crimes and of punishments is the proof as well as the consequence of the docility of these people to the laws.

'A long peace does not weary them. They do not fear that idleness will render the youth seditious. To undertake a war in order to occupy them, to render them less numerous, or upon futile pretences, would seem to them impious and could not possibly occur. They have at length discovered the solution of this difficulty, proposed several centuries since to the reflection of philosophers and to the experience of statesmen;

'"To render communities happy with the least constraint and at the least expense possible."' pp. 40—43.

After speaking of the revenue, commerce, manufactures, and internal improvements of the United States, he adds,

'Such, in its political economy, is the conduct, such are the maxims of a new republic, strong in its present greatness, and of so rapid a growth, that every year its friendship becomes more desirable, its enmity more to be feared. It is no longer one of those republics by name, to which was refused an equality with kings, and whose ambassadors were, as if by tolerance, admitted after those of crowned heads. An attempt to assign to this republic a different rank from other powers and to subject it to another law of nations would be made in vain; as independent and sovereign as the monarchs on their thrones, it has on every occasion maintained an equality with them, and without doubt it will be sufficiently wise never to aspire to elevate itself above them.

'If from the sketch of the condition of the general confederation, we pass to that of the constitutions of the separate states and

of their relations with Congress, we see with admiration these great bodies move without collision, without violence, and without any difficulties arising between the superior and subordinate governments of a nature to lead to a rupture.

'The legislative, executive, and judicial authorities in the several states are invested with all the powers which have not been delegated to Congress. Every state legislates in civil and criminal matters. During the fifty years that this order of things has existed, its results have been successful. The confederation has been enlarged, and the power of Congress increased at the same time. Some states have voluntarily limited their extent and their population, and abandoned vast territories where other states have been formed.

'They thus expressed themselves in making these cessions; "We renounce our rights over these lands, because, after the protection of Providence, nothing can be better adapted to strengthen the union and to advance its honor, power, and dignity, than this proof of a general good understanding." Those wars which fanaticism, ambition, cupidity, excite among other nations, that distrust which torments them and makes them suppose that tranquil happiness cannot belong to man, will never trouble that which the United States enjoy; not because individuals in that country are free from human passions, but because the public councils are so formed that their decisions are always dictated by the general interest. A country which will be greater than Europe, and which is composed of many different states, enjoys a peace which promises to be perpetual and to accomplish the bright vision of a friend of humanity.

'Is it unreasonable to hope that this spirit of moderation will one day penetrate the councils of those monarchs whose states might form several kingdoms? Is it not possible that wise ministers may say to their masters, "Our eyes and our arms cannot extend twelve or fifteen hundred leagues; divide your empire, there will always be a place for you; the people will be more happy; you will be more tranquil; instead of being the terror of your neighbors, you will excite the admiration of the world and be its benefactor."'

'It has been for a long time held as a maxim, that elective magistracies of temporary duration are suited only to states of limited extent and small population. The experience of the United States has proved the incorrectness of this impression. If a bad selection happens to be made, the remedy is in reëlection, and the trial of half a century has proved that it is an efficient one. Thus the example of the United States presents itself, whenever the object is to prove that liberty is in every respect good and that it can

never be hurtful. It puts in despair all those, whom this liberty alarms, and who cannot at this day deny its benefits.

'Judges, senators, ministers are not, however, more wise, more skilful, in these states than in many others. They have weaknesses and prejudices, but they must necessarily have them to a less degree than those who are elevated to magistracies by chance, intrigue, or bribery. They have also an advantage not possessed by men elsewhere placed at the head of affairs. The laws and the publicity of their acts, submitted to the censure of every one, render it necessary for them to be always just, always impartial; not to give employments except to the most worthy, and never to sacrifice the good of the state to private passions or to the interests of individuals. A sincere integrity can alone insure the confidence of the public, ever ready to distinguish truth from falsehood. Knaves and hypocrites would be soon unmasked. Even though accident should have elevated to an important post a vicious individual, he would be obliged to govern in the same manner as one who was excellent by nature, or he would be unable to preserve his office.'

'The display of all these advantages is not a censure on the old governments, which, formed many centuries since upon other plans, can only be reformed gradually and after mature consideration. We have reason, indeed, to be astonished at the improvements which have been introduced into these last mentioned states, in spite of the many obstacles which they have to encounter. At the same time let us not hesitate to acknowledge, that if the Americans have profited by the lights and wisdom of Europe, she will receive in her turn similar benefits from America. Her example, and recent facts, have taught us that liberty does not diminish the vigor and energy necessary for execution. If it does not enervate republican governments, there is no reason to fear that it will become a principle of weakness in limited monarchies. Already, in spite of resistance from all quarters, laws are improved, and wise monarchs have acknowledged that the throne is firm only when it is established on the united interests of the prince and the people; that placed upon any other foundation, it is constantly liable to be shaken by internal commotions and by attacks from without.' pp. 47, 49, 52, 64.

The author concludes his observations on the constitution and government of the United States in the following words.

'The population increases in a degree which surpasses all conjectures. The citizens enjoy an entire liberty of conscience, and nowhere are families to be seen more sincerely religious. Political equality is perfect among them, but it does not exclude the

consideration and respect which are the usual attendants of personal merit and services.

'To what is this beautiful and advantageous condition of things to be attributed? To the goodness of the laws, and to the wisdom of the government.

'We have seen Bonaparte overturn and raise up thrones at his pleasure. If these sportings of his prodigious power had for their objects the degradation of royalty, he was thoroughly deceived. It is very true that he has irreparably destroyed that great mystery of power, which gave to monarchs a supernatural and almost divine existence. We now know that they are men like ourselves, but nothing has been capable of taking from them a proud prerogative,—a privilege, the loss of which would have carried with it their ruin. It is the obligation of being just, virtuous, and good under the penalty of being incapable of reigning; and it is thus that this maxim, so often false, has become true; "Kings can do no wrong."

'In writing this Discourse it has often occurred to me, that it might seem only to contain allegories imagined by timid moralists to soften the severity of their counsels. Such has not been my intention. How is it possible to assimilate the situation of America with that of Europe? How can we pretend to treat in the same manner a country, where vast and fertile territories will offer themselves for more than a thousand years to the industry and wants of man, and our Europe, where five families out of six are without property? I have desired, however, I say it frankly, I have desired, that it should be admitted that the differences are not great between the principles of monarchies and those of republics.

'The prince, whether called king, magistrate, or people, can henceforth reign only by the aid of respect for political liberty. There cannot be mischievous rulers in the United States, and it appears to me that there can no longer be mischievous kings in Europe. The love of the people for good kings is as naturally formed, as that of children for their parents. The citizens of a republic do not love their rulers in the same manner; but they have confidence in their wisdom, and are attached to the constitution, of which they every day experience the benefits. It depends now upon the princes who reign over the nations of Europe to unite all these enjoyments. They will then taste the highest happiness which can belong to man upon earth, that of rendering happy numerous generations.' pp. 98—100.

Before we come to the Louisiana Treaty, some preliminary remarks are necessary to lead the way to that subject. The cession by France of Louisiana to Spain in 1763, had been considered in all the mercantile cities of the former country,

as essentially impolitic and injurious to the interests of navigation in the French Antilles, and it was a general desire that a suitable opportunity should occur for recovering that colony. When Bonaparte took the lead of affairs, it was one of his first cares to renew a negotiation with Spain on this subject; for he had the wisdom to perceive, that the forced contributions which he imposed on Europe could never hold the place of the immense tribute, that would be voluntarily rendered to the industry and navigation of a commercial people. Besides, this youthful, and ambitious, and successful warrior had another purpose, which was to make himself preponderant in America. The possession of Louisiana was an essential preliminary. He had also at this early period yet another project, which he attempted to realize afterwards, namely, a league of all the maritime powers against the pretensions of England and her empire over the sea. 'France,' said he, 'will never endure that inert existence, that stationary tranquillity, with which Germany and Italy content themselves. The English reply with disdain to my offers of peace; they have protected, and even freed and armed, the rebel blacks of St Domingo. Be it so, I will make St Domingo one vast camp; I will have there an army always ready to carry war into their own colonies.' These visionary projects and warlike menaces were gradually abandoned, and Bonaparte himself seemed desirous of a general peace. The battle of Marengo and its fortunate consequences gave him an ascendancy, which he knew how to turn to his advantage; and the powers of Europe, weary with the disasters and sacrifices of war, were not reluctant to accord terms of peace favorable to France.

At this juncture the first consul commenced a negotiation at Madrid, in which he found it not difficult to convince the Prince of Peace, that Louisiana restored to France would become a barrier to Mexico and a guarantee for the tranquillity of the Gulf. It was never the design of Spain to profit by the navigation and agriculture of Louisiana. She had acquired this territory on the principle adopted by barbarous nations, that their frontiers are not safe except when protected by vast deserts and solitudes, which separate them from neighboring nations. It was thus, that one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of the world was to be consigned to the perpetual dominion of savages and wild beasts, to prevent the people of the United States from breaking into the equally desolate soli-

tudes of Mexico; and it is thus, that the Emperor of China at this day keeps off the wandering hordes of Siberia from his wandering hordes of Tartary, and no doubt values himself, as much as did the kings of Spain, upon his wisdom and policy in these measures of protection.

It seems, however, that the Prince of Peace, and the king his master, had less fear of republican Frenchmen than of republican Americans; for on the 1st of October, 1800, a treaty was concluded at St Ildephonso, by which 'his Catholic Majesty promised and engaged to retrocede Louisiana to the French republic,' six months after certain conditions should be complied with on the part of France. It was also made a condition by Spain, that in case France should be disposed at any future time to retrocede Louisiana, the preference should be given to Spain. It reflects not much credit on the faith of nations, that little respect was afterwards paid to either of these conditions.

War still existed between France and England, and it was of course the policy of Bonaparte to keep the treaty of St Ildephonso a secret. To this end it was necessary, that he should avoid taking possession of Louisiana, for a maritime peace was absolutely essential to enable France to hold that colony. With her naval superiority, England would have found it an easy acquisition. And in any case, had this treaty been known, it would have thrown fresh embarrassments in the way of a peace with England, which the first consul at that moment deemed important for his interest. The cabinet of St James at last listened to his proposals. The negotiation was commenced at London, and on the 27th of March, 1802, peace was finally concluded at Amiens.

There was no reason for longer concealing the treaty of St Ildephonso. Towards the close of the year it was known to Congress, and it was understood that France was about to take possession of Louisiana. This excited much alarm in the Western states, whose very existence depended on a free navigation of the Mississippi. Difficulties of a serious nature had recently occurred with the Spaniards, and the alarm of the people had raised apprehensions, from which even Congress was not free, that these French neighbors would be even less accommodating than their predecessors. By a treaty concluded between the United States and Spain on the 27th of October, 1795, the right of *entrepôt* at New Orleans had been

granted to the United States for three years. The term expired, but the Spanish intendant did not interrupt the exercise of the right, which continued by tacit consent. All at once, however, the intendant, Morales, conceived the notion, without any advice from the Spanish government, that such a privilege ought not to continue any longer without some equivalent, and on the 16th of October, 1802, he issued a proclamation declaring it to have ceased.

This act spread consternation among the inhabitants of the Western states. Complaints and petitions flowed in from every quarter to Congress. The news of the cession to France, coming at the same moment, redoubled the inquietude, for it was inferred that the intendant had acted in conformity to orders, and that France was to take possession of the colony in its present condition, and thus perpetuate the prohibitive system, which would lead to the ruin of the West. This plan was supposed to have been concerted between the governments of France and Spain, and it was believed that France was about to send an army to ensure its execution. The ferment became general; the strong motives of personal interest kindled and nourished the flame in the West; the spirit of party, ever busy in the work of discord and desolation, wafted it over the mountains and carried it swiftly to the middle and eastern states. The contagion entered the halls of Congress, and even in the senate chamber there was a loud talk of war, of rights encroached upon, dignity degraded, and strength to repel and restore. 'Let us not wait the arrival of the French,' cried an eminent senator; 'and since a solemn treaty has been violated, let us not hesitate to occupy the places, which ought to be ours. The people of the West are ready; and it would be an excess of simplicity to suppose that New Orleans will be spontaneously ceded to us, or even in virtue of a treaty with the first consul.' Such was the state of excitement, which, for the moment, had grown out of the hasty act of the Spanish intendant at New Orleans; but of which, it afterwards appeared, neither the Spanish nor French government had any knowledge.

There were yet other causes, of a deeper nature, which tended to keep alive the irritation. During the mad career of the Directory, in their attempt to govern what was strangely miscalled the French Republic, depredations had been committed on our commerce, and insults offered to our flag.

Commissioners were sent out to procure reconciliation and redress, but without avail. The preparations in the United States for a French war, and the state of public feeling at the time, are well known. The consular government began upon different principles, and showed a disposition to reconcile the difficulties between the two nations. A convention was accordingly signed on the 30th of September, 1800, in which it was stipulated, that a full indemnity should be paid for all prizes that had unjustly been made of our vessels. A minister had been sent out, under the expectation of a prompt compliance with the conditions of the convention. He was at first flattered with hopes of success, and wrote back accordingly to the government. His hopes were not realized; to his demands he received only neglect or vague replies, as disrespectful to the dignity of the minister, as they were dishonorable and unjust in the French cabinet. Naturally dissatisfied with such a glaring breach of good faith and equity, the American government thought it time to rouse from their moderation, and speak in a tone better suited to the exigency of the case. 'The American minister at Paris,' says the Marquis de Marbois, 'had received orders to make known this dissatisfaction, and his communications were drawn up with a firmness to which Bonaparte was not accustomed. If any of the continental powers of Europe had dared to express themselves in the same manner, an invasion of their territory would have been the consequence. The Congress, separated by the Atlantic ocean, might show itself without danger in a menacing attitude, for the first consul took good care not to give evidence of a resentment, which would only have manifested his weakness.' Yet Mr Livingston's letters remained unanswered; our merchants, who had lost their property, became impatient, and murmured against the government. Mr Livingston suggested the cession of New Orleans; he also proposed, that France should cede to the United States the vast regions to the north of the Arkansas river and the right bank of the Mississippi. All these overtures were equally neglected, and in his official and private correspondence with the government and his friends at home, he gave it as his opinion, that New Orleans could not be obtained except by force of arms. The tenor of this correspondence, as well as the recent events in Louisiana, no doubt contributed to fix the resolution of the war party in Congress.

Mr Jefferson had formed an opinion on this subject different from that of the advocates of war, or even of the American minister in Paris. He resolved to make another effort towards a negotiation, and to send Mr Monroe on a special mission for that purpose. 'The first consul,' says the author, 'informed of the contents of Mr Monroe's public instructions, believed also that the president had entrusted it to the prudence of the plenipotentiary to enter into more extensive stipulations relative to the projected acquisition. The possibility of a war between France and England had suggested to Mr Jefferson the measures which he had taken, and it was at the distance of two thousand leagues from Europe, that this statesman foresaw the rupture.'

A war was in fact on the eve of breaking out between the two rival powers. In England the treaty of Amiens had never been cordially received by all parties. Suspicions, and jealousies, and ill blood still existed. The ministry were divided, and the sincerity of the leaders in concluding the peace of Amiens had been doubted. On the other hand,

'It has been pretended that the first consul placed at first little value in its continuance, and only regarded the peace as a truce. He pursued without relaxation his designs in Upper Italy, and united to France under equivocal denominations those countries so long contested between it and Austria. When these changes and those which he was effecting in Holland and Switzerland had given him a great preponderance in the affairs of Europe, he felt that in order to strengthen this new order of things, and to exercise this vast supremacy, he had need in his turn of preserving peace. But he wished it on condition of being in some sort the universal dictator; and he was so much the more removed from every concession, that the revocation of one of the acts of his power would have been followed by demands on the part of his rivals for the revocation of all the others.

'Like all conquerors, this great captain had placed his happiness and his glory in transporting from one country to another a warlike youth, in putting masses of population in movement, in astonishing the world by the rapidity and success with which he executed the most extensive and most complicated designs. But there was then reason to believe, that these convulsions of empires had less attractions for him; he spoke of them with a sort of disdain, and seemed to carry the prodigious activity of his genius into works which in peace embellish society, and give to nations tranquil enjoyments.

'To give to France better civil laws, to meditate in advance

the reform of codes, to reëstablish order in the finances, to reanimate commerce and industry,—such were the objects to which, assisted by skilful counsellors, he consecrated his time, constantly prolonging his labors to midnight. If with these generous sentiments he had thought that liberty under good laws was the most noble present which he could make to men, the age in which we live would be called by his name. Diverted for a period, which was indeed of short continuance, from the designs of a continental war, he did not conceive that his republic could be flourishing without a commercial marine, sustained and protected by great naval forces. He often repeated the following maxims; "Without the freedom of the seas there is no happiness for the world. But, in order to obtain this liberty, it is necessary that the continental powers should impress the English with serious fears for their commerce. Instead of opposing to their maritime force inefficient fleets, instead of constructing vessels of war, which sooner or later increase the English navy, we must, on the first appearance of hostilities, arm privateers, which, from all the ports of the continent of Europe, will go in pursuit of merchant ships, and will be protected by their number, and even by their dispersion. The English cannot have recourse to reprisals, for they have taken possession of almost every branch of commerce. If they leave us some colonies, it is in order to exhaust us in vain expenses for their preservation, and to render us, in spite of ourselves, disposed to peace, through fear of losing them. Finally," added he, "the liberty of the seas must be odious to the English, because it would reduce them to their natural share in the general prosperity."' pp. 268—270.

It is not to our purpose here to narrate the causes or progress of the new dissention between France and England. It is enough that it happened just at this juncture, and paved the way for the treaty which immediately followed, ceding Louisiana to the United States. M. de Marbois says, that the first consul, although resolved not to yield any point, regretted in the first stages of the contest, that he could not escape with honor from the embarrassment. But as soon as he found war inevitable, 'he pretended, according to his custom, that this rupture was a gift of fortune, and that had it arrived two or three years later, the vigor of his armies would have been exhausted by repose.' The following anecdote is curious and characteristic.

'Bonaparte did not subject himself, like other princes, little initiated in the mysteries of their own policy, to treat with ambassadors and envoys through the medium of a minister. He con-

versed with them *tête-à-tête*, or even publicly, and often employed with too little reserve, the advantage which he possessed of speaking in the name of a powerful nation. Some days had elapsed since the date of the two messages of the king of England. The respective ambassadors of the two countries were not, on that account, less assiduous in going to audiences and formal receptions. At Paris these assemblies were held at the Tuileries; they were numerously attended, and the foreign ministers mixed in the crowd of courtiers. One evening the first consul was seen to enter, surrounded by his usual retinue; he appeared anxious and musing. He shortened the circuit which he was in the habit of making in the saloon, and approaching the ambassador of England, said to him in a loud voice, "You are then determined on war?" "No," replied Lord Whitworth; "we know too well the advantages of peace." To these measured words, the first consul, without being restrained by the presence of many attentive and inquiring personages, replied with vehemence, "We have been waging war during fifteen years; the storm thickens at London, and appears to threaten us. Against whom do you take precautions? For what are your armaments? Is it that another war of fifteen years is desirable? I do not arm. My good faith is manifest. Full of confidence in a treaty, the ink of which is not yet dry, I have not listened to any malevolent rumor, and have banished that uneasiness which would render peace as detestable as war. I have not a single ship of the line armed in my ports. I have shown no hostile dispositions. The contrary supposition is an egregious imposition. I am taken unawares, and I glory in it. If the English are the first to draw the sword, I will be the last to sheathe it. If we must veil with black crape solemn treaties, if those who have signed the peace desire war, they must answer for it before God and man."

'It was by these haughty menaces, rather than by good reasoning, it was by this rough and unmethodical eloquence, that Napoleon intended to establish his claims, or cause that to be apprehended which he had not yet entirely resolved on.' p. 276.

To this anecdote may be joined another of a similar description. They are both the more interesting, as it may be presumed that M. de Marbois, being one of the ministers, was present and heard what he relates. He has just been speaking of the causes of the approaching war, and the general points of difference between the contending powers, and adds,

'These great topics were discussed at the Tuileries, at one of those private conferences, in which the first consul, carried away by the abundance of his ideas, exposed with energy the wrongs

done by his adversaries, without allowing that he had committed any himself.

'"The principles of a maritime supremacy," said he to his counsellors, "are subversive of one of the noblest rights which nature, science, and genius have insured to man; it is the right of traversing the seas of the whole world with as much liberty as the bird who cuts the air; of participating in the use of the waves, winds, climates, and productions of the globe; of bringing together, by a bold navigation, nations separated since the creation; of carrying civilization into countries that are a prey to ignorance and barbarism. See what England wishes to usurp over all other nations."

'One of the ministers present could speak to him freely. He said, "Have not the English as many motives to fear a continental supremacy, and to be alarmed at your great influence over all Europe?" He appeared to reflect, but instead of replying to so direct an observation, he consulted the extracts which he caused to be made of the debates in the English House of Commons; he there read a passage with which he appeared very much irritated. It was from the speech of one of the most distinguished members of parliament. "France," said this speaker, "obliges us to remember the injury which she did us twenty-five years ago, in allying herself with our revolted colonies. Jealous of our commerce, our navigation, our opulence, she wishes to annihilate them. The undertakings of the first consul at the termination of a peace too easily made, oblige us to appeal anew to arms. The enemy appropriates to himself, by a dash of the pen, territories more extensive than all the conquests of France during several centuries. He hastens his preparations. Let us not wait till he attacks us; let us attack first." "Now," resumed the first consul, "propose your theories and your abstract propositions, and see if they can resist the undertakings of these usurpers of the dominion of the sea. Leave commerce and navigation in the exclusive possession of one people, and the globe will be subjected by its arms, or by that gold which occupies the place of armies." He afterwards added these words, in which are found the first sign of his policy respecting the United States, and which a sort of inaccuracy renders still more energetic. "To free nations from the commercial tyranny of England, it is necessary to counterbalance it by a maritime power which may one day become its rival; this is the United States. The English aspire to dispose of all the riches of the world. I shall be useful to the entire universe, if I can prevent their ruling America, as they rule Asia." pp. 280—282.

As soon as Bonaparte became convinced that war was inevitable, he turned his thoughts towards the colonies. On

the continent he confided in his own strength for success; but his navy was in no condition to compete with that of England, and the colonies could only be defended by a naval force. From that moment he hastened to change his policy relative to Louisiana and the United States On the 24th of March, 1803, we find Talleyrand, after a long silence, writing to Mr Livingston in a tone strangely altered from anything which this minister had before been so fortunate as to receive from an official source. Talleyrand is surprised that the pacific dispositions of the French republic towards the United States should have been suspected, and assures him that the affection of France for her old friends is unaltered. He alludes to the expected arrival of Mr Monroe, and says he will be received with great pleasure by the first consul, who hopes his mission will terminate to the mutual satisfaction of both nations. It was evident that Louisiana must be lost to France. The object of Bonaparte was to turn it to his own advantage, and prevent its falling into the hands of England. The following description of an interview between him and two of his ministers, explains the subject so fully, and is written in so graphic and interesting a manner, that our readers will be pleased with perusing it in detail. One of these ministers was M. de Marbois himself; the other had likewise been in America, and was well acquainted with the affairs of the colonies.

'On the 10th of April, 1803, Easter Sunday, after having given his time to the solemnity of the day, and to the demands of ceremony, he called those two counsellors, and speaking to them with that vehemence and passion with which he was especially carried away in political affairs, said, "I know the whole value of Louisiana, and I have wished to repair the fault of the French negotiator who abandoned it in 1763. Some lines of a treaty have restored it to me, and I have scarcely recovered it, when I must expect to lose it. But if it slips from me, it will one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to deprive myself of it, than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successively taken from France, Canada, Isle Royal, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, the richest parts of Asia. They are at work to agitate St Domingo. They shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. Louisiana is nothing in comparison with their acquisitions throughout the globe; and yet the jealousy which the return of this colony under the French dominion causes them, proves to me that they desire to get possession of it, and that it is thus that they will commence the war. They have twenty vessels in the Gulf of Mexico,

they overrun those seas as sovereigns, whilst our affairs in St Domingo grow worse every day since the death of Le Clerc. The conquest of Louisiana would be easy, if they only took the trouble of making a descent there. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. I do not know whether they are not already there. It is according to their practice, and were I in their place, I would not have waited. I wish, if there is yet time for it, to take from them even the idea of ever possessing the colony. I think of ceding it to the United States. I can scarcely say that I cede it to them, for it is not yet in our possession. If I leave ever so little time to our enemies, I shall only transmit an empty title to these republicans, whose friendship I seek. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana; but I already consider the colony as entirely lost, and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing republic, it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France, than if I attempt to retain it. Tell me each of you his opinion."'

M. de Marbois was the first who replied, and he reports his answer in the following terms.

'"We cannot hesitate to make the sacrifice of that which is about to escape from us. The war against England is inevitable. How can we defend Louisiana against that power with a naval force so inferior? The United States, justly dissatisfied with our proceedings, will not offer us a single harbor, not even an asylum, in case of a reverse. They are, it is true, on the eve of a reconciliation with us; but they have a difference with the Spanish government, and they menace New Orleans, of which we shall not have even a momentary possession. At the time of the discovery of Louisiana, she had neighbors as feeble as herself; but they are now powerful, and she is yet in her infancy. The country is hardly inhabited; you have not there fifty soldiers. Where are your means for sending garrisons thither? Can we restore the ruined fortifications, and construct a chain of forts along a frontier of four hundred leagues? If England shall allow you to attempt these things, it is because they drain your resources, and she will, with a secret joy, see you exhaust yourself in vain efforts, which will be profitable only to her. You will send out a squadron; but while it is crossing the seas, the colony will succumb, and the squadron will be in peril on its return. On the north, Louisiana is open to the English by the great lakes, and on the south, if they only appear at the mouths of the river, New Orleans will immediately fall into their hands. Of what consequence is it to the inhabitants to what power they are subject, if their country is never to cease to be a colony? This conquest will be yet more easy to the Americans; they will

reach the Mississippi by many navigable rivers, and to be masters of the country it will be only necessary for them to enter it. One of these two neighbors increases every day in population and industry; and the other has maritime means sufficient to make any invasion by which her commerce may be increased. The colony has existed for a century, and in spite of efforts and sacrifices of every description, the recent examinations attest its feebleness. If it receives a new increase and importance after it becomes a French colony, it will contain, even in its prosperity, a germ of independence, which will not be tardy in developing itself. The more it flourishes, the less chance shall we have of preserving it. Nothing is more uncertain than the future lot of the European colonies in America. The exclusive right which the mother countries exercise over these distant establishments, is becoming from day to day more precarious. The people feel humbled in being dependent on a small country in Europe, and will free themselves the moment they are aware of their strength.

"The French have attempted to establish colonies in different parts of the American continent. Every where their attempts have been abortive. The English are patient, laborious; they do not fear the solitude and silence of countries newly settled. The Frenchman, spirited, active, seeks society; he loves to associate with his neighbors. He makes voluntary efforts, but on the first disappointment he quits the spade and axe for the chase." Here the first consul, interrupting the discourse, asked how it happened, that the French, incapable of succeeding in continental colonies, had always made progress in the Antilles, "It is," replied the minister, "because the slaves do all the labor. The whites, soon exhausted by the climate and heat, have sufficient vigor of head and body to direct them." "I am again undecided," said the first consul, "touching the maintenance or abolition of slavery. By whom is the land cultivated in Louisiana." "Slavery," replied the minister, "has peopled Louisiana with half of its inhabitants. An inexcusable imprudence has been committed in suddenly granting to the slaves of St Domingo a liberty for which they were not prepared. The blacks and whites have been the victims of this great fault. But without examining, at present, in what manner this evil can be repaired, let us recollect, that the colonies where slavery exists are rather chargeable than useful to France. In the mean time, nevertheless, let us take care not to abandon them; they have not the means of governing themselves. The creoles are French, they have been encouraged in those modes of culture, and in that system, which at this day operates to their injury. Let us save them from new calamities. It is for us to provide for their defence, the administration of justice, and the cares of government. But to what good

end would you involve yourself in greater embarrassments in regard to Louisiana? You would make the colonial laws incessantly at war with those of the mother country. Of all the evils which afflict the human species, slavery is the most detestable; but humanity itself exacts great precautions in the application of a remedy, and you cannot apply it if Louisiana is restored to France. The governments still partially resist emancipation; they tolerate in secret what they condemn ostensibly, and they are themselves embarrassed with the false position in which they are placed. The general sentiment is favorable to emancipation; it is in vain for the colonists and planters to oppose a movement which public opinion approves. The occupation of Louisiana, peopled with slaves, will cause us greater expense, than it will afford profit.

"But there is another kind of servitude, of which that colony has lost the usage, which is that of a monopoly. Do you hope to reëstablish this in a country bordering on another, where commerce enjoys the greatest liberty? The reign of prohibitive laws is at an end, when a numerous population has resolved to shake off their yoke. Besides, the products so long exclusively possessed by some commercial nations, have ceased to be privileges. The sugar cane and coffee tree are now everywhere cultivated at a small expense. Every people expects to cultivate on its own account the articles peculiar to its territories and climate. There are on the globe, between the tropics, regions a thousand times more extensive than our isles, and susceptible of the same culture. A monopoly is impossible when the products are so multiplied, and the Louisianians will never suffer their commerce to be trammelled. Would you, with arms in hand, subdue resistance? The malecontents will find support in the neighborhood, and you will render France an enemy to the United States, with whom reciprocal interests ought to unite us for centuries. Confide not in the attachment of the Louisianians to your person. They render homage to your renown, and to your exploits, but the love of a people is for those princes only whom they regard as the authors of their felicity; and whatever may be your solicitude, this felicity will be for a long time, and perhaps for ever, sterile. The colonists have lost the remembrance of France; they are a mixture of three or four nations, and hardly regard Louisiana as their country. Laws varying continually, chiefs who know not those whom they govern, and who are not known by them; perpetual changes made according to the interests of the mother country, or the inexperience of ministers; the constant danger of becoming a party in quarrels to which they are really strangers,—these are the causes which, for a hundred years, have extinguished in their hearts every sentiment of affection towards their masters, residing

two thousand leagues from them, and who barter or transfer them as a commodity of traffic. For the existence of a country and citizens, it is necessary that the sentiment of well-being should be joined to the certainty of its continuance. The Louisianians, in learning that they are united to France, will say, *This change will be of no longer duration than the others.* Citizen consul, having by one of the first acts of your government made your intention to give this country to France sufficiently manifest, should you now cease to keep it, there is no person who will not be satisfied that you have yielded to necessity; and shortly our merchants will discover that Louisiana, thus freed, offers them a better chance of profits, than Louisiana subjected to a monopoly. Commercial establishments are preferable at this day, to colonies, and even in default of these, it is best to let commerce take care of itself."' pp. 287—293.

It was next the other minister's turn to express his views of the subject, which proved to be entirely opposite to those just advanced.

'"We are as yet at peace with England," said he; "a colony has just been ceded to us; it depends on the first consul to preserve it. Wisdom will not counsel him to abandon, through fear of a doubtful danger, the most important establishment which we can form beyond the limits of France, and to despoil ourselves of it without any other cause than the possibility of a war. It would be better that it should be taken from us by force of arms. If peace is maintained, the cession can never be justified, and this premature act of an ill founded inquietude will be the subject of the most lively regret. On the contrary the preservation of it will be to our commerce and navigation of inestimable value, and in our maritime provinces a subject of universal joy. The advantages which we have derived from the colonies are present to all minds. Ten flourishing cities have been created by this commerce; the navigation, the commerce, the luxury which embellish Paris, are the effects of colonial industry. There can be no marine without colonies; no colonies without a powerful marine. The political system of Europe preserves itself only by the resistance skilfully combined of many against one. This resistance is necessary as well by sea as by land, if we would not submit to the tyranny of a universal domination of commerce, and the loss of the immense advantages of a free navigation. You will not admit, you will not acknowledge, that England is sovereign mistress of the seas, that she is there invulnerable, and that no one can possess colonies except by her good pleasure. It is not for you to fear the kings of England. If they seize Louisiana, as some pretend to fear, Hanover will be immediately in your hands as the

price of a restitution. France, deprived of her marine and her colonies, is despoiled of half her splendor and a great part of her force. Louisiana will indemnify us for all our losses. There exists not on the globe a single port, a single city, susceptible of becoming so important as that of New Orleans; and already its vicinity to the United States has made it one of the most commercial in the world. The Mississippi brings to its doors the contributions of twenty other rivers, many of which surpass in grandeur the most beautiful streams in Europe. The country is known, the principal discoveries have been made, and expense has not been spared. Spain has paid a large amount of it. Forts exist, the soil is fertile and suited to rich productions, which it already yields abundantly. Other parts require only cultivation; and this colony, open to the activity of the French, will soon remunerate them for the loss of India.

'"The climate is the same as that of Hindostan, and the distance is not more than a quarter as great. The navigation to the Indies in doubling the Cape of Good Hope has changed the direction of the commerce of Europe, and ruined Venice and Genoa. What will it be when a canal shall one day be cut across the Isthmus of Panamá, and connect the two oceans? The revolution in navigation will then be more extraordinary, and the circumnavigation of the globe will be more easy than the long voyages which are now made going and returning. Louisiana will be in the middle of this new route; and it will be acknowledged that its possession is of immense importance.

'"The country which pertains to us is without limits, and the savages have only an imaginary right to it. They wander over the vast deserts with their bow in hand in pursuit of wild beasts. But the social state requires possession, and these strolling huntsmen are not proprietors. The savage has a right only to subsistence, and this we can provide for him at a small expense.

'"All the productions of the Antilles are suited to Louisiana. This variety of products has already introduced large capitalists into countries for a long time deserted and desolate. If we are obliged to renounce St Domingo, let us retain Louisiana in its place. Consider also the evils which will follow, if this country becomes our rival in productions, of which we have for so long a time enjoyed the privilege. Attempts have been made to introduce the vine, the olive, and the mulberry tree; and these attempts, which Spain has not been able to prevent, have but too well succeeded. If the colony becomes free, it will be necessary for Provence, and our vineyards, to be prepared for the rivalship of a country new and without limits. If, on the contrary, it is subjected to our laws, every branch of agriculture injurious to our interests will be prohibited.

' " It is necessary, even for the advantage of Europe, that France should be rich. As long as she has divided with England the commerce of America and Asia, the princes, the cabinets, which have consented to be subsidized, have profited by the enhanced prices which one has imposed upon the other. What a difference to all, if this competition should cease to exist, and if England alone should regulate this tariff of friendship between princes.

' " In fine, France, after her long agitations, has need of such a colony for her internal pacification; it will be to our country what a century ago were to England the plantations, which the emigrants from the three kingdoms raised to so high a degree of prosperity; it will relieve us of a part of the evils caused by the revolution; it will be an asylum for our political and religious dissidents; a supreme conciliator of all the parties into which we are divided, you will there find the remedies, for which you search with so much solicitude." ' pp. 293—297.

The deliberation lasted till late at night, and Bonaparte dismissed the ministers without making known his intentions. They passed the night at St Cloud, and very early in the morning the first consul sent for M. de Marbois, whom he requested to read the despatches just arrived from London. The ambassador had written, that an extraordinary activity prevailed in making preparations for war both by land and sea.

' " The English," said Napoleon, " demand of me Lampadosa, which I do not possess, and in the mean time they would hold Malta for ten years. This isle, in which military skill has exhausted all its resources in bringing the places of defence to such a degree of perfection as no one could conceive without having seen them, would be for the English another Gibraltar. To leave them there would be to give up to them the commerce of the Levant, and to take it from my southern provinces. They would keep this possession, and have me immediately evacuate Holland.

' " But we have no time now for uncertainties and deliberations. I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede, it is the whole colony without reserve. I know the price of what I abandon, and I have given sufficient proof of the manner in which I esteem this province, since the object of my first diplomatic act with Spain was its recovery. I renounce it therefore with the greatest dissatisfaction. To be obstinate in attempting its preservation would be folly. I charge you to negotiate this affair with the envoys of Congress. Wait not even for the arrival of Mr Monroe. Open the subject this day to Mr Livingston; but I have need of much money for this war, and I would not commence it by new contributions. It is a hundred years since France and Spain have been expending means for the me-

lioration of Louisiana, and commerce has never indemnified them. Sums have been lent to companies and agriculturists, which have never again been returned to the treasury. The price of all these things is justly due to us. If I were to regulate my conditions by the value of these vast territories to the United States, the indemnity would be without bounds. I will be moderate, by reason of the necessity I am under to make the sale. But observe well,—I will have fifty millions, and for less than that sum I will not treat; I would rather make some desperate effort to preserve those beautiful countries. To-morrow you shall have your full powers." Here the new plenipotentiary made some observations of a general nature respecting the cession of the rights of sovereignty and the abandonment of what the Germans call *les Ames*, as whether these should be an object of contract of sale or of exchange. He received for answer,—"Be sure that you maintain in all its perfection the ideology of the right of nature and of nations; but I must have money to carry on a war against a nation who has the most of it. Send your doctrine to London; I am certain it would there be a subject of great admiration; and yet it seems not to be there much regarded, when the question is agitated of seizing the most beautiful countries in Asia.

'"Perhaps also it will be objected, that the Americans will become too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace these distant fears. Besides, one may expect hereafter rivalries in the bosom of the union itself. The confederations, which are called perpetual, will endure no longer than till the contracting parties shall find their account in breaking them; and it is against the present dangers, to which we are exposed by the collossal power of England, that I would provide a remedy. Mr Monroe is on the point of arriving. To this minister, coming two thousand leagues from his constituents, the president must have given, after having defined the object of his mission, secret instructions more extensive than the ostensible ones of Congress for the stipulated payments. Neither this minister, nor his colleague, will expect a resolution, which surpasses infinitely what they are about to demand of us. Begin with them, and come directly to the point of the negotiation. Inform me from day to day, from hour to hour, of the progress you make. The cabinet of London are acquainted with the resolutions at Washington, but they can have no suspicions of that which I am taking. Keep it a profound secret, and recommend the same to the American ministers. Their interest in it is not less than ours. Correspond with M. de Talleyrand, who alone knows my intentions. If I were to follow his advice, France would limit her ambition to the left bank of the Rhine, and would make war only to protect the feeble, and prevent being dismembered. But he ac-

knowledges also, that the cession of Louisiana is not a dismemberment of France. Be careful to inform me of the progress of this affair." ' pp. 298—301.

The French commissioner made no delay in commencing the negotiation with Mr Livingston, but that minister had not the necessary powers for treating in the manner proposed. He had been two years in Paris; his attempts to gain the object of his mission had been unsuccessful; he had been turned off with vague replies, and deceived with false hopes. It was not surprising, therefore, that he should have little confidence at this time in the advances of the French cabinet. Talleyrand's letter, and the overture made by Marbois, he considered as equally an artifice to gain time and tranquillize the excited feeling, which began to show itself with so much warmth in the United States. He accordingly avoided coming to any decided points on the subject, till Mr Monroe's arrival, and even then he relied so little on the sincerity of the French councils, that, in a letter to Mr Monroe at Havre he expressed his opinion, that the best means of ensuring success would be the certainty of the United States' having already taken possession of New Orleans. When Mr Monroe arrived in Paris, Mr Livingston said to him, 'I could wish the proposition made by Mr Ross to the Senate had been adopted; I am almost certain we shall never obtain New Orleans by negotiation. We must employ force. Let us first take possession, and negotiate afterwards.' But Mr Monroe, since he had not the same prepossessions to combat, nor the same reasons for distrust, found it less difficult to convince himself that the French commissioner was in earnest. A mutual confidence was immediately established; no other preliminaries were necessary, and the negotiation was entered upon without delay.

The American plenipotentiaries felt themselves under much embarrassment. They had not been authorized to treat for anything more than New Orleans, and that portion of Louisiana situate on the east side of the Mississippi. For this cession it was proposed to offer two millions of dollars. The project of procuring the entire colony seems never to have been contemplated, or even thought of. At least there was no provision to this effect in the instructions to the plenipotentiaries. Hostilities were on the point of breaking out between France and England; the treaty, if made at all, must be closed before that event; no time could be allowed to apply to

the American government for more ample instructions, and there was an absolute necessity for the plenipotentiaries to act with such powers as they possessed, or forego the opportunity of making a negotiation of immense importance to the United States, and which, considering the state of France at that moment, could certainly never again be commenced under circumstances so favorable. These considerations brought the plenipotentiaries to a speedy decision to treat for Louisiana in its fullest extent, and submit the result of their proceedings for the approbation of Congress and the nation.

The negotiation divided itself into three parts, namely, the cession, the price to be paid for it, and the indemnity for the claims of the citizens of the United States against France. These three objects were considered separately, and it was agreed, that a distinct treaty should be made for each.

The particulars of the cession were first discussed. Each party drew up a project as the basis of a treaty for this purpose, but that of the French negotiator was adopted as the text by which the conferences were to proceed. The chief difficulties of this part of the negotiation were in fixing the limits. Maps were examined, charters perused, ancient treaties consulted, but all these only served to increase the despair of the negotiators, and to convince them that they were searching for a thing that had never existed. No one could tell, or even conjecture, where were the western boundaries of Louisiana; and for a very good reason,—they had never been defined. Those regions were as little known as the centre of Africa. The negotiators had the wisdom, therefore, to abandon a search, which only led them more and more into the dark. To solve the difficulty in the shortest way, the American plenipotentiaries proposed to insert the third article of the treaty of St Ildephonso, by which Spain agreed to cede to France the province of Louisiana such as it was in the hands of Spain at the date of the treaty. This was leaving the utmost latitude of construction, and opening the door to a tangled discussion between the United States and Spain, which, in due time, this latter power took care to revive. It was nevertheless obvious that no better plan could be devised by the plenipotentiaries. Upon this clause M. de Marbois observes; 'ambiguous terms should never be introduced into treaties, yet in the present instance the American plenipotentiaries made no objection; and if, in appearing to resign themselves to general expressions

through necessity, they considered this in effect preferable to more precise stipulations, it must be confessed the event justified their foresight. The shores of the Western ocean were certainly never meant to be comprised in the cession, yet the United States are already established there.' The point of this sentence is not perhaps strictly correct to the full extent in which the author would have it understood. It must be remembered, that the United States had claims growing out of the right of discovery at the mouth of the Columbia river, and that their possession of the territory in that quarter was not in consequence solely of the cession of Louisiana. When this obscurity in the article on the limits, and the inconveniences that might arise from it, were mentioned to the first consul, he replied, 'If there were no obscurity, it might perhaps be good policy to put it there.' M. de Marbois doubts the wisdom of this maxim, and adds, that although circumstances may sometimes render such a case necessary, yet sound policy disavows all obscure stipulations.

The third article of the treaty was drawn up by Bonaparte himself. It stipulates, that, 'the inhabitants of the ceded territories shall be incorporated into the union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of the citizens of the United States; and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the enjoyment of their liberty and property, and in the exercise of the religion which they profess.' This cession was to produce a most important change in the constitution and laws of Louisiana, and in the condition of the people; and it was considered a duty, it seems, on the part of the French government, to make the best provision possible for the security of the rights and privileges of the inhabitants, whose destiny was thus decided by the single act of a power on another continent. In alluding to the above article, M. de Marbois says, 'The first consul, left to his natural dispositions, was always inclined to the side of an elevated justice and generosity. He himself prepared the article in question. The words which he used on that occasion were entered on the journal of the negotiation, and they deserve to be perpetuated. 'Let the Louisianians know,' said he, 'that we separate ourselves from them with regret, that we stipulate in their favor everything which they can desire; and hereafter, happy in

their independence, may they remember that they have been Frenchmen, and that France, in ceding them away, has secured to them advantages, which they never could have obtained under a metropolitan government in Europe, however paternal it might have been. Let them preserve for us, therefore, sentiments of affection; and may their common origin, relationship, language, and manners perpetuate the ties of friendship.'

The other articles of the treaty of cession were in their order discussed and adopted.

The negotiations came next to the second treaty, which relates to the amount of money to be paid by the United States. Bonaparte, as we have seen, fixed this sum at fifty millions of francs, but the negotiator deemed this amount much too small. Without consulting further with the first consul on this subject, M. de Marbois first spoke of a hundred and twenty millions as the probable value of the ceded territory, but the definite sum, which he proposed, was eighty millions. 'Our citizens,' observed Mr Livingston, 'have an extreme aversion to public debts, and how can we, without incurring disgrace, charge them with the enormous contribution of fifteen millions of dollars?' This was not, perhaps, a very easy point to settle by any of the common modes of valuing property. The sovereignty of a people, the works and fortifications heretofore built at the public charge, and the right to a territory undefined, but of almost immeasurable extent, were to be exchanged for a specified quantity of gold or silver. How to measure this quantity with much approach to exactitude, might well have puzzled the science of more adroit and practised financiers than our negotiators may be supposed to have been. The American plenipotentiaries at last agreed to the eighty millions, reserving the condition that twenty millions of this amount should be appropriated in payment of the claims held by the citizens of the United States against France.

M. de Marbois supposes, that the American ministers fixed upon this round sum of twenty millions with the expectation, that a reduction in the amount would be demanded. But no discussion of this nature took place. It was immediately conceded, that twenty millions should be deducted as an indemnity for such captures as should be proved to be real. 'The intention to extinguish all past claims,' says he, 'was sincere on both parts. The gross sum of twenty millions

was evidently an estimate formed on reasonable conjectures, and could not be an absolute result established on accurate knowledge. But the American plenipotentiaries agreed in opinion, that if there was any difference, it rather exceeded than fell short of the exact amount; and the French negotiator gave an assurance, that, in case of an excess, no part of it should be reclaimed by France.' This important part of the negotiation was thus amicably settled.

The third treaty, defining the mode of payment, was attended with some difficulties, and was unfortunately not very successful in its execution, by not having provided for a *pro ratâ* division of the money among the claimants, according to the principle afterwards followed in liquidating the Spanish claims.

'The first consul,' says M. de Marbois, 'had followed with a lively interest the progress of the negotiation. It will be recollected, that he had announced fifty millions as the sum for which he would make the cession, and it is believed he did not expect a larger amount. He learnt that eighty millions had been agreed to, but that it had been reduced to sixty, by the amount withdrawn to extinguish the debt of France to the Americans. Forgetting, or feigning to forget, the sum he had mentioned, he replied with vivacity to the French minister; "I would have these twenty millions rendered to the treasury. Who has authorized you to dispose of the effects of the state? The rights of the claimants should be second to our own." This first excitement was calmed, when he was reminded of his previous consent to treat for a sum much less, and that the treasury would receive one much larger, without comprehending the twenty millions of indemnity for captures. "It is true," he rejoined, "the negotiation has left me nothing to desire. Sixty millions for an occupation, which will endure perhaps only for a day! I would have France enjoy this unexpected capital, and profit by it in her marine." At that moment he dictated a decree for the execution of five canals, the projects of which had occupied him for some time. But other cares caused him in a few days to forget this decree. The following words indicate the thoughts of the first consul at that time. "This cession of territory," said he, "confirms for ever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will humble her pride."'

'The acquisition of Louisiana,' adds M. de Marbois, 'that of the Floridas, and the extinction of certain grants and original titles, have cost the United States about a hundred and sixty millions of francs. The territories acquired contain three hun-

dred millions of acres. About eighteen millions only have been sold. That which remains unsold will, in less than a century, be worth many thousand millions to the United States. The value of these lands when in the possession of individuals is not to be calculated.

'The cession of Louisiana was followed by judicious and enterprising explorations. Expeditions were fitted out by Congress, and others were undertaken by private travellers and merchants. They arrived at the shores of the West, across a country till that day unknown to civilized people. They found hospitable and pacific nations, and they met with no obstacles except those of nature. These regions are more extensive, than the previous territory of the whole of the United States. There is space for numerous republics, and ages will pass before population and civilization will there arrive at their full developement. It would be idle to examine what form of government will be adopted by these societies; what ties will unite them, either among themselves, or with a metropolis. It is enough to foresee, that they will be formed on the model of the United States, that they will be certainly happy, and that the new world will see, what the old has never seen, societies founded for the advantage of all the members, and not for that of the founders alone, either to augment their riches, increase their power, or feed them with vain glory. Even should they detach themselves from the confederation, they will remain united by the preserving laws of peace, and by all that assures public felicity.' pp. 316, 334.

In the fourth and last part of his work, M. de Marbois continues the history of the chief events in Louisiana down to the close of the late war, with remarks on the changes in its form of government, and its political and civil condition. He also mentions the fact, which we believe has never before been published, that, after Mr Monroe's mission was known in England, the British ministry proposed to Mr King, the American minister then in London, to join with the United States in taking possession of Louisiana. Mr King's letter to the American plenipotentiaries in Paris, informing them of this overture, arrived a short time after the signing of the treaty. It was proposed on the part of England to cede Louisiana to the United States, after it should be taken, but there seems to have been no hint as to the terms of the cession.

From the long extracts with which we have indulged our readers, they will be able to form an idea of the character and spirit of M. de Marbois' performance. The outline which we have drawn, however, does very scanty justice to the merits of

the whole work, which, we repeat, is, in our judgment, the best that has recently appeared, either at home or abroad, on some of the most important topics of American history and politics. If we do not agree with all the author's opinions, we cannot but accord to him unqualified praise for his fairness, liberality, good judgment, and enlightened views. The volume will be a treasure among the historical annals of the country. We are glad to know that a translation of it, by a competent hand, is in progress at Paris, and will speedily be published in the United States.

ART. VIII.—*Pelham; or the Adventures of a Gentleman.* In two vols. 12 mo. New York. 1828.

INSTEAD of giving our readers the trouble or the privilege, whichever they might consider it, of reading two or three leaves of speculation about novels in general, and this in particular, we will make the author supply an introduction from his two first chapters, which, besides being the key of some subsequent parts of his story, will, we think, bear reading two or three times, and so will be as acceptable to those who have read the work but once, as anything we could say, and probably more so to such as have not read it at all. It will be perceived that Mr Henry Pelham, the hero of the story, is speaking.

'I am an only child. My father was the younger son of one of our oldest earls, my mother the dowerless daughter of a Scotch peer. Mr Pelham was a moderate whig, and gave sumptuous dinners; Lady Frances was a woman of taste, and particularly fond of diamonds and old china.

'Vulgar people know nothing of the necessaries required in good society, and the credit they give is as short as their pedigree. Six years after my birth, there was an execution in our house. My mother was just setting off on a visit to the duchess of D——; she declared it was impossible to go without her diamonds. The chief of the bailiffs declared it was impossible to trust them out of his sight. The matter was compromised; the bailiff went with my mother to C——, and was introduced *as my tutor*. "A man of singular merit," whispered my mother, "but *so* shy!" Fortunately the bailiff was abashed, and by losing his impudence he

kept the secret. At the end of the week, the diamonds went to the jeweller's, and Lady Frances wore paste.

'I think it was about a month afterwards that a sixteenth cousin left my mother twenty thousand pounds. "It will just pay off our most importunate creditors, and equip me for Melton," said Mr Pelham.

'"It will just redeem my diamonds, and new furnish the house," said Lady Frances.

'The latter alternative was chosen. My father went down to run his last horse at Newmarket, and my mother received nine hundred people in a Turkish tent. Both were equally fortunate, the *Greek* and the *Turk*. My father's horse *lost*, in consequence of which he pocketed five thousand pounds; and my mother looked so charming as a sultana, that Seymour Conway fell desperately in love with her.

'Mr Conway had just caused two divorces; and of course all the women in London were dying for him; judge then of the pride which lady Frances felt at his addresses. The end of the season was unusually dull, and my mother, after having looked over her list of engagements, and ascertained that she had none remaining worth staying for, agreed to elope with her new lover.

'The carriage was at the end of the square. My mother, for the first time in her life, got up at six o'clock Her foot was on the step, and her hand next to Mr Conway's heart, when she remembered that her favorite china monster and her French dog were left behind. She insisted on returning, rëentered the house, was coming down stairs, with one under each arm, when she was met by my father and two servants. My father's valet had discovered the flight (I forget how), and awakened his master.

'When my father was convinced of his loss, he called for his dressing-gown, searched the garret and the kitchen, looked in the maids' drawers and the cellaret, and finally declared he was distracted. I have heard that the servants were quite melted by his grief, and I do not doubt it in the least, for he was always celebrated for his skill in private theatricals. He was just retiring to vent his grief in his dressing-room, when he met my mother. It must altogether have been an awkward *rencontre*, and, indeed, for my father, a remarkably unfortunate occurrence; for Seymour Conway was immensely rich, and the damages would, no doubt, have been proportionably high. Had they met each other alone, the affair might easily have been settled, and Lady Frances gone off in tranquillity; those d——d servants are always in the way!' Vol. I. pp. 3, 4.

'Not long after this occurrence, by the death of my grandfather, my uncle succeeded to the title and estates of the family. He paid my father's debts, and established us in the secure enjoyment of our former splendor.' p. 5.

Mr Pelham has been blamed by some persons, and especially by some good mothers, for want of filial respect and affection, of which the above passages certainly do not give a very laudable example; but though he is not, in this respect, the most dutiful of sons, we must admit that he portrays Lady Pelham, and makes his own *début*, with great spirit, and satirical poignancy; and the character in which the lady is thus introduced, is most successfully and admirably sustained throughout the work, more particularly in her letters to her son when abroad in France.

This work is entitled, 'The Adventures of a *Gentleman*,' with stress upon the latter word. Now there are various sorts and definitions of gentlemen; the Sir Charles Grandison, Sir Roger de Coverly, Uncle Toby, Chesterfieldian, the respectable, the fine, the fashionable, the popinjay gentleman, and so forth, down to the 'Tom and Jerry' gentleman. Mr Ford gives a catalogue of gentle qualifications in the 'Merry Wives of Windsor.' 'Now, Sir John, you are a gentleman of excellent breeding, admirable discourse, of great admittance, authentic in your place and person, generally allowed for your many warlike, court-like, and learned preparations.' The title is sometimes considered as exclusively belonging to such as either have fought, or are ready to fight, a duel. A travelled friend relates, that he overheard a conversation between two cockneys in a London street, upon this very question, on which one of them said, 'You may distinguish a gentleman by his reposing, complacent assurance of the sufficiency of his own qualifications.'

We meet, in social intercourse, with quite a variety of criteria of gentility; some referring it to the art of the tailor, hair-dresser, or boot-maker, or the tie of the cravat; some to the carriage of the body; others to the qualities and endowments of the mind; and, what seems a little singular at first thought, a person of ordinary mind will most probably hit upon that quality or circumstance, as a *sine quâ non* of gentility, in which he is either almost or altogether deficient; the reason of which seems, upon reflection, to be, that his mind, being a little troubled upon this point, runs upon it a good deal, and thus magnifies its importance, and it is sure to be the first idea that offers itself when the subject is started.

When therefore the author announces his story to be 'The Adventures of a *Gentleman*,' our curiosity is first excited to

know what description of this character he has in hand; and he proves to be a person of good birth and connexions, who, being educated and trained for a man of the world, still seizes from time to time upon some useful branches of study; a Chesterfieldian in studying and humoring the foibles, and flattering the vanity and self-love of those he intends to gain or use, but deviating from that school and conforming to the modern notions, in waving all parade, pretension, and bustle, steadily aiming at and maintaining the distinction, without any apparent assumption or vindication of it. One essential characteristic of our gentleman consists in his being a man of fashion; a man, like Sir John Falstaff, 'of large admittance.' He moves in the highest circles, of which the manners, characters, and modes of living, make a great part of the materials of the work, contrasted, however, as usual, with the underplot of vulgar *personæ dramatis*, knaves, gamblers, blackguards, and assassins. Our hero is then a member of high life, a man of *ton;* and this, though a very common characteristic among invented heroes, is insisted upon, in his case, as a weighty circumstance.

At the age of ten we find him at Eton, where he falls in with a schoolfellow, Reginald Glanville, whose 'mother made her house one of the most *recherché* in London. Seldom seen at large assemblies, she was eagerly sought after in the *well winnowed soirées* of the elect. Her wealth, great as it was, seemed the least prominent ingredient of her establishment. There was in it no uncalled-for ostentation, no purse-proud vulgarity, no cringing to great, and no patronizing condescension to little people.' This a well drawn sketch, which is the reason of our going a little out of our way to bring it in, for it is the son, Master Reginald, who is our subject; who rescued young Pelham from the drudgery of washing tea-cups; and who 'used to wander by the river in the bright days of summer, when all else were at play, without any companion but his own thoughts; and these were tinged, even at that early age, with a deep and impassioned melancholy.' He was reserved in his manners, but to those he loved, open and warm; watchful to gratify others, indifferent to gratification for himself; of a slight frame, yet of great strength, and athletic skill, and a lion-like courage. This Reginald will make some figure in our story, being in fact the hero's hero.

At the age of eighteen Pelham leaves Eton for Cambridge,

when he makes the following inventory of his acquirements, in compliment, as he says, to the modern system of education.

'I could make twenty Latin verses in half an hour; I could construe, *without* an English translation, all the easy Latin authors, and many of the difficult ones *with it;* I could *read* Greek fluently, and even translate it through the medium of a Latin version at the bottom of the page.' 'I was never *taught* a syllable of English during this period; when I once attempted to read Pope's poems out of school hours, I was laughed at and called "*a sap.*"' p. 8.

His whole stock of historical knowledge was comprised in the story of Queen Elizabeth and Lord Essex, which his mother used to repeat to him, and then sinking back on the sofa, in a languid voice tell him of the blessings of a literary taste, and admonish him never to read above half an hour, for fear of losing his health. We give this schedule of acquirements, because we presume the author intends it as a stricture upon the actual state of education at Eton.

After two years spent at Cambridge, he does not exactly know how, in the blue and silver of a fellow commoner of Trinity, with the help of a piano-forte in his room, and a billiard-room in a neighboring village, he quits that venerable university, which he says 'reeked with vulgarity. The men drank beer by the gallon, and ate cheese by the hundred weight; wore jockey-cut coats, and talked slang; rode for wagers, and swore when they lost; smoked in your face, and expectorated on the floor. Their proudest glory was to drive the mail; their mightiest exploit to box with the coachman; their most delicate amour to leer at the bar-maid.' On taking leave of his *Alma Mater* he was complimented by his tutor as an honor to his college; his conduct 'had been most exemplary, for he had not walked wantonly over the grass plats, set his dog at the proctor, driven tandems by day, or broken lamps by night, nor entered the chapel to display his intoxication, or the lecture-room to caricature the professors.'

Thus accomplished, being now twenty, he makes his *entrée* in fashionable life at Sir Lionel Garrett's, in the country, furnished with his mother's instructions and hints to her 'dear Henry,' to 'gain as much knowledge *de l'art culinaire* as he could; pick up a little acquaintance with metaphysics, if he had an opportunity, that sort of thing being much talked about just now;' and by no means to neglect to have a '*liaison* (quite innocent

of course) with a woman of celebrity in the world.' We are here joined by a new bevy of characters, some enlisted during the war, others only for this short campaign at Garrett Park. First, the host and hostess, belonging to a set called 'respectable,' whose members are above *ton*, whenever they do not grasp at its possession, but who, whenever they do, fall below it. 'They might have chosen *friends* among persons of respectability and rank; they preferred being chosen *as acquaintances* by persons of *ton*. Society was their being's end and aim.' Then the guests;—a dull political economist; a quick, sharp little woman, all sparkle and bustle, with small, gray, prying eyes; and a *noli-me-tangere* literary lion, Mr Wormwood, 'who sowed his conversation, not with flowers, but thorns.' These are introduced to make out the train, and some of them not well managed; as but little is made of the literary lion, and nothing of the economist, whose person is described, and his character given, that we may learn how a short, dark, corpulent man, with a quiet, serene, sleepy countenance, and short neck, all head and shoulders, like a cod-fish, is horror-struck at having eaten truffles. The economist and Wormwood are in fact supernumeraries, who should not have entered, without a more considerable part to act. They are merely what the painters call *studies*, the rude materials gathered up in the first invention, which ought to be rejected, unless more space is found for them in the piece. We apprehend Wormwood to be a defective conception, that could not be wrought into anything tolerable, as a lion of good society; for on saying he had been in a company where every one said a good thing, and being asked by Vincent, whose figure was rather inelegant, 'And Mr Wormwood what did you say?' he replied, 'I thought of your lordship's figure, and said—*grace*.' Now this was one of the good things the author had treasured up for his novel; as he did that of J. Smith's 'largest grant I ever saw from the crown,' to wit, the fat Mr Grant from the Crown Tavern; and he must needs put it into the mouth of one of his characters, though the admitting of such an exprsssion, in an acid manner, was reducing the whole company below the degree of *ton*, and a character into whose mouth it is put, cannot be managed in society of this sort.

We meet also, at Garrett Park, Lady Roseville and Lord Vincent, both well imagined, and both admirably sustained

through the book. The former is described as possessing 'great sensibility, and even romance of temper, strong passions, and still stronger imagination; but over all these deeper recesses of her character, the extreme softness and languor of her manners threw a veil, which no superficial observer could penetrate.' This is a fine combination, it is true, and at the same time not over frequent in fiction; though in actual life we meet with persons who have softened and polished manners, and a ready and superficial play of the faculties, which, to an undiscriminating observer, or even acquaintance, may be taken for the whole character, while deep feelings and strong impulses are in reserve, discoverable only to those who have kindred traits, and drawn out only on trying occasions, often to the surprise of the unconscious possessor. We do not intend to imply that this kind of character is novel. It occurs in fact and in fiction, and in either case it is of a high species.

Lord Vincent is a more unusual character, the filling out and sustaining of which constitutes much of the merit of this book. He is a man of fashion, and at the same time the organ for displaying the author's classical and elegant literature. He not only quotes abundance of Latin and French besides a good deal of English, but makes puns and plays upon words in the two former languages. Vincent is rarely introduced without a quotation or classical allusion, not usually commonplace, but carefully sought out, and selected. It is accordingly a character rather perplexing to readers not sufficiently skilled in those languages to understand the quotations and allusions, that is, to a great majority of the readers and admirers of the work; and it is a strong testimony of its power, that it is read and admired by so many to whom so much of it must be unintelligible. As an actor in the scene, Vincent does not excite nor indeed call for great interest. Amid the whirl and frivolity of fashionable amusements, he is making steady and laborious preparation for political eminence; and yet he gains no partisans among his readers, who care but little whether he shall be found in the ministry or opposition, or what shall be his fortunes.

But the most important incident, during this residence at Garrett Park, is the reappearance of Reginald Glanville, Pelham's former melancholy school-mate, whom he crosses at the grave-yard late at night, where he finds him *incognito*, in a slouched hat and French cloak, attended by his black dog

Terror, sobbing audibly at a new made grave, distinguished by a small grave-stone marked G. D., which proves, in the sequel, to be that of Gertrude Douglass, a lovely girl to whom Glanville had been devotedly attached, whom he had seduced, lived and travelled with in England and on the continent, for many months; and finally left in England, to go abroad and attend upon his mother, who was taken ill at Thoulouse. The attachment continued with the utmost intenseness on both sides; but during Glanville's absence, Tyrrell, a gambling companion of his, made addresses to his mistress, and being repulsed, he perpetrated personal violence. The girl becomes crazed and dies. This shocking incident is introduced to make Tyrrell to the last degree odious and execrable, and justify the black hate and thirst of vengeance in Glanville, which are the moving principle of the highest wrought scenes and leading catastrophe of the story. Towards the conclusion Glanville is made to describe his visits to the grave of Gertrude where Pelham encountered him.

'"Night after night I wandered to that lonely place, and longed for a couch beside the sleeper, whom I mourned in the selfishness of my soul. I prostrated myself on the mound; I humbled myself to tears. In the overflowing anguish of my heart I forgot all that had aroused its stormier passions into life. Revenge, hatred, all vanished. I lifted up my face to the tender heavens; I called aloud to the silent and placid air; and when I turned again to that unconscious mound, I thought of nothing but the sweetness of our early love and the bitterness of her early death. It was in such moments that your footstep broke upon my grief;—the instant others had seen me—other eyes penetrated the sanctity of my regret; from that instant, whatever was more soft and holy in the passions and darkness of my mind seemed to vanish away like a scroll. I again returned to the intense and withering remembrance which was henceforward to make the very key and pivot of my existence. I again recalled the last night of Gertrude's life; I again shuddered at the low, murmured sounds, whose dreadful sense broke slowly upon my soul. I again felt the cold —cold, slimy grasp of those wan and dying fingers; and I again nerved my heart to an iron strength, and vowed deep, deep-rooted, endless, implacable revenge."' Vol. II. p. 148.

The workings of his mind in plotting schemes for tormenting Tyrrell, and making his life and death the most excruciating, are described with great power.

'"Among the thousand schemes for retribution which had

chased each other across my mind, the death of my victim was only the ulterior object. Death, indeed—the pang of one moment—appeared to me but very feeble justice for the life of lingering and restless anguish, to which his treachery had condemned *me;* but *my* penance, *my* doom, I could have forgiven; it was the fate of a more innocent and injured being, which irritated and fed the sting and venom of my revenge—that revenge, no ordinary punishment could appease. If fanaticism can only be satisfied by the rack and the flames, you may readily conceive a like unappeasable fury, in a hatred so deadly, so concentrated, and so just as mine—and if fanaticism persuades itself into a virtue, so also did my hatred.

'"The scheme which I resolved upon was, to attach Tyrrell more and more to the gaming-table, to be present at his infatuation, to feast my eyes upon the feverish intensity of his suspense—to reduce him step by step, to the lowest abyss of poverty—to glut my soul with the abjectness and humiliation of his penury—to strip him of all aid, consolation, sympathy, and friendship—to follow him, unseen, to his wretched and squalid home—to mark the struggles of the craving nature with the loathing pride—and, finally, to watch the frame wear, the eye sink, the lip grow livid, and all the terrible and torturing progress of gnawing want, to utter starvation. Then, in that last state, but not before, I might reveal myself—stand by the hopeless and succorless bed of death—shriek out in the dizzy ear a name, which could treble the horrors of remembrance—snatch from the struggling and agonizing conscience the last plank, the last straw, to which, in its madness, it could cling, and blacken the shadows of departing life, by opening to the shuddering sense the threshold of an impatient and yawning hell."' Vol. II. p. 150.

Hurried away by the unhallowed fever of these projects, he repaired to Paris where he learned Tyrrell then was, put on a disguise, engaged the coöperation of a blackguard, Thornton, to excite Tyrrell's passion for gambling, and being introduced to Tyrrell as a young Englishman of great wealth and still greater inexperience, his acquaintance is eagerly grasped; and Glanville thus pursues his prey by all the arts of circumvention, and under his disguise, stands by and watches and revels in the slow excruciating tortures by which he sees his victim drawing towards his fate. In one of these scenes Glanville is thus described.

'After dinner, I strolled into the various gambling houses, with which the Palais Royal abounds.

'In one of these, the crowd and heat were so great, that I should immediately have retired, if I had not been struck with the

extreme and intense expression of interest in the countenance of one of the spectators at the *rouge et noir* table. He was a man about forty years of age; his complexion was dark and sallow; the features prominent, and what are generally called handsome; but there was a certain sinister expression in his eyes and mouth, which rendered the effect of his physiognomy rather disagreeable than prepossessing. At a small distance from him, and playing, with an air which, in its carelessness and *nonchalance*, formed a remarkable contrast to the painful anxiety of the man I have just descried, sate Mr Thornton.

'At first sight, these two appeared to be the only Englishmen present beside myself; I was more struck by seeing the former in that scene, than I was at meeting Thornton there; for there was something *distingué* in the mien of the stranger, which suited far worse with the appearance of the place, than the *bourgeois* air and dress of my *ci-devant* second.

'"What! another Englishman?" thought I, as I turned round and perceived a thick rough great coat, which could possibly belong to no continental shoulders. The wearer was standing directly opposite the seat of the swarthy stranger; his hat was slouched over his face; I moved in order to get a clearer view of his countenance. It was the same person I had seen with Thornton that morning. Never to this moment have I forgotten the stern and ferocious expression with which he was gazing upon the keen and agitated features of the gambler opposite. In the eye and lip there was neither pleasure, hatred, nor scorn, in their simple and unalloyed elements; but each seemed blent and mingled into one deadly concentration of evil passions.

'This man neither played, nor spoke, nor moved. He appeared utterly insensible of every feeling in common with those around. There he stood, wrapped in his own dark and inscrutable thoughts, never, for one instant, taking his looks from the varying countenance which did not observe their gaze, nor altering the withering character of their almost demoniacal expression. I could not tear myself from the spot. I felt chained by some mysterious and undefinable interest; my attention was first diverted into a new channel, by a loud exclamation from the dark-visaged gambler at the table; it was the first he had uttered, notwithstanding his anxiety; and, from the deep, thrilling tone in which it was expressed, it conveyed a keen sympathy with the overcharged feelings which it burst from.

'With a trembling hand, he took from an old purse, the few Napoleons that were still left there. He set them all at one hazard, on the *rouge*. He hung over the table with a dropping lip; his hands were tightly clasped in each other; his nerves seemed strained into the last agony of excitation. I ventured to raise my

eyes upon the gaze which I *felt* must still be upon the gambler—there it was fixed and stern as before; but it now conveyed a deeper expression of joy than of the other passions which were there met. Yet a joy so malignant and fiendish, that no look of mere anger or hatred could have so chilled my heart. I dropped my eyes. I redoubled my attention to the cards—the last two were to be turned up. A moment more!—the fortune was to the *noir*. The stranger had lost! He did not utter a single word. He looked with a vacant eye on the long mace, with which the marker had swept away his last hopes, with his last coin, and then, rising, left the room, and disappeared.

'The other Englishman was not long in following him. He uttered a short, low laugh, unobserved, perhaps, by any one but myself; and, pushing through the atmosphere of *sacrés* and *mille tonnerres*, which filled that pandæmonium, strode quickly to the door.—I felt as if a load had been taken from my bosom, when he was gone.' Vol. i. pp. 70—72.

Glanville was unwilling that Tyrrell should have even the consolation of the sympathy of one being in the world. 'There was one that still clung to him with affection, and for whom he still seemed to harbor the better and purer feelings of less degraded and guilty times. This person (you will readily guess, reader, it was a woman), 'I made it my especial business,' says Glanville, 'to wean away from my prey. I would not suffer him a consolation he had denied me. I used all the arts of seduction to obtain the transfer of her affections. Whatever promises and vows—whether of love or wealth—could effect, were tried; nor at last without success. I triumphed.' Having contrived to strip Tyrrell of his last shilling and reduced him, as he supposed, to the last extremity of misery, he says, 'Flushed, heated, and almost maddened with my triumph, I yielded to the exultation of the moment, I discovered myself.' After describing the scene of this discovery, he proceeds.

'"I went joyfully home; and for the first time since Gertrude's death, I was happy. But there I imagined my vengeance only would begin; I revelled in the burning hope of marking the hunger and extremity that must ensue. The next day when Tyrrell turned round in his despair, for one momentary word of comfort from the lips to which he believed, in the fond credulity of his heart, falsehood and treachery never came, his last earthly friend taunted and deserted him. Mark me, *I was by and heard her.*"' Vol. ii. p. 153.

He supposes his victim soon after to perish, and has a par-

ticular account of his sufferings and miserable end. But on returning to England, after some time, he learned that 'Tyrrell yet lived!'

'"*Lived* in honor, prosperity, and the world's blessings. This information was like removing a barrier from a stream hitherto pent into quiet and restraint. All the stormy thoughts, feelings, and passions so long at rest, rushed again into a terrible and tumultuous action. The newly formed stratum of my mind was swept away, everything seemed a wreck, a chaos, a convulsion of jarring elements; but this is a trite and tame description of my feelings; words would be but commonplace to express the revulsion which I experienced; yet amidst all, there was one paramount and presiding thought, to which the rest were as atoms in the heap—the awakened thought of vengeance! and yet, how was it to be gratified?' Vol. II. p. 156.

He challenged Tyrrell who returned a contemptuous reply; upon which Glanville took an oath that before three days expired 'hell should no longer be cheated of its prey.' He accordingly pursues him, intending to bring him to a close encounter in which both should fall; but on the night of the third day, as he is approaching Tyrrell and seems to be near to the accomplishment of his purpose, his prey is intercepted by two ruffians, Thornton and Dawson, gambling companions of Tyrrell, who rob and murder him. Glanville arrives at the spot after the fatal deed, and gratifies his still unrelenting thirst of vengeance with the sight of his fallen enemy; and that he may seem to appease the manes of his lost mistress, he dips her portrait in the wretch's blood.

The story we have been sketching, includes the main plot of the novel, though mostly distinct from the adventures of Pelham, who all the way hovers on his main action, in which he does not directly mingle until, in the close, he undertakes to clear Glanville from being convicted of murder. The subordinate characters who have mingled in this main action, and figure very much in the conclusion, namely, Tom Thornton, Dawson, and Job Johnson, are well conceived and ably sustained. Job Johnson and Thornton are capital in their kind, and Thornton and Dawson are fraught with a good moral lesson; which is some atonement for the latitudinarian cast of the rest of the story. In many parts of it the connexions which involve the most reprehensible violations of social and moral obligation, are spoken of as matters of course, and exalted and beautified by the highest coloring of sentiment; and these de-

fects are the more glaring by contrast with the high-wrought lessons of political integrity, inculcated in the parliamentary episode, —as we may call it, for it has no connexion with the main action, —where great pains are taken to raise the hero, Pelham, above all corruption and subserviency to the leaders of his party or its antagonists, when the principles, opinions, and measures, in question, are very indistinctly and crudely set forth; plainly indicating the writer to be laboring with a subject too large for him to grasp, and too heavy for him to wield. There is nothing in this political digression to bear out the high and energetic tone of the writer, and it is decidedly the least successful part of the work.

If the introduction of so much *flash* language is justifiable, in excuse of which the writer would probably refer his readers to the dictionary of *flash* terms, of which, if we remember rightly, we have seen some notice; the night adventure to rescue Dawson from the prison and infirmary of the thieves, is one of the best things in this book, and reminds the reader of the Waverley novels. If we admit the probability of such a private state prison and asylum of thieves in London, to which they may retire in case of danger, and in which they may immure and make away with troublesome confederates, the whole of this scene,—the long and crooked way to reach this pandæmonium,—the circumspection in admitting the visitors,—the portrait of Brimstone Bess, the priestess of this temple,—the group assembled in the council-room of this infernal society,—the sick man in his chamber,—and all the incidents of the rescue and escape, are done in admirable style.

Though Job Johnson among the knaves, and Glanville of the better class, are both arduous characters to sustain, they are not so much out of the common track, as Pelham and Thornton, each of which seems to us to be somewhat novel, and to make a new variety in fictitious portraits, both of them being sufficiently natural and true. For an affected languor, levity, and effeminacy of manners, with a studied, artificial, insincere style of conversation, and a sneering and contemptuous regard to the phantasmagoria of fashionable life, united with fixed purposes, steadiness of pursuits, real opinions, and sincere attachments, is by no means an improbable and *outré* combination; and yet we do not remember to have met with one, except Vivian Grey, to which Pelham has any close resemblance. And among all the villains with which the world of fiction is peopled, we do not remember any one who may be considered

a precedent for the vulgar high-life manners, *flash* accomplishments, vicious dexterity, malicious cunning, remorseless nonchalance, and innate constitutional turpitude of Thornton.

The writer seems to be most at ease in extremes and exaggeration; and it is not with him an indication of want of talent and invention, and a subterfuge to hide a deficiency of thought, and want of force of expression. There is something of harshness and overdoing throughout the story, which is carried, in some instances, to an outrageous violence, that passes the mark. Thus Pelham is, as he naturally should be, shocked, and his stern honor is awakened, at the thought of Glanville's being the murderer of Tyrrell, and in danger of being, and too much deserving to be, hanged on this account; but the making this sentiment control, and, for the time, blight his love for Ellen, is ungrateful and grating. It is that species of slow torture to the reader, which is the *forte* of a feeble writer, and the feebleness of a powerful one. And the defect is the more glaring, since the author does not rescue Pelham from the dilemma except by a mere sophism and evasion. When he learns that Glanville did not actually commit the murder, the barrier to his love is removed, and he hastens to make his declaration, never relenting through fear that Glanville may be hanged for a murder which he did not commit, of which he is in great danger. The lesson is, that he is shocked at the guilt, rather than the imputed infamy; and yet, by his own showing, his friend has sought the life of his victim, through a long series of schemes and adventures, and finally taken an oath too solemn to repeat, that his enemy shall not live three days. And the reader's sympathy with Glanville, and desire of the success of his scheme of vengeance, are secured by the high and generous qualities with which he is endowed, and the atrocity of Tyrrell's offence, and the long tissue of meanness, cowardice, and loathsome depravity by which it is followed; so that when Glanville falls upon the trail of this miscreant, most devoutly bent upon the execution of his deadly purpose, the reader is inclined to regard him as a minister of justice, executing the vengeance for which the laws would arm him, if they could reach his case. He intends, it is true, to fall himself a sacrifice to the vengeance to which he has devoted his victim; but this is no atonement for his crime, from which he is only saved by the intervention of Thornton and Dawson, who do the murder which he had been meditating so long. It

is clumsy in the author to load Glanville's conduct with so much infamy, and then affect to purify and vindicate him, on the ground that he did not discharge his pistol at his victim, as he would have done had he been a few minutes earlier. The atrocity of Tyrrell, which gives rise to the concentrated, deadly, unmitigable hate and thirst of vengeance in Glanville, is also too odious to be an admissible incident in a novel; so that the origin and catastrophe of this tragical part of the story, are both exceptionable. But the conduct and progress of this plot, the workings of this vindictive, burning hate, in the mind and on the frame of Glanville; his devout consecration of his victim to its appeasement; the gleams of satisfaction and exultation at its partial gratification; the redoubled and accumulating turpitude and loathsomeness of its object,—are all portrayed with a masterly hand.

This work is less dramatic in the conduct of the action, than the best English novels, holding an intermediate place, in this respect, between them and the stories of Godwin and Maturin. Scott, and the other ablest novelists, though they sketch their characters, by way of introduction, do not frequently interrupt the narrative, and suspend the action, with comments and dissertations. Pelham's so frequently reminding you that he has strong nerves, and is not apt to be frightened at anything, dead or alive, is, after all, too much like writing under the picture, 'This is a lion;' which is superfluous, if the picture is well drawn, and a poor apology for its defects. These are conclusions, and inferences which should be developed in the course of the action and dialogue, and not expressly inculcated and reiterated by the author. The characters should move and bear a part in the action throughout, and not, like stenographers, step aside to take notes of its progress. At the commencement of a literary conversation at Lady Roseville's, for instance, we are favored with a new introduction of the characters, explaining why such a conversation should be had at her house; all of which ought to be superfluous, in regard to persons who have been your companions through a whole volume.

The dialogue sometimes takes up subjects of literary discussion and criticism, too general and abstruse. The conferences between Pelham and Guloseton—a well drawn character, by the way—on the subject of gastronomy; the discussion of collars with Russelton; the dissection of vanity at Lady Roseville's; the piquant sketches of character at the Cheltenham

party, and a hundred others, are all good materials for a novel; but when we come to a contrast of French and English literature, and dip into philosophy and metaphysics, in other parts of the book, comparisons are suggested to the prejudice of the novel.

In a work containing so much good writing, we are surprised to find the following phrases, which are wholly new to us, and seem to be as paltry an innovation in the use of words, as we remember to have met with in any respectable book; viz. '*directly* I or any other of his friends was injured, his anger was implacable.' (Vol. i. ch. 2.) 'She pressed me to come and see her *directly* she returned to London.' (Vol. i. ch. 8.) '*Directly* Glanville's door was opened, I saw that I had come too late.' (Vol. ii. ch. 23.) 'Thornton said, *directly we had passed him*, "He is Tyrrell's enemy."' (Vol. ii. ch. 28.) The author is evidently smitten with admiration of this poor grammatical deformity; for he studiously introduces it, though there are enough equivalent phrases, as well sounding, and at the same time good English.

Were a good novel a more rare production, we should have much more to say of the excellencies and defects of this, which, liable as it is to the gravest exceptions on account of its moral lessons, is certainly one of very high character for striking portraits, richness of thought, strength and originality of conception, and vivacity and energy of style.

Art. IX.—*An American Dictionary of the English Language; intended to exhibit, I. The Origin, Affinities, and Primary Signification of English Words, as far as they have been ascertained. II. The genuine Orthography and Pronunciation of Words, according to general Usage, or to just Principles of Analogy. III. Accurate and discriminating Definitions, with numerous Authorities and Illustrations. To which are prefixed, an Introductory Dissertation on the Origin, History, and Connection of the Languages of Western Asia and of Europe, and a Concise Grammar of the English Language.* By Noah Webster, LL. D. In two volumes. 4to. New York. S. Converse. 1828.

When it was announced to the public, that this work, which was known to have been so long in the hands of the author, was

at length ready for the press, we determined to hold ourselves free from all previous bias, either for or against it; and to form our opinion of its merits solely from actual examination. More than usual caution seemed to be demanded by the somewhat peculiar circumstances which had attended the progress of this undertaking. The author, it is well known, met with much opposition at the commencement of his labors; and it is equally notorious, that as he proceeded in the accomplishment of his design, he was seldom cheered with the voice of encouragement and approbation.

At first it was objected by many, whose stations in the community, and whose literary character, claimed from the public more than ordinary attention, that a new dictionary of the English language was not wanted; that the language, so far as words were necessary or convenient, or even of allowable use, was already embodied in the dictionary of Johnson; that to enlarge the vocabulary would be to debase the pure sterling of English speech; and that anything additional, therefore, in English lexicography, would be both superfluous and injurious. Others, without denying that a new English dictionary might be useful if properly executed, were strongly impressed with the opinion, that the business of improving on those already in use, belonged, by a kind of exclusive right, to the scholars of the parent country. Lexicography, it was said, was a species of literary labor, which could be successfully prosecuted only where literature and the arts had attained a greater maturity than they could hope to reach on this side of the Atlantic, for a long time to come; and, as an obvious consequence from this position, it was maintained, that the attempt in question savored of presumption unbecoming our years. But what was especially condemned, was the proposition to introduce into the contemplated dictionary, new words and new senses of words, of American origin. This was loudly denounced as a project, the plain tendency of which was to corrupt our speech, the noblest part of our inheritance from our ancestors, by giving currency and show of legitimacy to local vulgarisms. A not less formidable obstacle existed in a general, but not very accurately defined apprehension in the public mind,—how this originated it is not now important to inquire,—that in this dictionary some plot was contriving against the purity of the language; and that the great landmarks of our mother tongue were about to be shaken or removed. In the face,

however, of all objections, and amidst many discouragements more strictly personal, the author has persevered steadily and resolutely in his work to its final accomplishment.

There is something in this firmness of purpose, which commands respect. A work executed amidst embarrassments, and in despite of censure, and even obloquy, presents claims to a candid examination, which it would be difficult to resist. Not that perseverance in any literary project is of itself sufficient to excuse, much less to conceal, real faults. All that is claimed on this score, is, that as such perseverance shows strong conviction in the author, of the correctness of his course, more than common attention is due in settling the justness of his pretensions.

Whether all the objections at first raised against this undertaking, were well or ill founded, we will not now inquire. One of them, which originated in the belief that the subject of English lexicography was exhausted by Johnson, would probably now be urged by no one. A late English editor has added so many words to the vocabulary, words in many instances of ordinary and necessary use, that the evidence on this point is complete. A little reflection will show, that the fact cannot be otherwise. The language of a people active and enterprising, free in the choice of their pursuits, and unrestrained in their discussions, must constantly become more copious. New words will be introduced, and old words will be used in new senses. If this were not the case, if the English language were now the same in all respects, as when Dr Johnson compiled his dictionary, and if it could be found in books which had then been published, still the supposition that nothing of importance to the student of English, could be gleaned from the volumes which Johnson examined, has little appearance of probability, and is unsupported by any analogous case. The lexicon of the Latin language, by Facciolati and Forcellini, the product of long and laborious study, though published nearly twenty years after the English dictionary of Johnson, has yet received, since its first appearance, a valuable addition in the supplement of Cognolato. Nor has the progress of improvement in Latin lexicography stopped here. The late London edition of this great work contains a further supplement, equal to almost a tenth part of the whole; and in the third Italian edition, now in the press, the editor promises five thousand words not to be found in the second, with

ten thousand corrections and additions in the definitions. But here is a language, which had dictionaries already existing in a highly improved state, which is contained in comparatively a few volumes; and these, through the labors of critics and commentators, affording every facility for rapid as well as thorough research.

Considering, therefore, the wide range of the English vocabulary; the greatly diversified character of the authors who have written in our language; and the new and ever-varying applications of words, from the changes constantly occurring in objects of general pursuit and interest, the author of the 'American Dictionary of the English Language' must be allowed to have engaged in an undertaking, which, considered by itself, argues neither vanity nor presumption. He has entered a field, cultivated but in part, and constantly enlarging, and in which there is abundant room and demand for additional labor.

In thus maintaining that Johnson's dictionary, when first published, was imperfect, nothing more is intended, than that its author did not do, what no human powers were ever able to accomplish; and in asserting that his work is insufficient for present use, whatever might have been its merits at first, we say no more than that it is not what it is impossible such a work should be. To derogate from the just praises of Johnson is no part of our object. We claim to be considered among his ardent admirers, and to have a due sense of the obligation the English language is under to his labors; and if we dissent from the commendations bestowed upon him, it is only when we hear ascribed to his work the attribute of perfection. To see the real value of what Johnson has done in lexicography, his dictionary should be compared with those which preceded it. By such comparison, the advance which he made in this department of literature appears in its true light; and it is then that his deserts are distinctly recognised and acknowledged.

The 'American Dictionary of the English Language' claims attention on the ground, that it exhibits a more full and correct view of the etymological part of our language, than has before been published; that it furnishes a larger vocabulary than the dictionaries which have preceded it; and that it contains valuable improvements, not only in the definitions of words, but in orthography, and the rules of pronunciation. To give a full and detailed account of what the author has undertaken in

each of these departments, much less to decide on the exact value of what he has accomplished, is not aimed at in the present notice of the work. Amidst subjects so multifarious as enter into the composition of a copious dictionary, the time and labor requisite to settle every question which might arise, even if the attention should be confined to points of acknowledged importance, approximate in some degree to the time and labor expended by the author himself. There are also in a dictionary peculiar difficulties in the way of a hasty decision on its merits. The etymologies may be erroneous, and the definitions correct; or the etymologies good, and the definitions bad. Or the definitions may be accurate in certain departments, and faulty in others; and the same may hold true of the etymologies. Such a work, from its very nature, may admit of great defects, in union with great excellencies; and this, not only in the etymological and defining parts, but in the extent and nature of its vocabulary, and in its orthography and pronunciation.

The danger, or rather the folly, of condemning a work so extensive as a dictionary of a cultivated language, when the examination has proceeded no farther than to a few words or classes of words, was never perhaps more fully exemplified than in the literary history of the dictionary of Dr Johnson. Here the labor of years was weighed in the short space of days, or even hours, and declared to be wanting. In despite, however, of such criticism, the work has found its true level in English literature; and the revilings of its violent and precipitate opponents are remembered only to warn others, who may be tempted to enter on so rash a career. With these views of the difficulty of instituting a full and thorough examination of so elaborate a work, and of the probable failure of an attempt at once to satisfy all inquiries, much more to anticipate the judgment of the next generation, very little more will now be attempted than a few general remarks, designed rather to invite attention to the subject of English lexicography at large, than to decide absolutely, in all respects, on the merits of the work under review.

Etymology deserves to hold a conspicuous place in an English dictionary. Our language is, perhaps, more than that of any other people, compounded of various, and, as might have been thought beforehand, jarring materials. Dr Johnson indulges in no exaggeration when he says, that 'in search of the progenitors of our speech, we may wander from the tropic

to the frozen zone, and find some in the valleys of Palestine, and some upon the rocks of Norway.' The Teutonic part of our language, and that portion of it introduced through the Norman-French, make up a great majority of our words. Our obligations to these two great sources of our vocabulary are stated somewhat quaintly, but still in an amusing manner, by Howell, a lexicographer in the early part of the reign of Charles the Second. 'The Englishman,' says this author, 'is High-Dutch, *cap-à-pie*, from top to toe; go to the parts of his body, inward and outward, together with his coverings and cloths; he is Dutch in drinking, in eating, at bed and at board, by sea also, and by land, when he steers a ship or drives the plough; in his numbers, in the days of the week, in his kindred, in the church and holy things. But in hawking, in hunting, in heraldry, in fencing, in riding, in painting, in dancing, in music, in *aires*, he is all French; insomuch that it cannot be denied but if the English tongue should repay unto the Dutch and French all she owes, she would prove a stark bankrupt, and be as bare as Æsop's crow.' To console us, however, for what might be thought the disgrace of shining in borrowed plumes, he adds; 'Nor is it any derogation for the English language to be descended of the High-Dutch or Teutonic, which is so ancient a maternal tongue, that Becanus thinks it was the language of Paradise; and the Italian did merrily twit him in that opinion when he said, that it was the tongue wherein Adam was cast out thence, being a rough and cartilaginous or boney speech, in regard to the collision of so many consonants, that if a man were to be worded to death, or stoned to death by words, the High-Dutch were the fittest.'

But though etymology is highly important, in giving a full exhibition of a language, and especially of such a language as the English, still it has long had to contend with many obstinate and deep-rooted prejudices. Even in the time of Varro, the sentiment of the learned of the age must be considered not very favorable to this science; as this distinguished author, whose reputation might be supposed sufficiently high to silence ordinary opposition, found it necessary, in his work '*de Linguâ Latinâ*,' to begin with answering objections to etymological inquiries, before he proceeded to the subject itself. In the introduction to his fourth book, addressed to his friend Cicero, referring to what he had written on etymology in the books which preceded it, he says he had already considered 'quæ

contra eam dicerentur, volumine primo ; quæ pro eâ, secundo ; quæ de eâ, tertio ;' thus giving his defence of etymology twice the extent of the exposition of the topic itself. It would afford no common gratification to the lovers of etymological research, to be indulged with the perusal of these volumes, the loss of which we have to deplore. But that etymology has need of able defenders, and that even the talents and learning of Varro were insufficient to stop all cavil, may be inferred from what later writers among the ancients have incidentally remarked. Even St Augustine, in his Dialectics, speaks of the investigation of the origin of words as a vain pursuit, being in his opinion no less uncertain in its result, than the interpretation of dreams. 'Ut somniorum interpretatio, ita verborum origo, pro cujusque ingenio prædicatur.' The estimates, likewise, which etymologists have formed of each other's labors, have had no tendency to exalt them in the opinion of those who were not adepts in this science. If they have ever been listened to with undivided attention, and gained general credit, it has been in their attempts to detect each other's errors, and to demonstrate the false principles on which particular etymologies have been grounded. Sir William Jones, referring to Bryant's 'Analysis of Ancient Mythology,' remarks concerning that work of his 'learned friend,' that 'the least satisfactory part of it seems to be that which relates to the derivation of words from Asiatic languages;' meaning, no doubt, that this part of the work has failed to afford any satisfaction whatever; in which opinion there are others who would agree with him. That Sir William himself has not sufficiently guarded his language on the use of *vowels* in tracing etymologies, has been shown by Dr Webster. But it is unnecessary to go into details here.

The principal reasons of the disrepute and even contempt into which etymological inquiries have sometimes fallen, appear to be these; the want of proper qualifications in those who have often taken it upon themselves to judge of their value; and the extravagancies into which some celebrated etymologists have been carried. These reasons have mutually strengthened each other. The want of a thorough acquaintance with the subject has led many to suspect extravagance and fancy where none existed ; and, on the other hand, real etymological errors have deterred scholars from pursuing a subject, in which they have been led to believe, that not merely certainty, but that even probability is unattainable. Etymology, likewise,

has been a favorite subject of caricature, and attempts in this way have not always been without success. A few wild etymological speculations, somewhat distorted if necessary, brought forward in an imposing manner, have been sufficient to throw an air of ridicule over the whole pursuit; nor is it strange, that the effect should be to alarm and discourage those, who might otherwise be disposed to cultivate this branch of philology. Perhaps likewise truth requires it to be said, that in etymology there are more than usual dangers of being misled by fanciful analogies. In all inquiries, where conjecture is in any degree allowable, and the results are matters of opinion rather than of knowledge, the human mind has been prone to overleap the barriers of common sense, in the pursuit of a favorite theory. It would be strange, then, if in etymology, where the guides to investigation are so few and uncertain, the same mental obliquity should not be observed; if fancy should not often be found without the control of reason, and grave decisions should not occasionally be made, so obviously wrong as justly to be exposed to the ridicule of the mere sciolist. We need not wonder, therefore, that the etymologist, opposed by ignorance from without, and urged on by a heated imagination from within, should be looked on by multitudes as a learned trifler; and that it should be said of him as has been said of commentators on the Apocalypse,—that his subject either finds him mad or leaves him so.

But here it should be asked, Is this popular dislike or odium really deserved? Is it true that etymology it wholly a creature of fancy? or that there is so large an admixture of caprice and whim in its composition, as to place the study of it without the pale of rational pursuits? Let the subject be viewed more closely. No person acquainted with the English language, and who has even a moderate knowledge of the Latin, can entertain a doubt that many English words are of Roman origin. Not to insist here on such words as are the same in both languages, as *honor*, *labor*, *favor*, nor such as have been introduced into our language with only a slight change, as *felicity*, from *felicitas*; *eloquence*, from *eloquentia*; *music*, from *musica*; *regal*, from *regalis*; and innumerable others of the same kind; none, with the smallest qualifications for judging, would probably hesitate in admitting a relationship, more or less near, between *sit* and *sedeo*, *seal* and *sigillum*, *sect* and *seco*, *identical* and *idem*, &c. As little doubt is there,

with those who know any thing of the subject, that such words as *eclipse*, *ecstacy*, and *energy*, are from the Greek. If we refer to the French, the relation between that language and the English is at once manifest, there being many words in the latter, which are undeniably derived from the former. A similar connexion appears, from a comparison of many English words with corresponding words in the remaining dialects of the Celt and Goth. About the general fact, therefore, that words can be traced from one language to another, there is, and can be, no dispute. The only difference of opinion which exists, when the subject is fairly presented, respects particular words. The amount of the difficulty is, that different persons have come to different results in certain etymologies, and entertain different opinions as to the extent to which the science of etymology can be relied upon. But no principle is better established, or more universally admitted, than this,—that occasional disagreements as to the details of a science, form no valid objection to the science itself.

The question now presents itself, Are there any sure principles to guide the etymologist in his inquiries,—any rules by which he can distinguish what is certain from what is doubtful, and what is merely probable from what is conjectural or fanciful? On this point Dr Webster remarks, 'The governing principles of etymology are, *first*, the identity of radical letters, or a coincidence of cognates, in different languages, no affinity being admissible, except among words whose primary consonants are articulations of the same organs, as B, F, M, P, V, and W; or as D, T, Th, and S; or as G, C hard, K, and Q; R, L, and D. Some exceptions to this rule must be admitted, but not without collateral evidence of the change, or some evidence that is too clear to be reasonably rejected. *Second.* Words in different languages are not to be considered as proceeding from the same radix, unless they have the same signification, or one closely allied, or naturally deducible from it. And on this point, much knowledge of the primary sense of words, and of the manner in which collateral senses have sprung from one radical idea, is necessary to secure the inquirer from mistakes.'

How far these rules are founded in truth, and are entitled to be considered 'principles of etymology' will perhaps appear from a cursory view of the manner in which diversities in language originate, and of the nature of these diversities

themselves. If a tribe but little advanced in the arts of civilized life, should be divided, and thus become the stock from which new and distinct communities proceed, the language at first common to the whole body may be supposed to change very greatly in the course of a few ages, in some such manner as this. Those vowel-sounds, which are not very distinct, would be interchanged, as the *a* and the *e*, and the *o* and the *u*. The vowel-sounds would likewise be varied by interchanging *long* and *short*, *broad* and *flat*. Sounds also, which are represented by the consonants, would be soon varied. An aspirate might easily become more or less rough, be entirely omitted, or introduced where there was none before. Consonant-sounds of the same organ could hardly fail to be substituted for each other, as the sound of *d* and *t* dentals, of *b*, *f*, *m*, and *v*, labials, and the same of the letters of the other organs. If alphabetical writing be supposed to be now introduced, the primitive words as written in any one branch of the original community, would have little resemblance to the corresponding words in the other branches, partly from a change in the words as spoken, and partly from a difference which would exist in the application of the alphabet. Even where the alphabet is the same, and the sounds to be expressed the same, different persons will not agree in all cases in the selection of letters. But the alphabets themselves would vary; the same letter being used among the different tribes as a representative of a very different sound. The changes which are made in words by being written in alphabets where the powers of the letters are not the same, is exemplified in dictionaries of our own language for the use of foreigners. As our sounds are there expressed by a foreign alphabet, we are often hardly able to recognise our most intimate acquaintance. Thus, in a dictionary in which our pronunciation is given according to the sounds of the German letters, after the word *birth*, the author has put *berrdh;* after *queen*, *kwihn;* after *squeeze*, *skwihs;* after *judge*, *dschodsch;* and after *church*, *tschohctch*. Yet here it is the author's object to express the sound of the word exactly, and no doubt to a German ear he has accomplished his object.

But differences in words as written, would originate not only in the fact, that a difference of pronunciation had been brought about, and different powers assigned to the letters; but likewise from carelessness in spelling, or neglect of all analogy in some cases, and too close adherence to it in others. This dis-

regard of rule is often found in those who undertake to write English, and who are determined in the choice of letters by the ear only. Words, in these circumstances, are sometimes so written, that a pretty accurate analysis of sounds must be instituted, before it can be determined what the writer intended. Perhaps the English are more exposed to mistakes in this case, than most other people, from the great irregularity of their orthography. That this is not a gratuitous and unsupported theory, will appear from the induction of a few particulars.

Our language is largely derived from the Saxon. Many words, now used in English, are undeniably the same as are found in other languages, which, like our own, are of Teutonic origin. We will give a few examples of the changes in words, which have actually occurred. *Better* is in German *besser;* the letters *t* and *s*, which are pronounced by nearly the same organs, having been interchanged. The substitution of one *dental* for another occurs frequently in these languages. Thus we have *God, Gott; bread, brot; thank, dank; think, denken; thick, dick; thing, ding; this, dieser; thorn, dorn; throng, drang; thin, dünn; thirst, durst; dance, tantz; dear, theuer; door, thor; daughter, tochter; drink, trinken;* and so on, through the two vocabularies. If there was a single instance only of this species of change, it might be said, that it was the result of chance; but the examples being so numerous, and occurring everywhere in the two languages, there can be no reasonable doubt, that the corresponding words, here enumerated, were originally the same. We might now proceed to illustrate, by a like comparison, the interchange of letters of the other organs; but this is unnecessary. Perhaps, even now, an apology is due for the particularity in reference to this subject, we have indulged in. Those who are familiar with such inquiries will probably look upon our remarks as too elementary; we will add, therefore, on this point, merely, that changes take place in words, not only in single consonants and consonants of the same organ, but in several, and those of different kinds. Thus our word *deep* is in the German, *tief; dentals* being interchanged at the beginning, and *labials* at the end. Let a comparison also be made of *deaf, taub; deed, that; death, tod; washing, tushing; like, gleich; drive, treib; do, thun; to burn, verbrennen; to hold, verhatten; can, konnen; come, kommen; coal, kohle; day, tag,* and thus through the two languages, in a large proportion of the words.

From this exhibition it is manifest, that the cognate letters, as stated by Dr Webster, afford important aid to the etymologist; and that the first of the two 'governing principles' given above, has abundant support. It is admitted, that there is here sometimes room for mistake; resemblances may exist, which are merely accidental; but this circumstance authorizes no conclusion against the whole system. It shows only the necessity of cautious examination and comparison. We would here remark, that, in the examples given above to illustrate a single principle in etymology, references have been limited to modern languages, and to two which, we know historically, sprung from the same stock; as it is important towards satisfying all scruples, that the fact should be prominently exhibited, that, within comparatively a few centuries, a great diversity of dialect has come in among those who before used the same speech. Now, if, in modern languages, changes have arisen by a commutation of cognate letters, it is certainly no very rash inference, that similar changes were made in the languages of antiquity. If tribes, in modern Europe, when separated from each other, form different dialects of their original tongue, we may conclude it has been so in all countries and in every age. And if changes among the cognate letters are a safe rule to go by, in tracing a connexion among the modern languages of Europe, no valid objection lies against the same rule in tracing a connexion among the ancient languages of Europe and the East.

The principle of etymology, which we have been now considering, extends much farther than to single letters. It would be easy to show its application to syllables. Among the analogies which are discoverable between the words of two kindred languages, and which are important to the etymologist, we will notice a few, included perhaps in the rule just illustrated, and subordinate to it. Thus, the omission or addition of letters or syllables in words which have passed from one language to another, may have such uniformity, as to throw light on their derivation, and render etymologies, which might otherwise be doubtful, highly probable or certain. That the French *écume* is from the Latin *spuma* is rendered much more probable by observing that the letter *s*, with sometimes the consonant or consonants which follow it in the Latin, is often omitted, and in its place is substituted *e*, *ec*, &c. The Latin *scalæ* becomes, in this way, the French *échelle*; *schola*,

école; scribere, écrire; scopulus, écueil; scintilla, étincelle; spina, épine. The *s* is sometimes retained, as in *scapha, esquif; spatium, espace.* We are now prepared to see other analogies, as *aperire, ouvrir; operarius, ouvrier,* &c. The addition of a syllable also in French words derived from the Latin, is found in certain cases with such uniformity as not to obscure their origin. We have an example in the addition of *eil* or *il* to many nouns; as *sol, soleil; par, pareil; acus, aguille; somnus, sommeil,* &c. The fact also that words are generally abridged in passing from the Latin to the French, throws light on particular etymologies. Thus, *ridere, rire; manducare, manger; ambulare, aller; scribere, écrire; pater, père,* &c. This contraction may sometimes be traced through several stages; as *homo, homme, om* (old French), *on; on dit,* in French, corresponding in meaning exactly to the *man sagt* of the German. Any one who has attended to those languages of modern Europe, which are extensively derived from the Latin, must have observed innumerable analogies of this kind, which, though scarcely noticed at first, yet, by their frequency become clear and undoubted. But it is unnecessary here to particularize farther.

As to the second principle or rule in etymology laid down by Dr Webster as quoted above, that 'words in different languages are not to be considered as proceeding from the same radix, unless they have the same signification, or one closely allied, or naturally deducible from it;' some few remarks will be made by way of illustration. This rule likewise has a wide extent, and needs some qualifications. The rule applies especially to words which are the same in form, but differ wholly in signification; as in the French words *pêcher, to fish,* and *pécher, to sin.* The etymologist, who should attempt to bring these words together by tracing out some primary or collateral sense, however he might amuse his readers, would undoubtedly err. The first of these two words is evidently contracted, in the common mode of the French, from the Latin *piscari,* and the second from the Latin *peccare;* though they are distinguished in French only by the accent. Now if words can be thus separated, which are in form so nearly alike, much more should we be on our guard against confounding those which have less resemblance. It is important here to know the history of each word; and this brings us to the dividing line between certain and conjectural etymology. The highest

degree of proof is, where the successive variations in a word can be historically traced, and each of them referred to some well established analogy; and the force of evidence is diminished, as we recede from this rule of rigid comparison.

We have now to ask the indulgence of those of our readers, who have followed us thus far, while we adduce several examples of words, to illustrate more fully the two rules of etymology which have been now considered, with several of their modifications, and the use of historical notices in relation to this species of research. We are not about to give a system of etymology; but as far as we go, we choose to be understood; and examples seem necessary for our purpose.

Recluse is defined by Dr Webster, 'a person who lives in retirement or seclusion from intercourse with the world,' &c. He says 'it is derived from the Latin *recludo*, but with a signification directly opposite.' How this change has occurred is obvious from looking at the history of the word. The prefix *re*, as is well known, is used in Latin, both in an *intensive* and a *negative* sense. It is probable, therefore, that the word *recludo* had not a fixed meaning. It is true, that in the writers of the Augustan age, there is no example remaining of the use of this word in any other sense, than the opposite of *claudo*. Hence in our common dictionaries, it is defined, 'to open, to disclose,' &c. But in the writers of the succeeding ages, examples are numerous of the use of *recludo*, where *re* has merely an intensive signification. Thus the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, in his account of the emperor Constantius, says, 'Constantius, tanquam *recluso* Jani templo, stratisque hostibus cunctis, Romam visere gestiebat.' This is the general meaning of the word in the Latin Fathers. *Reclusi* meant persons shut up; hence, persons shut up in a monastery,—hence the French word *recluse*, from which our word is derived.

Stationery is defined to mean *paper, ink, quills*, &c. This is as remote from the meaning of that word in our language, which *stationery* most resembles, as *pêcher, to sin*, from *pêcher, to fish*. But it is undoubtedly the same word as *stationary, fixed*, and this appears from its history. Roman soldiers, who were placed in garrison, were denominated *stationarii* from *statio*, because they did their duty in one place. The word *stationarii* is used in this sense in the Roman Digest. In the later periods of the empire, persons were stationed at different places, on the great roads, to aid travellers

with horses and carriages in the transportation of their goods. These persons, as their duties were limited to particular districts, were likewise called *stationarii*, as may be seen in the code of the emperor Theodosius. A word already in use was here extended to include something analogous, a fact common in language. *Stationarii*, from being used to designate soldiers on garrison duty, and persons employed in particular districts to assist travellers, was applied to other classes of men, whose business confined them to one spot. Thus, on the revival of literature in Europe, shops were opened in the neighborhood of the universities, particularly at Padua, and Paris, where the universities were the most frequented; in which shops, books were kept for sale, and especially to *let*. In these places, also, numerous transcribers of books were employed, and conveniences of every kind were furnished to students for making extracts from authors,—a thing very necessary, as the art of printing was not yet discovered. These shops were emphatically denominated *stationes*, those who kept them were called *stationarii*, and the articles in which they dealt were designated by the law-Latin word *stationarium*, a word which seems to have been coined at this period. Hence, the word *stationery*, in due time, appeared in England. From the explanation of *stationer* in Todd's Johnson, it should seem, that it was first used to distinguish *stationary* from *itinerant* venders of books. This, however, is disproved by the quotation given in the same place from Sheldon, where '*standing* stationers' are mentioned. *Stationers* was a general term including both classes. The true origin of the word, it is believed, is given above. In French, the Roman *stationes* were called *postes*, a word derived from the Latin *positum*. Those who past as couriers from one *poste* or *statio* to another, were likewise called *postes*, which explains the double meaning of *post* in English.

Our word *squirrel* is from the Greek σκίουρος. This might be doubtful from simple inspection, but every step of the change from the one word to the other may be demonstrated. Σκίουρος is compounded of σκιὰ, *a shadow*, and οὐρὰ, *a tail*, and like most names in primitive languages, was, no doubt, used as descriptive of the animal designated. The Romans received the word into their language, by merely adapting it to their own orthography; it is therefore, in Latin, *sciurus*. In French it is *écureil; e* being prefixed, *s* omitted, and *il* added,

according to analogies explained above. In the old French the *s* is retained, and we there find *escureil;* and from this form of the word is our word *squirrel.* The *e* prefixed in French is often omitted in English; as Latin *status*, French *état*, English *state; stomachus*, *estomac*, *stomach*, &c.

Our word *bishop* and the French *évêque* have not a letter in common; yet they are both from the Greek ἐπίσκοπος. The Romans made no other change in the word than to give it the proper Latin termination. It is in their language, therefore, *episcopus.* The French by commuting the first *p* for its cognate *v*, and contracting the word, as is common with them, gave the word some such form as *evesc.* As words, which in Latin terminate in *c* with a vowel, are generally spelled with *que* in French, *evesc* would be written *evesque*, as it is in the old language. The *s* was afterwards omitted, probably because it was not noticed in pronunciation; and hence the word is now written *évêque.* There is a similar commutation of *p* and *v* in Italian; where the corresponding word is *vescovo.* Among the Saxons, *episcopus* was changed to *biscop; p* here being commuted for its cognate *b.* From *biscop*, by a very easy transition, is the English word *bishop.*

It is abundantly manifest from the etymologies now given, that the history of a word is often an important auxiliary in tracing its genealogy with correctness; and that the mere form is not in all cases sufficient. The historical *data*, necessary to produce conviction, may be more or less full. In languages nearly related, when a word falls within certain general analogies, it may be considered as well ascertained; but when the change is great, and the analogies slight, and especially in languages where but few words are known to be common, strict historical proof is indispensable. Where this is wanting, or the proof is weak, etymology is conjectural.

Perhaps no single etymology has been more frequently spoken of contemptuously, than that which Varro gives of the name of his own country, deriving *Italia* from *vitulus*, a *calf.* His account of the matter is this; 'Italia a vitulis, ut scribit Piso.' (*De Re Rust.* lib. ii. cap. 1.) And again, 'Bos, in pecuariâ, maximâ debet esse auctoritate; præsertim in Italiâ, quæ a bubus nomen habere sit existimata. Græciâ enim antiquâ, ut scribit Timæus, tauros vocabant ἰταλούς; a quorum multitudine, et pulchritudine, et fœtu vitulorum, Italiam dixerunt.' (Cap. 5.) Now, what is there objectionable in this ety-

mology? There is nothing, certainly, in the form of the words which forbids the supposition, that *Italia* has proceeded from ἰταλός. There is no interchange here even of cognate letters. Besides, it must be well known to any one, who has busied himself at all in Latin etymologies, that very many words employed by the Romans on the subject of the breeding of cattle, and on agriculture in its various departments, are of Greek descent. Thus we find, *aratrum*, *ager*, *bos*, *ovis*, *sus*, *agnus*, *mel*, *cera*, *olea*, *vinum*, all clearly Greek; and besides these many others, whose resemblance to the corresponding Greek words is less obvious, but still so apparent as to leave no doubt of the identity, to a great extent, of this part of the two vocabularies.

The plain inference from all this is, that the Greek colonists in Italy were an agricultural people; probably much farther advanced in the arts of civilized life, than the rude inhabitants of the country to which they came. They seem to have made a permanent impression on the character and social condition of those with whom they mingled; nor is it impossible, that a name given these foreigners, at first perhaps as herdsmen and agriculturists of superior skill, may have been ultimately changed to a designation of the country in which they had become conspicuous. Heyne, following Isidore, supposes that Italy was so called from *Italus*, one of its kings; and Niebuhr says this word is derived from *Itali*, the name of a tribe; neither of which opinions is inconsistent with the etymology reported by Varro. But the truth is, we are here in the region of conjecture; and without historical elucidations, which are now unattainable, it is impossible to come to any certain conclusion in this particular inquiry. As a conjecture, however, this etymology of Varro is certainly entitled to more respect than that of Bochart, who derives Italy from a Phœnician word signifying *pitch*.

This example may serve to illustrate what we mean by conjectural etymology. There may be conjecture where words consist of nearly the same letters. If *Italia*, from the mere resemblance of the words, and with slight circumstantial support, is allowed to have been derived from ἰταλὸς, it will be difficult to set bounds to the fancy in future speculations of the same kind. On these principles, we might soon be prepared to trace *cœlibes* to *cœlites*, though *b* and *t* are not cognates, especially when we are told by way of confirmation, that the former are included under one common notion or conception

with the latter, 'quod onere gravissimo vacent;' and we might believe that *avarus* is from *avidus auri*, and *locuples* from *loculi pleni*, and so on without end.

In noticing a work of which etymology forms so conspicuous a part, it seemed necessary to premise some general observations, exhibiting an outline of our opinions, at least on the leading principles of this branch of philology. We are aware that what has been said is imperfect, and needs much farther illustration; but our limits will allow no more, and few readers, perhaps, will have followed us thus far. We come, then, to the Dictionary.

The author, in a very elaborate Introduction, has first explained his views of the origin of language; and from this topic has passed to another, which, if more within the limits of investigation, from fact and experience, is still involved in considerable obscurity; that is, the affinity or relationship of languages to each other. The theory which he has adopted, to explain this very difficult part of his researches, is, that the languages of the East and West were originally the same; and that all variations have arisen from the dispersion of tribes and wandering hordes into distant parts of the world. Many words of the primary stock he supposes still to exist, at least in the principal branches of what he styles the Japhetic and Shemitic families. To detect these common words, requires a very careful and accurate analysis. As the two great divisions of language, the Eastern and Western, exhibit much diversity in the inflections of words to express relation, time, and manner of existence, and in the mode of forming compounds and derivatives, the resemblance to be looked for must be in the *roots* consisting of the same or of cognate letters, and conveying the same ideas, or such as have an obvious affinity.

As, from the absence of almost all records of the early ages, an exact historical exhibition of the progressive changes of words is impracticable, the proof of identity in particular cases must consist chiefly in the number of resemblances which can be pointed out, and the extent of the analogies which can be ascertained. Lists of words supposed to be common to the European and Oriental languages, have been heretofore compiled, which show so many words in the two branches, alike in form and in signification, as to afford very plausible reasons to believe in their primitive identity, even without very extensive research. The longest catalogue of this kind, with which we

are acquainted, is that of Ogerius. Some words, indeed, which he brings together, seem to have been communicated at a later period, from one branch to the other, by means of war or commerce; still there are resemblances in numerous words of common use and of primary necessity, which no occasional intercourse will explain.

In discussing this part of his subject, Dr Webster has gone into an extended examination of the particles of the ancient and modern languages of Europe and of Western Asia. Many of these particles he finds used separately, some in one language, and some in another, or as prefixes to nouns or verbs. Some are found in the same language both in a separate and in a compound state, with such changes in the letters as take place among cognates, or in the process of composition. In this part of the introduction, as well as in what he has said of the changes of consonants and vowels, the change or loss of radical letters, and the change of the signification of words, with the various incidental topics discussed, the author will bear an advantageous comparison with any one who has before gone over any part of the same ground, and whose writings are known to us. We are not acquainted with the writer on these subjects, who is more entirely original, who has relied more on his own investigations, and who has been less swayed by mere authority; and we have seen no indications of a disposition to differ from others, from the mere love of singularity. If in a few instances he does not produce conviction, if some things appear to rest too much upon conjecture and accidental coincidences, and now and then a conclusion is hazarded, which will be adopted only by the deeply initiated,—let him who is dissatisfied turn to Vossius, Bochart, and other celebrated etymologists of modern days, and he will hesitate to complain. Quintilian could ask in defence of the writers on etymology in his time, 'Cui non post Varronem sit venia?' The same question will occur to such as will peruse the authors now alluded to; and after even a moderate examination, they will hardly think it worth their while to talk much of fancy, whim, or conjecture, in the introduction to this dictionary.

Of this preliminary discourse it is impossible to give an intelligible abstract, without greatly exceeding the limits we have prescribed to ourselves in this review. We would add only, that we think the author has contributed somewhat to the previous probability, that the Hebrew triliteral roots are com-

pounds, and so far strengthened the theory, which is supported by plausible reasons, that the original language of mankind was monosyllabic. In this point of view, what he has said on the Hebrew word בדל in its relations to certain words in other languages, to show that ב is a prefix, is deserving of peculiar notice. The striking coincidences of this word with others, we believe to have been here pointed out for the first time. This example needs only a few like it brought to its support, to be the foundation of important conclusions. That many of the triliteral Hebrew roots are compounds, appears probable likewise from their terminations; a circumstance to which Dr Webster, so far as we have noticed, does not allude. To understand what is here intimated, let the words חרס *the sun*, חרה *to burn*, and חרב *to be dry* or *dried up*, be compared; as likewise גלה *to uncover*, גלד *the skin*, גלח *to shave*, and גלב *a barber*, and other similar classes of words. If a conjecture may be here allowed, we would say, that as a connexion between the languages of Western and Eastern Asia, particularly the Shemitic and Sanscrit families, seems now to be admitted, among other elucidations to be looked for, as inquiries proceed, the subject of biliteral roots may come in for a share. But we have not space to enlarge here.

In the etymologies annexed to the several words in this dictionary, we find the comparison of languages carried to a much greater extent than in any preceding work of the kind, which has fallen under our observation. The author professes to have compared twenty languages, and to have found each language to throw light on every other. Of course, very considerable changes have been made from the etymologies of words as they stand in Johnson, even with the improvements of Mr Todd. Advantage has been properly taken of the investigations of Tooke, whose general system of tracing words to their roots has been adopted; though variations from Tooke occur in stating the origin of words, and occasionally in the details of following out the branches of the principal stocks. In noticing this part of the work, we can only produce a few examples of what the author has done; beginning with such etymologies as will give the most favorable view of his labors.

Address, taken in connexion with *Dress*, is accompanied with an etymology, which will serve as a specimen of a large class in this department. We have first the French *addresser*, from which, no doubt, the word came directly to the English.

Next follows the Spanish *enderezar*, the Italian *dirizzare*, and the Latin *dirigo*. It is added, that there is here a coincidence with words in the Chaldee, Arabic, and Syriac, which signify *to direct, to rectify, to fit*. Under the word *dress*, besides the French *dresser*, to make straight, to set up, to erect, the Armoric is given, *dreçza, dreçzein;* the Italian *rizzare*, to erect, to make straight; the Spanish *enderezar*, and Portuguese *endereçar*, to direct; the Norman *adrescer*, to redress. From this comparison, the inference is made, that the primary sense of the word is, *to make straight, to strain or stretch to straightness*. It is added, that the Italian *rizzare* is supposed to be formed from *ritto*, straight, upright; Latin, *erectus*, *rectus*, from *erigo*, *rego*. From the primary meaning of these words, as thus deduced, the various significations in which they are used are given.

This account of the word is more satisfactory than that in Todd's Johnson. The comparison of the corresponding words in other languages being more extended, and the primary sense, as it is called by the author, being more distinctly exhibited, the transition in the various uses of these words is more easily understood and remembered. There is, indeed, a prevalent opinion, that etymology generally is of little value in ascertaining the meaning of words. Their signification, it is said, must be settled by their use, and not by tracing their genealogy. But that a correct etymology of a word may be so employed as to render its definition more exact and clear, is obvious from the use which has been made of the very etymology now under consideration. From the primary sense of the word *dress*, to make straight, or reduce to straightness, as drawn from its etymology, the first meaning given is, to adjust to a straight line, as in the military phrase, '*dress* your ranks.' Hence the other senses of the word,—to put in order, to adjust; to prepare, *in a general sense;* to put the body in order; to put on rich garments, where *dress* is used emphatically; to dress up, &c. This arrangement of the several significations of a word shows their mutual dependence; the limits within which a word may be employed are more clearly defined, and the danger of its being perverted to express that for which it is not adapted, and for marking which there may be other words altogether appropriate, is much diminished.

This particular advantage, in attending to the etymology of

words, towards fixing their definitions, may be seen more distinctly, by turning to this same word *dress* in Todd's Johnson. Here the first meaning of the word is, *to clothe, to invest with clothing*, &c., which, being a secondary signification, has little apparent connexion, as thus placed, except in form, with the French *dresser*, which is given as its etymon. Dr Webster has, therefore, very properly changed the order of the definitions. Mr Todd, however, under the word *dress*, has given the old Welch *trwsio;* and under *address*, the low Latin *addretiare* vel *addressare*, which are omitted by Dr Webster. The several significations of the word *address*, follow naturally from *dress*, as modified by the preposition *ad*. The primitive sense of this word is seen in the mercantile expression, 'to *address*, that is, to *direct* goods to the care of another, as agent or factor;' a sense which we have found in this dictionary only.

We would here make a single remark as to the derivations from the Eastern languages. Most of this class of etymologies are, as here stated, mere *coincidences*. Of proper historical proof of the connexion between the Oriental and Occidental languages, we possess but little. The evidence that words in these two great divisions of language, or as Dr Webster denominates them, the Shemitic and Japhetic families, have a common origin, must arise from resemblance in form and in signification; and especially in the number of words which will bear such comparison. We are inclined to believe, that to this part of the etymologies of the work under review, most exceptions will be taken. Not that we suppose such connexion unsusceptible of proof. The view of Oriental words in this dictionary is sufficient to evince, that the supposition of a community of roots, to a considerable extent, between the language of the East and of the West, has very plausible support. But the relation of the Eastern languages to our own is less manifest; and as the progressive changes in the transition of words cannot here be distinctly marked, there is more room for conjecture, and, by necessary consequence, for mistake. These Oriental words are, we think, very properly inserted among the etymons. They will contribute to encourage inquiry in this branch of philology; and if further investigation should show, that some are incorrectly classed, it will undoubtedly add confirmation to the assignment of others. It must be admitted, however, that any important advantage from these Eastern derivations, in the defining part of the

dictionary, can hardly be looked for. They may aid occasionally in detecting the original sense of a word, but such instances must be rare.

Array. Under this word, the etymology is much extended and improved; and the definition is, in consequence, more lucid. The connexion suggested between this word and *ray*, *rod*, *root*, *radius*, &c. is ingenious. The whole is given as matter of opinion, and is deserving of consideration. Such intimations serve at least to direct inquiry. If they should prove erroneous, no harm is done.

Assay and *Essay.* The etymologies and definitions of these words give a favorable impression of the dictionary; but it is difficult to abridge them.

Bird. The original meaning of this word is *chicken*, as stated likewise in Todd's Johnson. But the etymology is here carried farther. The remarkable fact is likewise noticed, that the proper generic name of flying animals, *fowl*, has been laid aside; and the name of the young of those animals has been substituted for it. In Todd's Johnson it is said, 'In common talk, *fowl* is used for the larger, and *bird* for the smaller kind of feathered animals.' Yet among the authorities, we find quoted from Milton,

'The *bird of Jove* stoop'd from his airy tour.'

The whole account of this word by Dr Webster, is more consistent and satisfactory.

We might proceed to notice particularly a long list of words which we have marked, in the etymologies of which there is much that is curious, much that throws new light on the origin of our vocabulary, on the connexion of different languages, and on the general or primary ideas under which words may be comprehended. Among these we have room only to refer to *beseech*, *brace*, *forest*, *foreign*, *hate*, *heat*, *seek*, and *suit*, which show very extensive research; and where the lovers of etymological lore will find abundant materials for instruction and amusement. Under the word *feud*, we are told, that the word is not Teutonic or Gothic, as has been generally supposed, being found among none of the northern nations of Europe; but that it originated in the south of Europe, probably among the Franks, or in Lombardy or Italy, and certainly among those who studied the civil law. The author, by tracing this word, in its several forms and significations, through the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and

Norman-French, comes to the conclusion, that *feud*, as also *fee*, which is a contraction of it, is a word formed from the Latin *fides*, Italian *fede*, Spanish *fe*, Norman *fei*, signifying *faith*, *trust*, with *had*, signifying *state*, or *ead* or *odh*, signifying *estate*. A *feud*, therefore, is an estate in trust, or on condition. From the origin of this word, it is thought by the author, that the peculiar propriety is manifest, of calling the donee *fidelis*, and his obligation to his lord *fidelitas*, whence *fealty*. This account of the word *feud*, is, we believe, new, at least in part, and deserves particular attention.

Under the word *thing*, as connected with the name of the third day of the week, Tuesday, there is an etymology, which is, so far as we know, altogether original; and it is certainly ingenious and plausible. The primary sense of *thing*, by a long deduction through the northern dialects, is concluded to be, *that which comes*, *falls*, or *happens*, like *event* from the Latin *evenio*. *Dings-dag*, otherwise *Ding-dag*, in some of the dialects, signifies *Tuesday*, and this from the circumstance that that day of the week was, as it still is in some states, the day of opening courts; that is, *litigation-day*, or *suitors'-day*, a day of strife for justice; or perhaps *combat-day*, the day of trial by battle. This, in the view of the author, connects itself with another curious fact, that among our ancestors, *Tig* or *Tiig* was the name of the deity of combat and war, the Teutonic Mars; that is, strife, combat deified. This word was contracted into *tiw*, or *tu*, and hence *Tiwes-dæg*, or *Tues-dæg*, Tuesday, the day consecrated to *Tiig*, the god of war. It was natural that trials by battle should be assigned to this day; and hence, as other forms of litigation took their place, that Tuesday should be appropriately *litigation-day*. That *res*, in Latin, is connected in the same manner with *reus*, accused, as intimated by the author, seems more doubtful.

Though the etymologies in this dictionary show extensive and laborious research, and contain important improvements on the etymological works which have preceded it; and though they will often, perhaps generally, afford entire satisfaction to the inquirer; yet in some cases the evidence on which the author has founded his opinions, is not very obvious; and in running over a variety of articles, we have experienced all the states of mind from full credence in what we found, through the gradations of doubt, to entire disbelief. It is indeed stated in the advertisement to this dictionary, that the

etymological part is given to the world under great disadvantages. The brevity required in a dictionary, will not allow of the exhibition of all the facts, which have led to particular conclusions. It it with a full view of these difficulties, that we propose any objections to this part of the dictionary; and we are aware of the liability we are under to see the weakness of our criticisms exposed by the publication of the 'Synopsis,' which the author has in hand. Still, whether the doubts we shall suggest, have any just foundation or not, the author will have an opportunity of seeing what points need especial elucidation; and will have it in his power to make that portion of his labors which is still in manuscript, more complete, and less exposed to misapprehension or perversion. We shall now, as in noticing what we approved, or considered as supported by very plausible reasons, give, as specimens of their class, a few examples of etymologies which do not satisfy us; for in neither case do we make any pretensions of furnishing a full list. The first word we have selected with this view is

Copy. This word is referred, first, to the French *copie*, which, with the corresponding words in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, is supposed to be from the Arabic, and to coincide with the root of *cope* and *cuff*. That *copy* came to us directly from the French *copie*, there can be no doubt; but that this latter word, and the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese *copia*, are from the Latin *copia*, seems more probable. From the use of such phrases as *dare copiam*, *facere copiam*, *habere copiam*, with reference to *possession*, *permission*, *opportunity*, &c. the transition was not very abrupt to the meaning of our word *copy*. But whether this was the precise mode in which this word received a new signification, or not, it is certain that *copia* in low Latin, had sometimes the meaning of *exemplum*. *Copia*, with this latter meaning, passed into the French, and from the French to the English, and left its original signification behind. In the Italian and Spanish, *copia* has the two senses of *abundance*, and *copy* or a *transcript* from an original. We seem to have here the link which connects this word with the Latin, and that historical support which etymology so often needs. The intermediate steps between *cope*, *cuff*, and *copy*, are not obvious; or if this connexion is allowed, the question will arise, how the Italian and Spanish *copia*, acquired the meaning of *abundance*. We would, however, add, that in tracing the origin of *cope*, Dr Webster, in deriving it from the

northern languages of Europe, has evidently the advantage of Mr Todd, in his etymology of the same word. Whether *cope* has any connexion with the Arabic, and *cuff* with the Greek κόπτω, rests, we suppose, on conjecture, though the conjecture is ingenious.

Bladder. That this word has any other connexion with *blaze*, *blade*, &c. than what is accidental we do not at present see. The objection is not, that words used to designate things so diverse, are claimed to have come to us from the same *radix*, for, that such things may be, there is most abundant proof in language; but, that the coincidences in the northern languages, on which this common descent is predicated, seem to be fortuitous.

Father. That this word has any other relation to *fodder*, than that which has arisen from casual coincidence, in the present state of our knowledge, we do not see.

Key is derived, by the author, from the Saxon *coeg*. The tenth signification given this word, is 'a ledge or lay of rocks near the surface of the water.' *Key*, a ledge of rocks, is rather from the Spanish *cayos*, which has been gradually corrupted in pronunciation and orthography to *key*. The word *cayos* may be seen on Spanish charts. This is a striking example of the accidental resemblance of words originally distinct; and of the danger of relying too much on the fact, that words may be included under some general idea.

Queen seems to have no other connexion with *quean*, than that both names may sometimes be justly applied to the same individual. Of this kind of coincidence we have had a flagrant example in our times. We should rather think *quean* only to be from the Saxon *cwæn*, and *queen* to be from the German *koenigen*.

Romance. That the appropriate meaning of this word came from the use of the Roman or Romanish dialect by the Troubadours, who translated into it the wild and extravagant tales of the Moors and others, we supposed to rest on indubitable proof. The connexion between this word and the Welch *Rham* seems to want that historical illustration, of which we have before spoken. That Rome did not receive its name from Romulus and Remus, and that the history of these personages is fabulous, is probable enough; but for the proof of it we should rely little upon an etymology, which rather needs the support of history than furnishes history any elucidation.

We might proceed to enlarge the list of etymologies whose correctness we consider as doubtful, and likewise that of etymologies in which we generally concur; but there is little apparent advantage in this course. Our limits will not allow of many specifications; and the examples already produced, furnish abundant foundation for all the remarks we are disposed to add. The etymological part of this dictionary, then, shows evidence of great toil, extensive inquiry, and a very careful comparison of words. Words from many different languages are here brought side by side, which shed light upon each other, and an attentive consideration of which will suggest hints for still farther discoveries and improvements. We are inclined to believe, that so far as errors and mistakes exist in this part of the work, they will be found to have originated from the fact, that the similarity of words in their letters or cognates has sometimes been too much relied upon in settling their common descent; that occasionally too little allowance has been made for caprice or accident in the formation of words, and in the change of significations; and, in some cases, not improbably, from the fact, that the examination of a language has been confined to the vocabulary, without that intimate acquaintance with grammatical forms, and with phraseology, which is sometimes necessary for a full and accurate analysis. But in all the great divisions of knowledge, there are departments, in which speculation and conjecture are allowable; nor does any sufficient reason suggest itself, why, in etymology, similar indulgence should not be granted. We would add, that though there are many places in this work, where attention to the etymology of words, has enabled the author to improve his definitions; we have fallen upon no instance, where the etymology appeared doubtful, in which the definition appeared to be affected by the supposed error.

As to the extension of the vocabulary, we are informed, in the advertisement to the work, that, 'the dictionary of Walker has been found by actual enumeration, to contain, in round numbers, *thirty-eight thousand* words. Those of Johnson, Sheridan, Jones, and Perry, have not far from the same number. The American edition of Todd's Johnson contains *fifty-eight thousand*. In the work now submitted to the public, the number has been increased to *seventy thousand*.' Among the words added, it is stated, that there have been brought into the vocabulary, many words of common use, as important as any

in the language; participles of verbs; terms of frequent occurrence in historical works, especially those derived from proper names; legal terms; and terms in the arts and sciences.

There is room for some difference of opinion in respect to the range, which the lexicographer ought to take in forming his vocabulary. Some, no doubt, would prefer a dictionary, which should contain such words only as are of reputable use on subjects of common life, and general literature; in which there should be no word really obsolete, no word which is not found in some author of established character, and no words properly scientific; words of this latter class being assigned to a separate work. That a dictionary compiled on these principles, which should contain only the undoubted classical part of the language, supported by proper authorities, would be useful, is not denied; but its circulation would be necessarily limited. Unusual words are in fact met with among authors of no mean name, and many readers wish them explained; scientific words occur in books on common subjects, and their signification is not always known. A dictionary is of course in such cases referred to; and that work will be preferred by most persons, which least frequently disappoints them. Hence it has long been the custom of lexicographers, to recommend their works by stating the number of words which they contain, and the variety of subjects to which the vocabulary extends. Thus Howell speaks of his dictionary as containing a 'longe nomenclature of the peculiar and proper terms belonging to several arts, to the most generous sort of recreations, to all professions both liberal and manual, from the engineer to the mouse-trap-maker, from the merchant-adventurer to the cryer of matches. Here you have the terms of heraldry, of horsemanship, of hunting, of hawking, of war, the terms of chemistry, of architecture, of navigation, not a cable or a rope in a ship but you have it here; you shall find here all the knighthoods and religious orders of christendom, with fifty several distinct sections, a work most useful for all that pretend to knowledge, curiosity, and true eloquence, &c.' Whatever may be thought of a dictionary containing only select words, a copious vocabulary has, in some respects, the advantage, and will be sought for by the greatest number of readers.

Of the words which have been added among the several classes mentioned above, it is impossible within our limits to give many specimens. We shall restrict ourselves here to a

few cited by the author himself. Among words in common use, he has enumerated as examples the following. Nouns—*grandjury, grandjuror, eulogist, consignee, consigner, mammoth, maltreatment, iceberg, parachute, malpractice, fracas, entailment, perfectibility, glacier, firewarden, safety-valve, savings-bank.* Adjectives—*gaseous, lithographic, peninsular, repealable, retaliatory, dyspeptic, missionary, nervine, meteoric, mineralogical, reimbursable.* Verbs—*to quarantine, revolutionize, retort* (v. i.), *patent, explode* (v. i.), *electioneer, reorganize, oxidize, magnetize.* Many hundred words of this kind are stated to have been added. They are to be found on every page of the dictionary, and it would be superfluous to cite many as specimens. Few objections, probably, will be urged against these additions. Such words as have been introduced into the language, to mark what is novel in the situation and institutions of the United States, are in the strict sense, necessary, and are adopted by the English themselves in speaking of our concerns. They cannot do otherwise, if they would be understood. Thus *land-office* and *land-warrant* are as necessary and as legitimate words, as *savings-bank* and *power-loom*, the two former of which originated with us, and the two latter with the English.

That some few words in the 'American Dictionary' will be thought not sufficiently authorized, is not improbable. *Lengthy* may be pronounced not English; but the author has given his authorities, and it must rest upon those. Without undertaking to defend this word, we would say, that it may be seen much more frequently in English, than in American, publications. A number of a periodical work* of high literary pretensions, published in London during the last year, is now before us, in which we find the following sentence. 'Mr Scott appears to have searched the road-books with exemplary diligence, in many instances transcribing several consecutive pages from Robertson, in others, translating *lengthy* paragraphs from Seckendorf and Sleidan, &c.' In a language so anomalous as the English no valid objection lies against *lengthy* from the manner of its formation; but, if it is attended with vulgar associations, this may be a reason for not using it. In this respect, however, it is in the same predicament with other words,

* The British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review, and Ecclesiastical Record; No. 5, p. 65.

whose claim to a place in our vocabulary has never been questioned.

As to new words, whoever will compare the productions of the American, with those of the English press, and especially of the periodical press, will soon be satisfied that much more attention is paid to the authority of good writers, and to the decision of lexicographers, in the United States, than in England. We will take only the two last numbers of the London Quarterly Review (seventy-five and seventy-six), for illustration. Words are here employed, in great numbers, which are in no dictionary, or in the 'American Dictionary' only. We will give a list of a few.

Abrahamitical, in the phrase, 'an Abrahamitical family,' is found in none of the dictionaries. The astronomical tables of Alphonso, king of Arragon, are referred to as the *Alphonsine* tables. This adjective is not in Todd, but is supplied by Webster. Then follow, *absenteeism*, *beflattered*, *buccaneered*, *cacodemon*, *chief-justiceship*, *choric*, *cognizant*, in the sentence 'a bar intent upon the subject, and scarcely less *cognizant* of all its bearings, than the judge himself,'—*concessionist*, a new word which has originated from the Catholic question,—*consubstantially*, *coxcombry*, *demented*, *devilets*, a diminutive of *devil*, though we had already in the dictionaries the nouns *deviling*, and *devilkin*,—*dupery*, *emancipationist*, another new word from the controversy about Catholic claims,—*faithworthiness*, *filiated*, in the sentence, 'a fine of two thousand pounds of sugar was exacted from any person, upon whom a mulatto child should be *filiated*,'—*fire-maker*, *finger-post*, *fruit-garden*, *game-laws*, *governor-general*, *grindingly*, *hierocracy*, *huge-limbed*, *hymn-writing*, *ill-advised*, *ill-augury*, *ill-lodging*, *ill-placed*, *ill-planned*, *ill-requited*, *ill-suited*, *ill-treatment*, *ill-timed*, *ill-wounded*, *intervisit*, *koffila*, *law-office*, *law-officer*, *land-crab*, *land-owners*, *life-interest*, *life-owners*, *long-established*, *long-backed*, *maherrie*, *metapolitics*, *mispolicy*, *mother-government*, *mud-built*, *mud-cabin*, *mystify*, *neologism*, in Todd and Webster, but not in the sense in which it is here used,—*new-found*, *non-interference*, *non-existent*, *over-drawing*,* as 'over-drawing a metaphor,' *partisanship*,—*perilled*, as an active verb,—*personalty*, *pheasant-covers*,

* Quære—whether *over-drawing*, as used in the business of banking is not entitled to a place, at least in an American dictionary.

public-house, *power-loom*, *qualified*, as a neuter verb; *rabbi-trained*, *recitation-room*, *recriminative*, *relet*, *sea-rover*, *self-application*, *self-identification*, *seminude*, *sensualization*, *shillelah*, *socializing*, *statesboys*, *sub-commission*, *sheik*, *theopathic*, *unamalgamated*, *unapostolic*, *undegenerate*, *ungentlemanness*, *unobtruding*, &c. &c. are in none of the dictionaries. We find, likewise, in the same numbers of this Review, *agitator*, for one who excites sedition or revolt, a word used in the time of the Commonwealth, and now current in all discussions of Irish affairs,—*autocratic*, *international*, *inappropriate*, *mansion-house*, *nebula*, *rabbinism*, *redemptioners*, which the reviewer calls a 'barbarous appellation,' but he could evidently find no substitute except in a periphrasis,—*ricketty*, in the sense of weak, feeble, *shirkings*, or, as Dr Webster spells the word, *sharkings*, *steam-vessel*, *unscrupulous*, *undercurrent*, and *unilateral*, which are in the dictionary of Webster only. This is not given as a complete list. It is made up of such words only as were selected in rapid reading. The periodical press of Great Britain is actually running riot in language. We have nothing like this in the United States. More new words, it is believed, have been brought into use in England within comparatively a few years, most of which are wholly unnecessary, than in this country, with all its new institutions, from the time of its first settlement. Dr Webster should not be reproached for not picking them all up. They are as thick as Claudian's ghosts;

> 'quantas truculentior Auster
> Decutit arboribus frondes.'

He has added very greatly to the number of compound words, the compounds of *un*, *sub*, &c. On the compounds of *ill*, he remarks, that this word may be prefixed to almost any participle. That he should have omitted some few words of sufficient authority is not to be wondered at. We were somewhat surprised, we confess, in not finding the word *forever* in this dictionary; it so often occurs as a single word, that we should suppose it would have forced itself upon the attention of a lexicographer, who had been twenty years over his work. But the 'American Dictionary' is not singular in this respect; we can find the word in no other dictionary within our reach.*

* On further examination we find Dr Webster has defined *forever* under *ever*, but not *in loco*.

We now pass to consider this work as a *defining* dictionary; and it is in this view chiefly, that a work of this kind is either interesting or valuable to the public at large. Etymological inquiries may instruct and amuse the few, who have leisure and ability to pursue them; but to the great mass of readers a dictionary is useful only as it furnishes a copious vocabulary, and is a safe guide to the purity and precision of their mother-tongue.

In examining Dr Webster's labors in this department of his work, it will be natural to consider, in the first place, the *new significations* which he has introduced in his definitions. These occur on every page; and amount, as he informs us, to between thirty and forty thousand. As far as we have been able to examine them, they consist, to a great extent, of the most common and important senses of words, according to the best usage of the present day. Thus, the sense of *achievement* for the *action* performed, *donation* for the *thing* given, *excitement* for the *effect* produced, *celebrity* for *renown* or *distinction*, a *premium* for a *reward* or *prize*, *magistracy* for the *body* of magistrates, *orientalist* for an *oriental scholar*, *gazzetteer* for a *dictionary of geography*, *muscular* for *strong*, an *acceptance* for a *draft* accepted, an *action* for a *military engagement*, a *manifest* for one of the *papers* of a *ship*, *anchorage* for the *place* where a ship may *anchor*, the *marine* of a country for its *navy*, *tact* for nice *discernment* or *taste*, *calculated* for *fitted*, *failure* to denote *insolvency*, *original* and *originality* to denote *mental* qualities, *speculate* and *speculation* in the *mercantile* sense of those terms, are examples of the additions in this part of the work, and are to be found, we believe, in no other English dictionary.

So likewise, the peculiar significations of the words, which are *italicized* in the following expressions, have been given, we believe, for the first time in a dictionary, by Dr Webster. The *docket* of a court, an *organ* of conveyance, to *invest* capital, to *protest* a draft, to *libel* a ship, the *locality* of a mineral, the *investment* of a fortress, *moral* certainty, the *execution* of a deed, a *lucid* arrangement, the *lock* of a canal, *menial* offices, to *address* a letter, to *adopt* an opinion, to *affirm* the decision of an inferior court, the *album* of a friend, the *alcove* of a library, a *cordon* of troops, *minute* investigation, *minuteness* of inquiry, the *validity* of a will, &c. It is useless, however, to multiply examples of this kind, since they occur on almost every page.

The number of definitions is also increased by a distinction between the senses of qualifying terms, when applied to *persons* and to *things*. Thus, Dr Johnson's definition of *learned*, 'versed in science and literature,' does not apply to a 'learned treatise.' In the expressions, 'a *charitable* man,' and 'a *charitable* society,' 'the *pious* donor,' and 'a donation for *pious* uses,' there are two distinct applications of the terms used, which we have seen marked by no one but Dr Webster.

The definitions in this work are rendered still more numerous and valuable, by the addition of important *technical* and *professional* senses, which belong to a large class of words or phrases. Thus, we find explained the meaning of a bill of exchange, course of exchange, balance of trade, bill of sale, bill of entry, bill of rights, animal magnetism, excommunication the greater and less, benefit of clergy, duplicate ratio, compound and double affinity, together with the legal sense of an affray, challenge of jurors, writ of error, bail common and special, bond, judge advocate, forgery, bill of exceptions, &c. These additions are very numerous, and present a great variety of useful information.

Besides increasing the number of his definitions, Dr Webster seems to have aimed, in the second place, at an increased fulness in describing the object or action in view. Thus, under the word *bishop*, after defining the term, he adds a statement of the mode in which bishops are elected and consecrated to office, both in England and in this country. Under the word *earth*, he enumerates the primitive earths, refers to their metallic bases as discovered by modern chemistry, and he likewise describes the orbit, figure, diameter, and revolution of our globe. Under the word *blockade*, he states in what cases a port may be considered as truly blockaded. In this respect, the work before us presents not merely the signification of words in their popular import, but, to a certain extent, a scientific enumeration of the properties and relations of the thing described. As examples of Dr Webster's mode of defining, compared in this respect with Dr Johnson's, we give the following.

Telescope. Johnson.—'A long glass by which distant objects are viewed.' Webster.—'An optical instrument employed in viewing distant objects, as the heavenly bodies. It assists the eye chiefly in two ways; first, by enlarging the visual angle under which a distant object is seen, and thus magnifying that

object; and, secondly, by collecting and conveying to the eye a larger beam of light than would enter the naked organ, and thus rendering objects distinct and visible, which would otherwise be indistinct and invisible. Its essential parts are the *object-glass*, which collects the beam of light and forms an image of the object, and the *eye-glass*, which is a microscope by which the image is magnified.'

Pursuing the same course in *Natural History*, Dr Webster defines the most important terms by a specification of the properties of the objects which these terms designate, and the less important, by referring the several objects to their respective *genera*. It is unnecessary here to quote examples. In *Chemistry*, *Mineralogy*, and *Geology*, Dr Webster has added a great number of words to his vocabulary, and has conformed his definitions to the existing state of knowledge on these subjects. In these and other departments of science, the definitions, he informs us, have been submitted to professional gentlemen, whose character is a pledge for the correctness of the statements made. We would remark, however, that the space allotted to different articles in these departments, is not in every instance proportioned to what appears to us to be their relative importance. *Historical terms* have been added, to a great extent, in this work, and their definitions are in general given with a fulness, which will preclude the necessity of a reference to other works for the true meaning of such words. Where this exact information in the different branches of knowledge can be given within the space allowable in a dictionary, it is desirable, and adds to the value of the work.

Dr Webster, in the third place, has aimed at a more nice and accurate *discrimination* as to the signification of the terms defined. The leading and important words are not defined by *synonymes*, which serve only to confuse the mind, but by a brief enumeration of the properties which belong to the object in question. Thus,

Frugality is defined by Johnson to be equivalent to 'thrift' or 'parsimony'; by Webster, to be 'that careful management of money or goods, which expends nothing unnecessarily, and applies what is used to a profitable purpose; that use in which nothing is wasted. It is not equivalent to *parsimony*, the latter being an excess of frugality and a fault. *Frugality* is always a virtue. Nor is it synonymous with *thrift* in its proper sense; for thrift is the *effect* of frugality.'

Admiration is defined by Johnson to be 'wonder, the act of admiring or wondering.' By Webster, to be 'wonder mingled with pleasing emotions, as approbation, esteem, love, or veneration; a compound emotion excited by something novel, rare, great, or excellent; applied to persons and their works. It often includes a slight degree of surprise. Thus we view the solar system with *admiration*.'

Magnanimity is defined by Johnson to be 'greatness of mind; bravery, elevation of soul.' By Webster, to be 'that elevation or dignity of soul, which encounters danger and trouble with tranquillity and firmness, which raises the possessor above revenge, and makes him delight in acts of benevolence, which makes him disdain injustice and meanness, and prompts him to sacrifice personal ease, interest, and safety, for the accomplishment of useful and noble objects.'

Obstinacy is defined by Johnson to be 'stubbornness, contumacy, pertinacy, persistency.' By Webster, to be 'a fixedness in opinion or resolution, that cannot be shaken at all, or not without great difficulty; firm and usually unreasonable adherence to an opinion, purpose, or system; a fixedness that will not yield to persuasion, argument, or other means. *Obstinacy* may not always convey the idea of unreasonable or unjustifiable firmness; as when we say, soldiers fight with *obstinacy*. But often, and perhaps usually, the word denotes a fixedness of resolution, which is not to be vindicated under the circumstances.'

Adjournment is defined by Johnson to be 'an assignment of a day, or a putting off till another day; delay, procrastination, dismission to a future time.' By Webster, to be 'the putting off to another day or time specified, or *without day;* that is, the closing of a session of a public or official body.' And likewise, 'the time or interval during which a public body defers business; as, during an *adjournment*. But a suspension of business between the forming of a house and an adjournment, for refreshment, is called a *recess*. In Great Britain, the close of a *session* of parliament is called a *prorogation;* as the close of a parliament is a *dissolution*. But in Great Britain, as well as in the United States, *adjournment* is now used for an intermission of business, for any indefinite time; as an *adjournment* of parliament for six weeks.'

Acumen is defined by Johnson to be, in general, 'quickness of intellect.' By Webster, to be 'a quickness of *perception*, the faculty of nice *discrimination*.'

Acquire is defined by Johnson, 'to gain by *one's own* labor or power; to obtain what is not received from nature, or transmitted by inheritance.' By Webster, 'to gain by *any means*, something which is in a degree *permanent*, or which becomes vested or inherent in the possessor; as to *acquire* a title, estate, learning, habits, skill, dominion, &c. Plants *acquire* a green color from the solar rays. A mere temporary possession is not expressed by *acquire*, but by *gain*, *obtain*, *procure*; as to *obtain* (not *acquire*) a book on loan.'

Obtain is defined by Johnson, 'to gain, to acquire, to procure.' To *receive* is defined by him, 'to take or obtain any thing.' By Webster these words are thus distinguished, under the word *obtain*. 'This word usually implies *exertion* to get possession, and in this it differs from *receive*, which may or may not imply exertion. It differs from *acquire*, as genus from species; *acquire* being properly applied only to things permanently possessed; but *obtain* is applied both to things of temporary and of permanent possession. We *obtain* loans of money on application; we *obtain* answers to letters; we *obtain* spirit from liquors by distillation, and salt by evaporation. We *obtain* by seeking; we often *receive* without seeking. We *acquire* or *obtain* a good title to lands by deed, or by a judgment of court; but we do not *acquire* spirit by distillation; nor do we *acquire* an answer to a letter or an application.'

Besides discriminating the signification of words with greater exactness, Dr Webster has corrected numerous errors into which Dr Johnson had fallen, through inadvertency, or a want of accurate information. The following may serve as examples of a large number, which we had marked as belonging to this class.

Peculation. Johnson—'Robbery of the public; theft of public money.' Webster—'The crime of defrauding the public by appropriating to one's own use the money or goods *entrusted* to one's care for management or disbursement.'

Lens. Johnson—'A glass, spherically convex on both sides.' Lenses are not only convex, but concave, plano-convex, &c. The proper correction is made by Webster.

Lemma. Johnson—'A proposition assumed.' Webster—'A proposition demonstrated for the purpose of being used in the demonstration of some other proposition.'

Coral. Johnson—'A plant of a stony nature.' This is corrected by Webster.

Focus. Johnson—'The place where rays meet after refraction.' Webster—'after being reflected or refracted.'

Flame. Johnson—'Light emitted from fire.' It is more than light; it is 'burning vapor,' as defined by Webster.

Earn. Johnson—'To *gain* as the reward or wages of labor, or any performance.' But a man may *earn* money, who never *gains* it. To earn, is 'to merit by service,' according to Webster.

In the definitions of legal terms especially, Dr Johnson has fallen into many errors, which Dr Webster's professional knowledge has enabled him to correct. Thus *larceny* is defined by Johnson to be 'a petty theft.' It is shown by Dr Webster to be a generic term, including all kinds of theft, and even burglary and robbery, and is distinguished by him into various classes, as *petty* and *grand* larceny, *simple* and *mixed* larceny.

Burglary and *house-breaking* are confounded by Dr Johnson. Burglary is defined by Dr Webster to be the crime of house-breaking, when committed in the night.

Robbery. Johnson—'Theft perpetrated by force or with privacy.' '*Robbery*,' says Dr Webster, 'differs from *theft*, as it is a violent felonious taking from the person or presence of another, whereas *theft* is a felonious taking of goods privately, &c. These words should not be confounded.'

That Dr Webster has added all the proper senses of words omitted by his predecessors, or corrected all their mistakes, is not to be supposed. We had marked what appeared to us in some places mistakes of his own; but it is unnecessary to insert them. He observes very justly, that 'the defining part of a dictionary, embracing, as it does, the whole circle of ideas embodied in the language of a people, the utmost efforts of the lexicographer are only an approximation towards the end in view. No single mind can enter, with perfect exactness, into all the multiplied distinctions of thought and action, among a highly civilized people. For his information on many subjects, the author of a dictionary must rely on the statements of others; and he is liable to be misled, either by a want of accuracy in these statements, or by an erroneous conception of their meaning.' A lexicographer is therefore entitled to much indulgence.

Many of the authorities of Johnson have been properly omitted, and space has been left for new matter; but we have sometimes wished for an authority for a new sense, where

none is given. We hope the author will devote his attention hereafter to improving this part of his work. From his extensive and minute acquaintance with the standard authors of English literature, he can easily find authorities for insertion, where he now has none; authorities, also, which may be advantageously substituted for some which he now has; and may detect senses of words which have hitherto escaped his notice. This is mentioned the more particularly, as it is here that English lexicography has been quite as deficient as in etymology, or in the number of words. In this department the English themselves have accomplished little since the time of Johnson; which may well excite surprise, considering the character of the nation. Dr Webster has done much; we hope he will be encouraged to do still more.

The next subject we would notice is *orthography;* which, in our language, is extremely irregular, and has long been, and will probably long continue to be, the opprobrium of English philology. The great difference between our spelling and pronunciation, is an evil of no ordinary magnitude, and is, indeed, the principal obstacle to the general diffusion through Europe of the English language and literature. Accustomed, as we are from childhood, to associate certain combinations of letters with certain words as pronounced, the eye and the ear, by time and use, are so far reconciled, that the excessive discordance between our written and spoken language is not perceived. To a foreigner, however, who is endeavoring to familiarize himself with English, and to one especially, who has been accustomed in his own speech to see the spelling of words settled by a few general rules, our orthography appears an inextricable maze, and to be characterized by the most glaring absurdities. 'Si un Anglois,' says Rousseau, 'lit à haute voix, et qu'un étranger jette les yeux sur le livre, l'étranger n'apperçoit aucun rapport entre ce qu'il voit et ce qu'il entend. Pourquoi cela? parce que, l'Angleterre ayant été successivement conquise par divers peuples, les mots se sont toujours écrits le même, tandis que la manière de les prononcer a souvent changé.* This appears to be a just account of the fact, and a true explanation of it.

To go back no farther than the Norman conquest, it is well known, that the language and literature of the Saxons were

* Essai sur l'Origine des Langues, ch. vii.

odious to William and his Norman followers; and as a means of rendering his dominion more complete and lasting, the conqueror established the French as the language of the court, of the halls of justice, and, where the Latin was not used, of the schools. The native inhabitants, however, adhered with surprising firmness, not to say obstinacy, to their mother-tongue. As the Norman-French and the Anglo-Saxon gradually united, and books began to be published in this new dialect, the orthography of words was regulated partly by the ear and partly by authority. But in accommodating the spelling to the pronunciation, the French sounds of the letters were sometimes used, and sometimes the sounds peculiar to the Saxon alphabet. In this confusion of alphabets, rendered still greater by provincialisms, both in language and pronunciation, our present very irregular, and in many respects absurd, orthography originated. One object in the early writers of English is abundantly manifest; they aimed at having, at least, letters enough in their spelling; and through fear, as it should seem, of omitting some which might have claims to be used, they often foisted into their words mere supernumeraries. Thus, after the language, as to words and construction, became in a good measure fixed, it was greatly overcharged, and actually borne down under the weight of its orthography. It may be useful to introduce here as specimens, a few words from Sir Walter Raleigh. *Hee*, *wee*, *doe*, *sonne*, *farre*, *finde*, *conveigh*, *moderatour*, *kindes*, *basenesse*, *evill*, *easie*, *naturall*, *downe*, &c. This is the spelling of one of the most correct as well as most elegant writers of the reign of James the First.

The excrescences, which so encumber these words, were gradually lopped off; so that in the history of Clarendon, the improvements in spelling strike us as great. This author wrote most of his words as they are still written; but we find *perswaded*, *suddain*, *frolique*, *alarum*, &c.; which orthography, in the late edition of his works, has been altered. He wrote *error* without the *u*, and *scepter*, though we find *lustre*. He reduced *publicke* to *publick*, &c. Dryden was irregular in his orthography; but he threw off some of the lumber of his predecessors, which, in a few instances, has been laid upon him again by his editor, Malone. But there is no advantage in dwelling longer on the history of these changes.

As to the variations in orthography proposed and adopted by Dr Webster, we shall say but little. We see no possible

use in retaining the *u* in the few words which are still extensively written with the termination *our*, as *honour*, *favour*, &c. If the reason for retaining the *u* in these words is, that this letter is in the French words *honneur* and *faveur*, the *u* is likewise in many other French words, and is dropped very generally in the corresponding words in English; as *auteur*, *inférieur*, are seldom now seen written in our language *authour*, *inferiour*. Besides, what use is there in retaining the French *u* in words of this class? Or if words, which come to us through the French, are to be accommodated to French orthography, why is it that those who write *honour*, write also *honourable?* when the French write *honorable*, wisely varying their spelling to suit their pronunciation.

As to retaining the letter *k* at the end of many words, where it is still often placed; we see no objection to Dr Webster's rule, to retain the *k* in such words only as have sometimes a syllable added, beginning with *e* or *i*. The reason here is plain; the *k* preserves the pronunciation. But why should any one write *publick*, when no one writes *publickation?* The *k* in this case, is necessary neither to the pronunciation of the word, nor as a guide to its etymology. To take another example of a single word; we know of no good reason for writing *connexion* with an *x;* as it is an anomaly, which has been excluded from writings of the highest authority. Thus Gibbon, and Fox, in his life of James the Second, write this word analogically, *connection*.

In some other cases of proposed emendation, we are more doubtful. Dr Webster, following Milton, prefers *highth;* and the translators of Niebuhr's history of Rome, which was published in London during the last year, have the same spelling of this word. The same translators write *sovran* and *sovranty;* and Dr Webster proposes *suvran*, and *suvranty;* though he gives likewise the common orthography of these words. We have no space to enter upon a full consideration of this subject. No one now doubts that the substitution of *ai* for *oi* in many cases, in French orthography, has been for the advantage of that language; and in Spanish orthography, where, in comparison with our language, improvement was scarcely needed, some slight changes have been made for the better. The great objections to changes in spelling lie in the eye; we have been accustomed to see the word *worshipping* with a double *p*, and *worshiping* appears strange, and perhaps odious. But a *p*

might be here as easily spared as an *e* in *kindes*, or an *l* in *evill*, and an important analogy of the language would be preserved. Sir Walter Raleigh wrote *conveigh*, but to us *convey* appears better; we write *inveigh*, and *invey* is displeasing. So entirely does this feeling depend on association, that we see no ground for believing, if the chief anomalies in this part of our language were removed, that the next generation would not look upon our present method of spelling with the same wonder, and the same self-congratulation on their relief, as we now view that of the time of Elizabeth and James the First; and that they would not find as much difficulty in reconciling our boasted improvements in other respects, with our abuse of the alphabet, as we experience in conceiving of the accomplishments of Sir Philip Sidney, in union with the barbarous orthography of the 'Arcadia.' As little inconvenience, likewise, would probably be then felt from the change, as we now suffer from the changes of the last two centuries.

We do not say that we are now ready for any extensive alteration in our spelling. Our only object in what we have written on this topic, is to show that there are great evils in our present system, and that Dr Webster is not of course to be condemned, because he has ventured here to suggest what he considers as improvements. That there are difficulties on the other side, and such as are truly formidable, is not denied; but these we cannot now discuss. If we look back a quarter of a century only, we shall be convinced that there has been a progress in public opinion, as well as in the practice of writers, in respect to orthography; that the tendency is plainly towards analogy, and that, sooner or later, a reform will be achieved. That this may be accompanied with the least inconvenience, it is important that the object should be often and fully contemplated, in all its bearings; and especially, if permanency is ever to be looked for, that, in the language of the author, '*principles* should be substituted for the authority of *names*.'

On the subject of *pronunciation* we shall not enter; because we have already exceeded our intended limits. A separate article would be necessary for a proper discussion of that topic. Dr Webster maintains, that any attempt to indicate by characters the exact sound of vowels in our unaccented syllables, is calculated, in most cases, to mislead the speaker. From the rapidity of these sounds, they are to a certain degree

indefinite; and he who should pronounce the *y* in *duty* precisely like *e* in *me*, or the final syllable of *affectionate* like the word *fate*, as marked in most of our dictionaries, would be thought affected, and would totally misconceive the exact sound intended by the notation. The author prefers, therefore, to leave such sounds to be caught by the ear, and conceives that our pronunciation has been vitiated, in many instances, by too great minuteness in marking them.

In *accentuation* we have noticed comparatively few peculiarities of our author. He inclines, with Johnson, to throw the accent back towards the commencement of the word; and therefore favors the pronunciation of *com'pensate*, *dem'onstrate*, &c. as very commonly heard in this country. Some alterations in this kind of words of direct classical origin, we imagine will not prevail; for example, *hor'izon*, *dec'ollate*. In various instances, Dr Webster gives both modes of pronouncing, as he does of spelling; and this plan, we think, should be carried to a greater extent in a future edition. No two English dictionaries agree in pronunciation. Dr Webster differs from them in some cases, but not perhaps more frequently than they do from each other; and as to the rule of usage, the diversity of pronunciation in England is greater than in this country.

Before closing our remarks, we would add a few words on the English Grammar appended to the Introduction to the dictionary. This grammar is, with few alterations, the same as that first published by the author in the year 1807. The changes which he introduced into the grammatical nomenclature, and a few other peculiarities, created a strong feeling of opposition to the whole work on its first appearance, and prevented its merits from being generally known, and duly appreciated. The necessity for all the changes which were made, was not apparent. Some of the new terms were thought to require as much explanation as those whose place they had taken. Besides, most of the names of the parts of speech in the old system, are appropriated exclusively to the subject of grammar; whereas the new names, in some cases, are used in other senses, which contributes nothing to perspicuity.

As to the grammar in other respects, whoever will examine it attentively, will find many improvements on all those which preceded it. This is especially true of the syntax, which contains numerous remarks on the idioms of the language, which are highly important and valuable; and which are to be found

nowhere else, except as they have been taken from this work. In no English grammar with which we are acquainted, is there so full and clear an exhibition of the several forms of the verb, as in this, or in such grammars as have borrowed from it. But with these general commendations of this grammar, as exhibiting a very careful examination of the language in the best writers, and great discrimination in distinguishing principles which have been too often confounded, we must dissent from some of the opinions which hold a prominent place in the work, and which the author has defended with his accustomed ingenuity. Of these we can now notice one only.

In the syntax of the grammar, as originally published, the use of the tense which the author denominates, and we think correctly, the *past-indefinite*, is objected to in certain cases, as used by our best authors. The remarks on this subject may now be found in the introduction to the dictionary. The use of the verb which is condemned, is that which is exemplified in a passage from the common version of the New Testament, Luke xvi, 31. 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one *rose* from the dead.' Instead of *rose*, Dr Webster would say in this place, *should rise*, and this correction he would carry through the language. Now on this we would remark, that any impropriety which may at first appear in this kind of construction, because the past tense is made, in this connexion, to express what is really future,—and if this is not the point of objection, we see not what is,—will at once vanish on reflecting, that the verb *rose*, in the verse above quoted, denotes what is past, only in reference to the verb *will be persuaded*. The past tense *rose*, from its connexion with the other verb, does in fact the office of a future; with this difference only, that the language is more definite. Of the two actions or events, that on the completion of which the other entirely depends, is, by this form of the verb, more clearly and definitely marked. In this respect, the verb *rose* corresponds with as much exactness as the structure of our language will admit, with the original Greek, from which this verse is translated; the verb there being an *aorist*, and bearing the same relation to the other verb, as *rose* does in the English version. This same mode of expressing the future subjunctive, is common in Latin; and indeed what is usually called the future subjunctive, is a second future indicative; or, according to the better

nomenclature in this place of Dr Webster, a *prior-future*. All the tenses of the subjunctive mode in Latin, are used in connexion with the future of some other verb, to express future time; and a varied phraseology arises from this construction, which often contributes to the force and beauty of a sentence. Examples everywhere occur; an instance of the pluperfect will illustrate what is intended. Cicero says to Atticus, 'Cum mihi, [libros] per legem Cinciam licere capere, Cincius amicus tuus diceret; libenter, dixi, me accepturum, si *attulisset*.' (Lib. i. 20.) Here *attulisset* is past only in relation to *accepturum*, and as connected with *accepturum*, is future with respect to *dixi;* and may be translated, 'I said that I would receive the books, if he *should bring them;*' or, according to the form condemned by Dr Webster, 'if he *brought them*.' We have remarked, that any tense of the subjunctive in Latin, may be so used as to express future time. The verse in Luke above quoted, is so translated by Castalio, that the verb corresponding to *rose* is in the present tense. 'Si Mosem et vates non audiunt, ne si quidem quispiam ex mortuis *resurgat*, obtemperabunt.' Here *resurgat* is present in respect to *obtemperabunt*, and is therefore, in effect, future. We see no objection, then, to this construction of a sentence to express a future contingent event, on the ground of any contrariety between the tenses of the two verbs; as the whole is always future in relation to the leading verb in the sentence; on the contrary, it appears to us philosophically exact, and is often convenient for the purpose of varying a phrase, and saving the monotony of a too frequent recurrence of the auxiliaries.

This form is, moreover, sanctioned by the highest authorities in the language. Not to go back to the times immediately succeeding that in which the common version of the Scriptures was first published, we will come immediately to a few of those writers who have ever stood among the first for the purity of their idiom. Thus, *Swift*.—'Suppose I should discover some uneasiness to find myself, I *knew* not [Dr Webster, '*I should* not *know*'] how, over head and ears in debt, although I *were* [Dr Webster, '*should be*'] sure my tenants paid their rents very well, and that I never spent half my income; they would certainly advise me to turn off Mr Oldfox, my receiver, and take another.' *Examiner*.

Again. 'If my neighbor and I *happened* [Dr Webster, '*should happen*'] to have a misunderstanding about the delivery

of a message, what could I do less than strip and discard the rascal, who *carried* [Dr Webster, '*should carry*'] it.' *Id.*

Again. 'Writers would quickly be reduced to a very inconsiderable number, if men *were put* [Dr Webster, '*should be put*'] upon making books, with the fatal confinement of delivering nothing beyond what is to the purpose.' *Tale of a Tub.*

Addison. 'Another who came with him, told me, by my interpreter, he should be glad to do me any service that *lay* [Dr Webster, '*should lie*'] in his power.' *Spectator*, No. 557.

Goldsmith. 'The course, then, I would take, would be, whenever I *went* [Dr Webster, '*should go*'] out, to tell my wife where I was going.' *Citizen of the World.* Lett. 19.

Middleton. 'He [Cicero] could not but foresee, that it must needs be fatal to him, if it *passed* [Dr Webster, '*should pass*'] to the satisfaction of Antony and Lepidus; for he had several times declared, that he expected the last severity from them, if ever they *got* [Dr Webster, '*should get*'] the better.' *Life of Cicero*, Sect. xi.

Gibbon. 'But he [the Roman Pontiff] was astonished at the reply of the Khan, that the sons of god and of Zingis were invested with a divine power to subdue or extirpate the nations; and that the pope would be involved in the universal destruction, unless he *visited* [Dr Webster, '*should visit*'] in person, and as a suppliant, the royal horde.' *Hist.* Ch. 64.

The relation of the past tense to the future in each of these examples is obviously explicable on the principle above stated; and the phraseology would be injured, as appears to us, by any change. This form of the verb is often to be met with, especially in Swift, Addison, and Middleton, who are among the most absolutely English of all English writers; and to discard it, would be, as we think, to condemn one of the very common, most exact, and best established idioms of the language. Still, as has been already said, we consider Dr Webster's account of the verb, as a whole, much the best that has been published; but a complete exhibition of the powers of this part of speech, especially in the influence of the tenses upon each other in modifying their application, seems to be still a *desideratum* in English grammar.*

* The most clear and methodical exhibition of the Latin verb in its modes and tenses, and particularly in the connexion and succession of the tenses, is contained in Zumpt's Latin Grammar, an edition

There are several other topics that we intended to discuss, which must now be passed by, and some of those which we have selected for consideration, have been treated perhaps more cursorily than their importance demands, or than is necessary to convey distinctly our own views and impressions. A few remarks only will be added.

The appearance of this dictionary, considering the circumstances under which it was begun, the amount of time and labor bestowed upon its composition, and the value of the improvements actually made, is an event upon which we may well congratulate the public. The proper effect of the author's labors in the cause of the language of his country, will not fail, sooner or later, to be produced. It will be seen in the better understanding of authors, who will ever be the boast of the English tongue; it will be seen in the more correct use of words, in the check which will be put on useless innovations, in the clearer distinction generally marked between new words which are necessary, and those which are merely the offspring of caprice, and we will add, in the increased respect, as we hope, with which the author will be viewed, for his talents, learning, and persevering industry. If we have ventured to differ in some particulars from this veteran philologist, it is because a frank exposition of our opinion is due to our readers; and indiscriminate praise, no doubt, is as little expected or wished for by him, as it is alien from our habits. Our criticisms on this work do not affect its substantial merits; these are manifest, and in despite of all attempts to conceal or decry them, they will be ultimately seen and acknowledged in their real number and value. One proof that this dictionary contains improvements, will probably soon be furnished in the use that will be made of it in compiling others. The author must prepare himself, if he is ever so greedy of praise, to be complimented in this way to his entire satisfaction. No new English dictionary will hereafter serve, either at home or abroad, for popular use, which does not contain many of the additions and corrections of this.

In this bustling and calculating age, when the value of all exertions is very near being measured by a standard of com-

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of which, in this country, has been just announced. What Zumpt's Grammar is in Latin, Rost's Grammar, in many respects, is in Greek.

mercial loss and gain, there will undoubtedly be those, who will attach very little importance to some of the author's investigations. Why should we disturb ourselves, they will say, about the questions, whether the Celtic and Gothic languages are radically the same,—whether traces of Persian words may be found in English,—whether the Hebrew roots were at first biliteral, and whether our word *twit* is a compound. Such inquiries, it will be urged, are too remote in their object, lead us too far back into antiquity, and have too little connexion with what is visible and tangible. Supposing all these points satisfactorily settled,—how will they aid us in judging of the effects of the new tariff, the state of our agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests, or the defects of the banking system, or how will they guide us to new methods of applying the force of steam? We have no time to argue with men of this class; but to another description of our readers, who may themselves be occupied in other departments of literature and science, and may be disposed to ask questions like those above, we would say,—This case is not peculiar; the astronomer spends years in gazing at *nebulæ* in the heavens, or in calculating some new secular equation of a few seconds' amount; the botanist traverses continents to find new species of plants, and the geologist is digging the earth, hoping, perhaps, to find the bones of some extinct species of *megatheria* or *palæotheria;* or he is hunting for some proof of changes in the chaotic ocean, so distant in time, that in comparison with the space which has intervened, all known history is brought within a few years, and the first Celts and Goths, who wandered into Europe from the high plains of middle Asia, seem almost our cotemporaries. In all the great divisions of human knowledge, those who are extending its boundaries are led to similar inquiries. We consider all of them important; and when topics like these shall cease to interest, to enkindle zeal, and to incite to labor and study, no further proof will be wanting, that the human mind is slumbering at its post, and that ignorance is fast regaining its empire. We hope the author will go forward to improve his work; and he need not fear, that his labors will not finally be judged to have been practical, useful, and patriotic.

Whether this work will at once receive its due meed of praise, we will not venture to predict. 'There is a tide in the affairs of men,' and, emphatically, of authors; the times and quantity of which have never been reduced to exact calcula-

tion. The Rambler, in his second number, has enumerated various causes, why literary merit may pass without notice, and adds, what is peculiarly applicable to the author of a dictionary; that 'the learned are afraid to declare their opinion early, lest they should put their reputation in hazard; the ignorant always imagine themselves giving some proof of delicacy, when they refuse to be pleased; and he that finds his way to reputation through all these obstructions, must acknowledge that he is indebted to other causes besides his industry, his learning, or his wit.'

Art. X.—1. *The Atlantic Souvenir, a Christmas and New Year's Offering.* 1829. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey.

2. *The Token, a Christmas and New Year's Present.* Edited by N. P. Willis. Boston. 1829. S. G. Goodrich.

3. *The Talisman, for* MDCCCXXIX. New York. E. Bliss.

We may seem to have a somewhat less grave task in hand than common, in taking cognizance of the claims of these *pictured duodecimos*. But we have never been wont to estimate literature by the quantity, or to appraise the productions of intellect by the space which they occupy on paper. Nor yet have we ever found, in the natural history of books, that in these, as in the feathered tribes, sweetness of song is never combined with brilliancy of plumage. These volumes are indeed small in size and beautiful in binding, lettered in gold and full of plates, but not therefore the less will we acknowledge the excellence and beauty of their literary contents. Not every book that is biggest must needs be best, nor do most words always convey most information. *A little fire is better than much wood.* One stirring thought, one strong conception, one sound and useful maxim,—and it may as well be conveyed in the three words of a simple sentence, as hidden in the chaff of a folio,—is more deserving of the praise, and will better repay the consideration of the world, than 'an infinite deal of nothing.' And as to engravings and pictures and all the embellishments of a fair outside, they can do little harm; but when employed in adorning innocence or illustrating truth,

may do much good. 'Where there is virtue, these are more virtuous.' Literature is not, now-a-days, so much the idol of enthusiasm, that she needs to be clothed in a grave and austere habit. In the most fascinating attire, her disciples may well-nigh be counted.

In looking, then, at these little volumes, we would first hail with pleasure that enactment of modern taste, which has converted the symbols of love and friendship and remembrance from pencil-cases, pocket-books, and pen-knives, 'the works of men's hands,' into something more worthy of intellectual and moral beings. There is little enough of real fellowship and true sympathy in this world of self, and it seems like taking away even that which we have, to make us depend for their expression on the artificial and heartless creations of mere mechanism. The attachments of society are too apt to be matters of caprice or accident, of convenience or policy, to be of long duration. They need the strong cement of reason to secure their uncertain continuance and fasten their slippery hold. 'The amity which Wisdom knits not,' says Nature's best interpreter, 'Folly will easily untie.' We are glad then to see anything, which only looks like bringing in this necessary aid to that which, in its purity and strength, is the very joy and poetry of life. We would have Genius make ready his richest gifts and Virtue her purest sacrifice, as offerings for the altar of Friendship, that haply, not only the hearts of her sincere votaries may be confirmed in their peace, but those of the cold and indifferent lookers-on may be purified and set right. Words, and thoughts, and pictures embodying thoughts, seem more proper and trust-worthy expressions of rational affection, and love coming from the soul. They speak to the understanding, and not to the senses only; with the eloquence of the heart, and not the mere cunning of the hands.

We cannot indeed say that there is less of mechanical skill and the nicety of art in these, than in the old materials of friendly interchange. But here genius and reason unite with and sanctify the art, and each borrows a grace and a beauty of the other. The difference is like that between paper and coin as the circulating medium of commerce. In the one, the value is wholly artificial; in the other, art is employed only to adorn and designate its intrinsic worth.

We are far from intending, by these remarks, that the sincerity of friendship is to be tried by the quality or the

cost of a New Year's gift. As well might we measure a man's grief by the width of his crape, or his piety by the length of his prayer. We disclaim, too, any reverence for those ancient superstitions that amulets can keep, or knives cut love. A hearty shake of the hand, an honest counsel, an open trust, a free communication, is, any time, to our mind, better evidence of real regard, than all the love-tokens or keep-sakes which art could devise or wealth can purchase. But forasmuch as it is a popular and innocent custom, for those who are near or dear to each other, to interchange, at the beginning of a new year, some token that their love has not died with the old—a kind of renewal of the bond of affection—we would have such a token, as much as may be, adapted to its purpose. If possible, it should be, in itself, an image and a type of the beauty and purity of that spirit, which is supposed to influence the giver. We say *supposed*, for it cannot be denied that many of these *slight tokens of regard* are mere gifts of ceremony or compliment, to atone for some past neglect or secure some future favor. But still we would have them signify what friendship ought to be, not what it is; or rather what friendship really is, and not what the world too often make it. Though secretly on our guard, we would never acknowledge any such thing as an interested attachment or a politic love. We would learn to shudder at the idea of a false friend or a hollow heart. Haply, by not acknowledging, we may prevent their existence; as an unreserved confidence will sometimes ensure faithfulness. These little volumes, then, breathing with the eloquence of pure thoughts, with the music of a rich and chastened fancy, and adorned with all the delicacy of the most refined arts, seem a faint, but not untrue, expression of real intellectual friendship.

But we turn from these somewhat extraneous considerations to those more nearly connected with the works before us, and more appropriate to our character as literary reviewers. And here we are not inclined, nor, if we were, would we indulge the inclination, to clamber to the dizzy top of prophecy, and point to these and the other little golden specks, which are just glimmering above the dim horizon, as the *twilight dawn* of American literature. Still less are we disposed to get us up upon the mount of retrospect, and counting over, as we too easily could, the scant and thinly scattered productions of our past years, to add these as fresh specimens of a vain and vaunting

littleness. Both these operations have often enough been performed. Often enough has the latter brought down upon us a ridicule, whose justice ourselves could hardly gainsay; and too often has the former only served to cheat us into so self-satisfied and sleepy an assurance, that our literature must of mere necessity become as perfect as our liberty, that we have almost forgotten to use any exertions to make it so. As if a few more revolutions of the globe were going to roll in upon us these treasures of learning and knowledge, as if a ripe and abundant harvest were about to spring spontaneously up to feast our lazy admiration! We scorn to use those blest endowments of memory and imagination to so miserable and mischievous an end. We would simply remark, and that without fear of having it cast in our teeth, that these little works, made up of short articles of poetry and prose, seem especially suited to the instant genius of our land. The body of our writers are yet young. Few of them have acquired experience and strength enough to venture alone into the world. Here seems to be a fair and pleasant field for them to exercise together, to prove their powers and prepare them for future and nobler exertions. Not that we would allow our young men to devote their time or talents exclusively, or even in any considerable degree, to works like these. On the contrary, we are ready enough to confess that it is one of the greatest faults of our land and time, and that which augurs illest for the success of our literature, that our scholars are permitted so soon to steal out of their closets, to throw by their books, and attempt to teach others, who themselves need instruction. And were the tendency of these literary toys to encourage so pernicious a course, beautiful as they are, we would condemn them. It is not only in 'the lines of a good judge' that the maxim should be written, 'He should continue the studying of his books, and not spend upon the old stock.' No one can expect ever to be rich in wisdom and in good learning, whose expenditure is exceeding, or equalling, or coming nigh to equal his income. But the short articles of which these volumes are composed, appear to us to require just enough of the time and labor of our scholars to keep their pens ready and their ink from growing thick, to give their reason a breathing-time and let their fancy sport its wings. They serve as a kind of sampler, on which they may practise those niceties and beauties of expression, hereafter to be worked in upon more enduring ma-

terials; or, to use a more dignified figure, they answer as the cartoons of the Italian artists, on which may be figured in small those creations of fancy and devices of thought, which may afterwards be applied to the more matured and nobler fresco. Our poets, too, (as indeed may be said of almost all poets of the present day,) seem to have a peculiar aptitude for short pieces, or at least a peculiar inaptitude for long ones. Whether it be want of power, or want of confidence, or want of desire for a longer flight, they venture but a little way at a time. But their productions, though destitute of the fulness and strength of larger proportions, have much beauty, and will merit an exemption from the common doom of fugitive verses. The fair pages of a Souvenir or a Forget-me-not seem a pleasant and not inapt habitation for these bantlings of the Muse.

Nor ought we to omit, in this connexion, the vast improvement which these annual publications are helping to produce in the useful and ornamental arts connected with book-making. Let any one compare the neatness, the accuracy, the strength, the beauty, in all its features, of one of these volumes, with the loose, misshapen, sorry tomes, which were issued, perhaps from the same shops, not a score of years ago; let him look at the engravings, some of them illustrating the fairest or grandest portions of our own scenery, and others copying the designs of our own painters, and compare them with the sombre wood-cuts which were at great expense imported for us not a half-century back, and he will no longer doubt that not less to the luxuries of literature than to those of fashion or of folly, may the arts look for encouragement.

Again, there is much of curious anecdote and romantic tradition connected with the early situation of our land, the manners and superstition of the natives, the enthusiasm and sufferings of the settlers, which could hardly be *spun out* or *woven* into a history, but which ought to be embalmed in the fondest efforts of our song and story. No inch of ground is without its peculiar association, its appropriate legend; and it seems hardly more than filial duty, no more than filial affection, to gather and garner up these little mementos of our fathers' joys and trials, before time shall have marked them as alms for oblivion. What seems more fitting for the pledge of alliance and amity among the children, than the stories of the fathers, by whose toils and struggles our lots have been cast together in a world of so much happiness and comfort? The

idea of making these seemingly frail and ephemeral works the place of safe-keeping for anything so precious, may seem but poor philosophy; and we confess that we scarce could single out from the whole mass of literary rubbish a more exact emblem of that dread wallet at the back of Time, than the common run of periodical publications. 'Trudit alius alium,' one pushes the other out of notice and of remembrance. But not so with these. The pledge of affection, the offering of friendship, though they may 'wax poor' and be returned 'when givers prove unkind,' are rarely thrown away or lost. Besides, the deposit will lend its own sacredness to that which contains it, as the worship sanctifies the temple, and each will ensure the preservation of the other. Nor are we without examples of tradition handed down incorrupt, from one generation to another, by works even less enduring in their nature than these. Thus the language and ceremonies of feudal homage were preserved with the greatest exactness in one of the ancient juvenile games, called 'basilinda' or 'the king I am,' the counterpart, perhaps, of our '*royal* game of goose,' or some other of our royal pastimes. And to mention a still higher example, we have decisive confirmation as to the much disputed right of William the Conqueror to the throne, from a bit of 'barbarous needle-work,' found in the cathedral of Bayeux, representing the mission of Harold by king Edward, supposed to have been wrought for diversion by the queen and ladies of the court. This last consideration is rather intended as a suggestion for the future than as a comment on the past Annuals. Indeed, we know of nothing in their whole execution, which so readily suggests itself as matter of fault-finding to the American reader, as the want of patriotism and native incident. In the hope that it is a fault which needs only to be mentioned to be amended, we pass to a short but nearer examination of their respective merits.

And here we cannot attempt an elaborate criticism even of those few volumes whose titles are before us. Their nature and our space alike forbid it. Were we only to make out a fair catalogue of all the articles of which they are severally composed, and affix to each, in briefest phrase, the opinion we formed of it when read, as *good*, *bad*, *pretty*, *stuff*, we fear not a few would have to lie over, for this scant notice, until the spare pages of another number should afford room. On the other hand we are not disposed to deal out an indefinite and

sweeping praise to works which, though small, are so various in their features. Nor, further, can we, as in reviewing common books, transcribe select portions of each, to serve as samples of the whole. For, besides that the newspapers have already anticipated us in this rather dubious compliment, it would obviously be unfair where the works are, professedly, not homogeneous. The truth is, their web, like that of life, is 'of a mingled yarn, good and ill together.' To examine its individual threads, were like criticising the hues of an opal or the colors of a rainbow. For justice' sake, as well as our own, therefore, we shall content us with describing, rather than reviewing them.

1. And, first, 'The Atlantic Souvenir,' published at Philadelphia, by those enterprising patrons of literature and the arts, Messrs Carey, Lea, and Carey. This work, having, four years ago, appeared, 'sola atque unica,' may claim to be the mother of the whole tribe of genuine Annuals in our country. The present number evinces the improvement which age and experience might be expected to bring along with them. In the list of contributors, we find many of our most popular writers, and many who, hitherto unheard of, give here good promise to become so. Some, too, there are, who, though withholding their names, have by no means left us without excuse for remembering them. 'The Catholic' and 'The Methodist's Story' have an air of moral purity and beauty about them, which merit special commendation. Much as we would like to boast of this work, as the effort of a genius purely American, we cannot bring our heart to find fault with the few but beautiful strains which have been loaned to its melody by one of the richest lyres of our mother-land. The poetry of Mrs Hemans will never need an apology with us, wherever it is inserted.

2. 'The Token,' edited by Mr N. P. Willis and published by Mr S. G. Goodrich, in our own Boston. The improvement in this work since its first appearance, only the last year, is scarce within measure. We then almost trembled for the reputation of 'the fair city.' But the present number we esteem, as able to stand a strict comparison, side by side, with its twin from Philadelphia. Indeed, in comparing their literary contents, we shall find that the same pens have written the larger portion of both. We are glad to see this free interchange of labor among writers from different quarters of our land. We are glad to see those, who, by their genius or their

eloquence, may exert a strong influence on the popular mind, wreathing together these garlands of love. A common literature is not among the least safeguards of our confederacy, and it is one which sectional prejudice should never be allowed to break through or corrupt. Who knows but these little tokens of individual amity, by keeping alive a generous sympathy and free coöperation among our literary men, may form the first link in one of the strongest bonds of our national union? But to return; the contributions of the editor are, as always, pleasing; though we are, at times, tempted to wish, for their own duration, that they bore deeper marks of classical study and sober thought. His 'Unwritten Philosophy,' in 'The Legendary,' which, though not poetry, is thought to be his best performance, contains some useful maxims, and we could wish that he would more 'reck his own rede.'

3. 'The Talisman,' published at New York, and purporting to be written by one Francis Herbert, a gentleman, who, we believe, is only known to the public as the author of the first number of the same work, last year. We have no desire to intrude upon the privacy of one who has done so well, and tried so ingeniously to conceal himself. But it is difficult to curb our curiosity to silence about one who seems so perfectly to unite in himself all the peculiarities and all the beauties of Bryant, of Halleck, and of Verplanck, in conjunction with other features, which, though hitherto in the mask, are scarcely less known to fame. It must surely be the world's mercy and not his insignificance, if such an one be not speedily drawn into light and 'resolved into his component parts.' The book has too many of those

> 'Rich, racy passages, where we
> The soil from which they sprung, taste, touch, and see,'

for its author to be left long in darkness. But one actual error struck us in its perusal, and that in the notes to the first story. In that 'well-known scene and oft-quoted passage' from Shakspeare, we would remind Mr Herbert that it is not 'great' but 'imperious'—

> 'Imperious Cæsar, dead, and turned to clay,
> Might stop a hole to keep the wind away.'

Perhaps 'twere to consider too curiously, to consider so;' at any rate, it is saying much for the text, when we are obliged to resort to the notes for matter of fault-finding. He may well be counted strong, who is vulnerable only in the *heel*. But we

never had any patience with a misquotation from Hamlet. It was in reading this Annual that we especially remarked that want of patriotic incident, which we have before alluded to, and which indeed the author himself acknowledges. It seemed the more surprising in this work when we considered the locality of its birth-place. The majestic Hudson and its 'brave, o'erhanging' highlands have not deserved such neglect of their own sons.

Having thus mentioned the three most noted of these little works, from three of our great Atlantic cities, it might appear less invidious to stop short, than to attempt a selection from that numberless mass of others, which, coming from all quarters of our country, seem to have an equal claim, if any, upon our notice. But, at the risk of being accused of a little local favoritism, we shall not deny ourselves a hasty glance at 'The Offering,' published at Cambridge, whose benevolent and beautiful object ought alone to ensure its exemption from the undistinguished doom of those 'multi præterea quos *fama obscura* recondit.' Its execution and embellishments are in themselves neat; and when compared with those which we have mentioned before, may appeal without fear to the consideration that the whole work was unthought of till within two months of its appearance. Its literary contents need no such apology. Many of them would have done credit to a longer forethought. Coming to us, as it does, in the blended beauty of charity and friendship, it may claim yet a further hold upon our regard as being the fruit of classic ground. Issuing from the very atmosphere of learning, it has imbibed much of the purity and strength, without any of the starch propriety of scholastic lore. There is nothing in it but what is strictly moral, but many things of which it would be difficult to answer 'what they prove.'

Upon the whole, we regard these little works as exerting a very favorable influence on the arts and literature of our country. And, in this regard, they admit of no comparison with the works of the same kind in our mother-country; which otherwise, with their proud array of titles and guineas, we should fear to mention on the same page with our own. The difference is wide. Theirs are the application of arts and literature which were long ago in perfection; ours are the subjects of a practice which we hope will make perfect. Theirs are the fruits of a harvest which has been long ripe; ours are

the blossoms of a harvest to come. Here we see only the young and inexperienced proving their uncertain powers, and trying their scarce fledged wings; there we behold the sage stooping to sport—the lion playing with his strength.

ART. XI.—1. *The Franklin Primer, or Lessons in Spelling and Reading; adapted to the Understanding of Children.*
2. *The Improved Reader; intended as a Sequel to the Franklin Primer.*
3. *The General Class Book; or Interesting Lessons, in Prose and Verse, &c.; intended as the Third Book in a Course of Reading, for the Use of Schools.*
4. *Essays on the Philosophy of Instruction, or the Nurture of Young Minds.*

Greenfield, Mass. 1828–9.

EDUCATION, as we should naturally expect, has been a subject of discussion from the earliest periods; from those rigorous times, when the severe and much perverted maxim, 'Spare the rod and spoil the child,' was the law of instructers, to the more lax period of modern days, in which the opposite doctrine has been inculcated.

The principal aim of most experimenters in education has been, rather to devise a method of filling the minds of pupils with the greatest possible mass of *materials* during the common term of study, than to train the mind itself in a manner which shall be the most efficacious in enabling it, during the successive periods of our lives, to make the greatest amount of such acquisitions as shall be best adapted to our wants, at those several periods. But this is evidently proceeding upon an unsound principle. 'Endeavoring to make children prematurely wise,' says Johnson, 'is useless labor. Suppose they have more knowledge, at five or six years old, than other children; what use can be made of it? It will be lost before it is wanted, and the waste of so much time and labor of the teacher can never be repaid. Too much is expected from precocity, and too little performed.' *

* Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 221, Amer. edit.

The mode in which education is to be conducted, evidently depends upon the view which shall be taken of these two systems. The opinion of reflecting men is, we have no doubt, that it should be a training of the mind, to qualify it for making acquisitions of itself, rather than the loading of it with facts, or materials of knowledge, by the mere aid of a teacher; but there is still some diversity of opinion as to the best method of attaining that object.

If, again, we assume that as the better opinion, we have then to meet another question of some importance;—Whether the various schemes of instruction which have been tried in modern times, are more efficacious than those which were adopted by the nations of antiquity, and which have been practised upon, in a great degree, to our own age; in other words, whether any fundamental improvements have been made in conducting the culture of the mind.

We have no doubt the very proposal of this question will startle some ardent and sanguine persons, who fancy that in the boasted 'march of mind,' which is continually rung in our ears, the present age is almost the only period of man's residence on the globe, which is worth our studying. The eminent man, however, whom we have just quoted, says in unqualified terms, that education was as well known in his day, and 'had long been as well known, as ever it could be.' * And that profound observer, Adam Smith, who will not be suspected of prejudice in this case, when speaking of the effects produced by the methods of the ancient philosophers, who were the teachers of that day, expresses himself in these strong terms; 'In the attention which the ancient philosophers excited; in the empire which they acquired over the opinions and principles of their auditors; in the faculty which they possessed of giving a certain tone and character to the conduct and conversation of those auditors, they appear to have been *much superior to any modern teachers*.' † Independently of the authority of these great men, indeed, when we recur to the works of the ancients, from the time of Aristotle downwards, we cannot deny that the teachers of antiquity had well studied the intellectual powers, and had established some fundamental principles in the philosophy of the mind, which,

* Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 420.
† Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 179.

after being long contested, and even abandoned, have since been revived and reëstablished by the schools of modern philosophers, from the time of Locke to our own age; thus justifying the application of a remark made by D'Alembert upon one of the fundamental principles of the ancient mental philosophy; 'In fine,' says he, 'for some little time past, it has been generally acknowledged by us, that the ancients were in the right; and this is not the only instance in which we have begun to incline to their opinions.' * That the instructers of antiquity did possess some means, whatever they were, of giving great power to the intellectual principle, cannot be contested; whether as great as now exist, we will not pretend to decide.

There is, undoubtedly, a striking difference between ancient and modern times in the *variety* of our studies. We are now compelled to know something of a great many more subjects of science and literature, than the ancient nations were. The very treasures of knowledge which those two great nations, the Greeks and Romans, especially the Greeks, have transmitted to us, do of themselves constitute a considerable portion of our education; and these we must study, if for no other reason than because those nations produced men of genius, and happened to live before us on this globe; just as the people who may succeed us twenty centuries hence will, for similar reasons, study science in the works of our Newton, and study man in the pages of our Shakspeare. For, however we may indulge ourselves in speculations upon the value of ancient science and literature, yet unless, with the empirics of the age, who would drug our understandings with their infallible nostrums of education, we are ready to strike off from our intellectual acquisitions the knowledge of all that has been known, and demand of what use it is to make ourselves acquainted with the past history of our race, it follows, that we must keep up the study of those works through which that knowledge has been handed down to us.

After all the experimenting which we have seen in education, many persons, we have no doubt, will feel a good deal inclined, in a practical matter of this sort, to agree to one other opinion of Johnson, who advised his friend Boswell not to 'refine' in the education of his children; for, said he,

* Discours Prélim. de l'Encyclopédie.

'life will not bear refinement—you must do as other people do.' * And when Boswell asked Johnson what he thought it best to teach children first, Johnson replied, 'It is no matter what you teach them first, any more than which leg you shall put into your breeches first'; 'while you are considering which of two things you shall teach your child first, another has learnt them both.' †

This language may be thought strong, perhaps extravagant; it was doubtless meant to be understood with some qualifications; and with them, it is, practically speaking, not so extravagant as it would at first view appear to be. It is unquestionably a fact, that there is no subject on which speculative men, even of the highest order of talents, have fallen into greater practical errors than in the conduct of education. Johnson has said, 'Education in England has been in danger of being hurt by two of its greatest men, Milton and Locke. Milton's plan is impracticable, and I suppose has never been tried; Locke's, I fancy, has been tried often enough, but is very imperfect.' ‡

With such warnings before them, it certainly becomes theoretical men, however eminent their talents, to beware of inculcating opinions, which may lead the community into fatal mistakes upon a subject of this vital importance. But we repress the numerous reflections of a general nature, which are rushing upon us as we are carried onward by this all-absorbing subject; and we now direct our attention to the works before us.

The judicious author of these works, (who is understood to be the Rev. Mr Willard, of Deerfield, Massachusetts,) observes,

'Few words are more frequently uttered than that of Education, and few perhaps with so indefinite a meaning. It is high time that we inquired more particularly into the nature and design of education. What is it? or in what does it consist? So far as it relates to the mind, it consists in feeding the mind; in providing it with suitable nourishment in all the successive stages of childhood and youth, from infancy to mature life. From the management of the discreet nurse in relation to the body, we may learn, with the utmost assurance, the great principles of a

* Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 240.
† Ibid. vol. i. p. 352. ‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 67.

good education. The evident analogies between the body and the mind, mark out our course in the plainest manner, illuminate every step with all the light of nature. There is an appetite in the mind corresponding to that of the body; an appetite equally strong; bearing the same relation to its proper objects, and intended by the Author of nature to secure the growth and perfection of the mind, in the same manner as the bodily appetite conduces to the growth and perfection of the animal frame.' 'Thought is the natural food of the mind, by which alone it can be enlarged and strengthened, and on which alone it can subsist. *Words* are nothing, any further than they are connected with thoughts, and aid the conceptions of the understanding.' 'The judicious nurse is careful to provide the child with the kind of food which is most suitable to its age, its general constitution, and the particular state of its health. The food is administered every day, several times in a day, and that in proper quantities. Precisely the same course should be pursued in education. The lessons of the child, in order to have any beneficial effect, must contain truth, and such truth as he can understand and digest. It is farther to be remembered, that the mind is no more to be crowded than the stomach. Excess in the one case is no less injurious than it is in the other. A vigorous constitution, whether mental or coporeal, may survive many surfeits and famines; but still it must be impaired by them.' *General Class Book*, p. 253.

The author, in conformity with these sentiments, proceeds to inquire (in his 'Essays on the Philosophy of Instruction,') 'whether the improvements we have made in the means and methods of *common education*, correspond to those which appear in other things, and to the superlative importance of the subject.' 'To this question,' he says, 'the deepest convictions of my mind compel me to answer, No.' He then proceeds;

'There is a principle in human nature, corresponding to the mightiest elements in the material world, which has hitherto been little regarded in the provision of books for common schools—the principle of *curiosity*; that curiosity, which is the most prominent feature of the child; which discovers itself in lisping infancy, by a thousand inquiries about facts and reasons; which, if carefully nourished, would "grow with their growth, and strengthen with their strength;" operating on all the intellectual machinery as powerfully as wind or steam in external nature.' *Essays*, p. 6.

This ardent thirst for knowledge is evidently a part of the constitution of the human mind; and very few of our race are to

be found who do not possess it. 'Falsa enim est querela,' says Quintilian, 'paucissimis hominibus vim percipiendi quæ tradantur esse concessam, plerosque verò laborem ac tempora tarditate ingenii perdere. Nam contra, plures reperias et faciles in excogitando et ad discendum promptos; quippe id est homini naturale; ac sicut aves ad volatum, equi ad cursum, ad sævitiam feræ gignuntur, ita nobis propria mentis agitatio atque sollertia.' 'The complaint is unfounded, that very few have the capacity to understand what is taught them, and that most persons only lose their labor and time in study. On the contrary, you will find the greater number to have a ready perception, and to be prompt in acquiring knowledge; for this is a natural characteristic of man. And as birds are made to fly, and horses to run, and wild beasts to take their prey, so the active exercise of the mind, and skill in employing it, are peculiar characteristics of man.'*

Of the truth of this remark we see daily proofs in our intercourse with mankind; and the anecdote related by Boswell, of the boy who was rowing him and his friend Johnson down the Thames, affords an amusing example of it. In the conversation between Johnson and Boswell upon the use of *learning*, the former observed, '"This boy rows us as well without learning, as if he could sing the song of Orpheus to the Argonauts, who were the first sailors." He then called to the boy, "What would you give, my lad, to know about the Argonauts?" "Sir," said the boy, "I would give what I have." Johnson was much pleased with his answer, and we gave him a double fare. Dr Johnson then turning to me, "Sir," said he, "a desire of knowledge is the natural feeling of mankind; and every human being whose mind is not debauched, will be willing to give all that he has, to get knowledge."' †

Our author, in his 'Essays,' justly complains of the too common 'inattention to the order of nature and reason in the instructing of children in the rudiments and almost the whole progress of English reading. In some of the first lessons in spelling, the child is overwhelmed with words which are totally unmeaning to him; many of which can hardly be considered as belonging to the English language. A multitude of others are of no present use to children, while perhaps the greater part of those for which they have an *immediate* demand,

* Lib. i. c. 1. † Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. i. p. 356.

are excluded. The consequence is, that after having spent many a tedious month on their spellings, when they are put on reading sentences, they are every moment meeting with words, which, though perhaps familiar to their ears, are strangers to their eyes.' And in another of his works, he says, 'If a common spelling-book is ever to be used, it is not to be the first nor the second book which is put into the hands of a child.' The grounds of this opinion are thus stated by him.

'Against all the most popular spelling-books which have appeared for the last fifty years, two grand objections lie; either of which seems sufficient to exclude them from a place in the course of education. *First*, they contain a mass of words so heterogeneous, as ought never to have been brought together; collected from all scenes, real and imaginary; from all the departments of nature, life, and action; from the nursery, the kitchen, the drawing-room, the stable, the bar-room, the gaming-table, the seaman's wharf, the apothecary's shop; from the mechanic arts, the subtle pages of the metaphysican, and the rhapsodies of the pompous pedant. That a book containing some thousands of words like *bice*, *grice*, *oaf*, *node*, *rhomb*, *fiat*, *phalanx*, *adunque*, *enfeoff*, *codicil*, *travesty*, *replevin*, *empannel*, and *diploma*, is totally unfit for children, who will hesitate long before they dare to pronounce *a*, *the*, *to*, or *for*, is so plain as to render all argument on the subject fruitless. Those who are not convinced by the first whispers of common sense, will not be convinced by elaborate reasoning.' *General Class Book, Preface*, p. i.

'*The other* grand objection to common spelling-books is, that they contain few or no *definitions*.' 'Orthography, pronunciation, and definition, are most advantageously studied in union. If divided, each will require more labor than all together would require.' 'Another defect, though of less importance, deserves to be mentioned. It regards the *arrangement* of words. In most of our spelling-books, words are grouped together, not according to their *sounds*, but according to their visible forms. Hence, when a child has learned the first word of a group, he can proceed almost mechanically, and spell perhaps ten or fifteen of the following words.' The author is therefore of opinion, that when the pupil 'has become acquainted with the usual sounds of the several letters, it seems incomparably better the words should be classed as they are *pronounced*, and not as they are spelled. For instance, there are no less than six different ways of expressing that combination of sounds which is heard in the second syllable of *nation*. These diversities are exemplified in the following words; *ocean*, *ration*, *fashion*, *passion*, *affection*, *connexion*, *aspersion*,

assertion, coercion, physician. Now, if the principles of classification be similarity of sound and diversity of spelling, two important advantages will be the result. It would be much easier to signify the proper pronunciation of words, and it will require the learner to pay such attention to every lesson and every word, as will give him a real acquaintance with it.' *General Class Book, Preface,* p. v.

There is much weight in these remarks; and in a question of this practical nature we should place great reliance upon the opinion of one who has had so much experience in the art of teaching as we believe our author to have had. But there are intrinsic difficulties in the case, arising from the very capricious application of the Roman alphabet to our language, and to which we shall more particularly advert in another part of this article.

After this very brief exposition of some of the principles adopted by our author, we proceed to give a short account of his publications. We give it in his own words.

'In the series of books, of which the one now offered to the public is the third in order, the Franklin Primer was intended to contain a competent number of words, already familiar to the ears and the minds of children, for the purpose of spelling and reading. The chief object of the second book, viz. the Improved Reader, was to acquaint children with the meaning as well as the orthography of those unknown words which they are most likely to hear in places of public instruction and devotion, and those which occur in most of our juvenile books. These lessons are connected with exercises in reading, calculated at once to interest the feelings, inform the understanding, and improve the temper and life. The original design of the General Class Book (the third in order) was what is suggested in the second part of the title, viz. an Epitome of English Orthography and Pronunciation, together with such definitions, as a proper course of instruction requires to be connected with it. To diversify the studies of the learner, however, and render the book more interesting, and more useful, many exercises in prose and verse are inserted on a great variety of useful subjects, which occupy the greater part of the following pages.' *General Class Book, Preface,* p. vi.

In order, however, that our readers may possess themselves more fully of the author's views, it will be necessary to consider very briefly some details, which we are apprehensive may appear minute. But if we are obliged to discuss the humble subject of teaching the alphabet (and we do not per-

ceive how it is to be avoided), we must shelter ourselves under the just and striking remark which Quintilian made in defending himself on a similar occasion ; 'It is true,' says he, 'that as one who professes to give instructions for the education of an orator, I may appear to be teaching humble things. But there are certain studies which belong to the most tender age ; and, as the body even of the most robust man begins its developement in the cradle, and nurtured by the mother's milk, so even the most eloquent of orators must begin his art by uttering himself in an infantine cry, and speaking in unsteady accents, and stumbling at the forms of the letters of the alphabet.' *

The author's *Primer*, as its name imports, is intended to be the first book for children. He very properly recommends, that, in learning the letters, children should not take them in the order of the alphabet ; and that they 'should not be perplexed with the whole alphabet at once. Till the letters are in a good measure familiar to them, four or five are sufficient for a lesson ; and such a lesson should be often repeated.' This is so exactly agreeable to the method recommended by Quintilian, that we cannot avoid quoting his words, for the satisfaction of those persons, whose pursuits have not led them to become acquainted with that truly practical writer. 'I am not at all pleased with the method which I find is practised by many persons, of having children learn the names and order of the letters before they are made familiar with the forms of them. This prevents their recognising the letters ; as they do not direct their attention to the strokes composing each letter, but only to the recollecting of what is to come next to the one they have just pronounced. In consequence of this, after children have been taught the letters in their natural order, the teachers are obliged to make them study the alphabet in a reversed order, and then again, to mix up the letters promiscuously, until the pupils are able to recognise them by their looks and not by their place in the alphabetic series ; by this means children will learn to distingush the letters, as they do individuals around them, by their forms, or appearance, as well as by their names.' The same writer adds his approbation of the 'well known' practice (as he calls it even at that day) 'of having the letters cut in ivory, or any other mechani-

* Lib. i. c. 1.

cal device of that kind, which they can handle and examine, and which will amuse their tender age, and stimulate their little minds to study.' He makes one further observation, which may possibly deserve attention even at this day, if it should be found useful to have *writing* accompany *reading* as soon as the child's strength of hand shall admit of it. Quintilian says, 'As soon as the pupil begins to be able to follow the lines of the letters, it will be useful to have them engraved in the best manner upon brass tablets, so that his stylus, or pen, may be carried forward, as it were in a furrow or channel, and thus be prevented from taking a wrong direction (as it would on waxen tablets), and be kept within the edges of the channel; and thus, by tracing repeatedly and with celerity the letters so engraved, he will give strength to his fingers, and not need the assistance of the master's hand to guide his own.' *

We have made the longer extracts from this sensible writer, for the double purpose, of gratifying that natural and laudable curiosity, which we all have, to compare past ages with our own, and of showing that the ancient writers on education did know something of the powers of the human mind and of the modes of training it.

At this stage of the pupil's progress, we meet a question which has been frequently agitated in our times. Whether it is better that children should first learn the letters *singly*, or should at once be put upon learning *whole words* or *sentences*. The author, in his 'Improved Reader,' decides in favor of beginning with the single letters. For himself, he says,

'It is hard to conceive how the child is to arrive at such a ready distinction of one word from another, as even tolerable reading must require, without meeting and surmounting the principal labors and difficulties of *spelling*. To distinguish *cat* from *rat*, for instance, he must observe the diversity of the letters *c* and *r* in the two words; to distinguish *eat* from *ate*, he must observe the different arrangements of the letters; that is, he must *spell mentally*, if he does not orally. Besides, it is too evident from experience, that it is a very tedious thing, even for those who have an ordinary degree of acquaintance with the orthography of words, to read their exercises in composition; and that those, who have read volumes and libraries, without first learning to spell, are generally bad spellers and bad readers through the whole of their lives, however much they may excel in information or

* Lib. i. c. 1.

natural understanding.' He adds, as the result of his own reflection and experience, that 'he is satisfied that orthography should in general, if not always, precede *sentential* reading.' p. vi.

The difficulty in this case arises from the circumstance of our having borrowed the *written* alphabet of a foreign language, the Roman, and adapted it to our *spoken* English tongue, instead of devising a distinct written character; which circumstance, however it may facilitate our acquaintance with other languages that use the Roman letters also, causes many impediments in the study of our own. The truth is, that we do not, in general, sufficiently accustom ourselves to consider our *written* and *spoken* languages as entirely distinct in their nature, as two different systems of signs to express our ideas; each system being sufficient by itself for that purpose, and having no natural connexion with the other. Yet we have constantly under our observation, two classes of our fellow men, who afford daily proof of this fact; on the one hand, the illiterate of our own people, and the savage nations on our frontiers, all of whom express their ideas perfectly well without knowing a letter of any alphabet; and, on the other, the deaf and dumb, who can do the same thing by means of *letters*, without having any idea of the sounds of a *spoken* language.

The consequence of our adopting a foreign alphabet has been, that instead of using a single letter, that is, the simplest element of a *written* word in order to express a single sound, which is the simplest element of a *spoken* word, we frequently use two, three, or more letters to express a single sound; which letters have themselves totally different sounds, according as they are taken singly or together. The only remedy for this difficulty, so long as we retain our present alphabet, would be, to connect together by some mark all those letters which constitute one syllable; so that these connected masses of letters would in fact form so many distinct characters. But this process would multiply the characters to such an extent, that we should perhaps lose more than would be gained by that expedient.

If the preceding remarks upon the two classes of signs, the written and the spoken, are well founded, an argument might be made (we do not affirm how solid it would be) in favor of beginning to read with whole words, or even short sentences.

In *speaking*, there seems to be, by nature, no actual division of words into syllables, or even of sentences into words; we

speak in continuous phrases; and, perhaps, it was by analogy to this, that the early mode of writing grew up, which was, to join all the words together, as we find them in ancient manuscripts. In our own language, indeed, the process of connecting and disconnecting the *written* words is by no means settled upon any principle, but fluctuates with the taste of the age. Formerly it was the practice to write many compound words in separate parts, where we now unite them; we universally, for example, used to write the expression *any thing* as two words; but many writers now make one word of it, in analogy with *something* and *nothing;* and on the same principle we ought to make but one word of *everything*, *allthings*, &c.; we also write *sometime* and *sometimes* as one word, but still make two of *all times*, *any time*, *every time*, and *no time;* again, we make single words of *hitherto* and *into*, while we make two of *up to*, *down to*, *over to;* and the term *nevertheless* is consolidated into one word, while we write *not the less* as three. Now it is by no means improbable, that the difficulty of analysing and distinguishing words and parts of words is in itself as great to a child in our *spoken* as in our *written* language; but, in the former, he is more constantly in the way of noticing minute distinctions in the conversation which takes place during every hour of the day in his hearing; while, in the case of the written language, his attention is not drawn to the distinctions of the *letters*, except during the very small portion of the day while he can be kept at his book. Everything, in these cases, seems to depend on habit or practice. A Frenchman, for instance, finds it difficult in our *spoken* language, to distinguish between the sounds of *ship* and *sheep*, *paper* and *pepper;* yet he is not at a loss to discriminate between these words in our *written* language, because he is accustomed to the same alphabetic letters in his language that we use in ours. And, to take the example of our author, perhaps a child would for a long time be insensible to the distinction of sound between *eat* and *ate* (as generally pronounced), and find as great difficulty in mastering it, as he would the distinction in the two written words, if it were not for the advantage he has in the former case, of noticing it in conversation, perhaps, a hundred times oftener than he sees it written. We do not, however, presume to decide which of these two is the better mode of teaching; we would rather be governed by the opinion of a practical man, like our author, than to hazard any

decided opinion of our own; and we make these remarks merely with a view to draw attention to the question.

If we could begin anew and devise an orthography for our exclusive use, the most philosophical method would be, to have one single *written* sign, for each single *vocal* sign; or, a distinct character for each syllable of our spoken language. One of those unfortunate tribes of American aborigines, whose piteous condition has excited so much sympathy among us, and to whom we should hardly resort for instruction in any thing,—we mean the Cherokee Indians,—has actually proceeded on this principle. An intelligent individual of that nation, by the name of Guess, deservedly styled by them 'The Philosopher,' and who does not speak any language but his own, has, by a laborious analysis, ascertained the whole number of *syllables* in that language, and has formed a distinct written character for each syllable. The consequence is, that as soon as these characters are learned, the whole written language is acquired; and as the same characters invariably represent the same sound, there can be no such thing as an error in orthography or spelling, and both children and grown persons actually acquire the art of *reading* in the course of a few days!—a striking contrast with the labor of months and years which our own children spend in learning to read English. This nation of Indians, therefore, although they were furnished by the white people with an alphabet of Roman letters, ready made to their hands, rejected it; and very patriotically preferred one of their own invention; which, for their use alone, independently of any connexion with the languages of their white neighbors, is much more convenient than our alphabet would have been for them. A similar advantage, though perhaps not so great, has been derived from the adoption of a *systematic* alphabet, composed, however, of Roman letters, in the language of another tribe, the Chahtahs (Choctaws), and also in the language of the Sandwich Islands; in both of which, we are informed, the native children learn to read with incomparably greater ease and despatch than our children learn English. The Rev. Mr Ellis, in his 'Tour through Hawaii' (Owhyhee), remarks, on this subject, 'I have known a native, acquainted with the power of the letters, spell a word, when it had been correctly pronounced, though he had never seen it written.'* But we return to the works before us.

* Ellis's Tour, Appendix, p. 475, 3d Lond. edit.

Our author's *second* work, called 'The Improved Reader,' consists of familiar dialogues upon useful subjects; little narratives; an account of the most interesting animals; and characteristics of some of the nations of the globe. 'The leading design of this book,' says the author, 'is to introduce the child, by an easy and gradual progress, to an acquaintance with the most important words.' 'With this view the exercises in general have been so selected and arranged as to bring forward a *moderate number of new words* in each lesson. These words are defined and illustrated with all convenient simplicity; and the definitions should be made familiar to learners before they read the following lessons, and afterward they should be reviewed again and again, till they are permanently fixed in their minds.'

His *third* book, called 'The General Class Book,' contains 'interesting lessons in prose and verse, on a great variety of subjects, combined with an epitome of English orthography and pronunciation.'

In regard to his rules of pronunciation, our author says, 'Mr Walker is invariably followed;' that is, the author has endeavored to give the pronunciation which he supposes Mr Walker intended, 'though from some defect in his notation, he [Walker] is liable to be misunderstood.' He then makes some very just observations upon Walker's notation; which show at the same time great exactness of ear in himself; a want of which exactness has led many writers upon orthoëpy into egregious blunders, and thrown great confusion into the discussions of that subject.

We intended to give some extracts from these different books, in order to show more fully the author's execution of his plan; but our limits will not admit of it. We must content ourselves, therefore, with a general expression of our opinion upon their merits; and, without intending to make any invidious comparison with other works of this class, we can say with truth, that they are certainly well adapted to the purpose for which they are intended by their highly deserving author, and may be recommended to the attention of parents and teachers.

We may add, for the benefit of the author's printer and paper-maker, that the value of the publication would be enhanced by a better style of typography and paper. That practical writer, Knox, justly observes, that books written for

the use of children should be rendered pleasing to the eye and to the imagination; that they should abound with cuts, and be printed on *fine* paper.

ART. XII.—*Letters on Clerical Manners and Habits; addressed to a Student in the Theological Seminary, at Princeton, N. J.* By SAMUEL MILLER, D. D. Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government, in the said Seminary. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 1827.

FEW American authors deserve a more particular notice than Dr Miller. His literary enterprises have generally been of an arduous description; the effect at which he aims is always great and decisive; and though by no means an impartial, or complete, yet he cannot be pronounced a superficial, writer. His earliest essay of any importance, was 'A Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century,' in two volumes, octavo, in which was exhibited a comprehensive, entertaining, and instructive survey of the progress of the human mind during that period. His subsequent performances, with the exception of some excellent occasional discourses, have been principally confined to the polemic field. Conscientiously attached to the denomination of which he is a well known ornament, he has devoted his strong mind and accomplished talents to its defence and support. He is the presiding genius of American Presbyterianism; nor would he aspire at any higher honor than to be regarded as the living representative of the Westminster Assembly and Synod of Dort. Stationed near the centre of our political union, he looks out, as from a watch-tower, and detects, from afar, the approaches of each open or disguised foe to his communion, buckles on his armor, descends to the plain, and unhesitatingly gives him battle.

Not long after the publication of the 'Retrospect,' we find him engaged in a warm controversy with the Episcopalians. It swelled to the size of one of the most portly volumes on our divinity shelves. When, some years later, another denomination lifted up their standard in his neighborhood, Dr Miller, again roused to the demands of the occasion, sent forth a weighty volume, and became their most formidable antagonist.

Does a learned professor, at one of our renowned orthodox seminaries, put forth, in an elaborate pamphlet, his views of the Messiah's Sonship, summoning to his aid the vast resources of 'patristical' lore? Forthwith this never daunted champion appears in the field, and fastens upon what he deems the incipient monster of heresy, surprising him by an unexpected familiarity with the Fathers, and an unsparing copiousness of quotation. Does a new prodigy of dissent, still nearer Dr Miller's home, start up from the bosom of his own church, denying the efficacy or utility of creeds and formularies? Instinctively he sees the probable popularity and danger of such an opinion, and writes a potent book in defence of the established system.

Thus has he always reserved his energies for extraordinary occasions. Although possessed of extensive learning, and an easily flowing pen, yet has he never been lavish of his authorship, in presenting himself to the public without some high and paramount aim. Nor, as we presume, would any of the sects or writers, of whom we have just represented him as being a combatant by turns, deny, that in all his conflicts he has obtained some success by the effects produced, whatever may be their opinions as to the cogency of his arguments, or the extent of his candor.

Scarcely can the work before us be considered an exception to the general strain of our author's productions. It involves, indeed, no points of erudition or research, and was called for by no critical emergency in the existing state of religion. It descends to topics of more than fire-side familiarity, more than dressing-room minuteness. The 'lithe proboscis,' which could wield a century in its grasp, or move the gnarled roots of heresy from their bed, appears to be exercising here its powers of minute attrectation, in prescribing to the young divine his postures in public, and his habits in private; warning him against picking his teeth, or pulling at articles of furniture, or studying by candle-light, or whispering in the lecture-room, or becoming the prey of notorious match-makers. Yet it is on many accounts an admirable book, and, in its general end and aim, falls not short of the author's usual high designs. The great interests of Presbyterianism are still predominant in his view throughout, although the pins and shreds of the tabernacle are here the main object of his attention. Perhaps we ought rather to have said, it is the *basis* of an admirable book; and if re-

moulded as we would hereafter suggest, might form a valuable gift both to the profession and to the public.

There is a certain aspect in which our country presents itself, not less interesting to the reflecting observer, than its precious political institutions. A large portion of it has long been organized into religious communities, or congregations, of a few hundreds each, and the remainder appears gradually tending to the same condition. Over each of these communities is stationed a single individual, summoned by themselves alone, who appears before them at intervals of a few days only, becomes a subject of their undivided attention, the channel of their most interesting emotions, the inmate of their domestic circles, the director in some measure of their moral principles and taste, and to a certain but necessary degree, the unconscious model even of their manners and their language. It is evident that a body of men, destined to exert so considerable an influence over society for evil or for good, ought at least to be gentlemen; and the present work of Dr Miller was intended to contribute towards so desirable a result.

To each of the fourteen letters, which compose the book, is prefixed a text of Scripture, appropriate to the subject proposed for discussion. These mottoes are so ingeniously chosen, that we shall here present them along with the titles which they accompany and illustrate.

'Letter I. INTRODUCTORY. "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Consider your ways."

'Letter II. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CLERICAL MANNERS. "See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise."

'Letter III. OFFENSIVE PERSONAL HABITS. "GIVING NO OFFENCE IN ANYTHING, that the ministry be not blamed."

'Letter IV. CONVERSATION. "A word spoken in due season, how good is it!"

'Letter V. RELIGIOUS CONVERSATION. "Let your speech be always with grace seasoned with salt."

'Letter VI. VISITING. "I taught you publicly, AND FROM HOUSE TO HOUSE."

'Letter VII. HABITS IN THE SEMINARY GENERALLY. "And let us consider one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works."

'Letter VIII. HABITS IN THE STUDY. "Give attendance to reading."

'Letter IX. HABITS IN THE LECTURE-ROOM. "Take fast hold of instruction; let her not go, for she is thy life."

'Letter X. HABITS IN THE PULPIT AND IN THE HOUSE OF GOD. "That thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God."

'Letter XI. CONDUCT IN CHURCH JUDICATORIES. "And the Apostles and Elders came together for to consider of this matter."

'Letter XII. FEMALE SOCIETY, MARRIAGE, &c. "Entreat the elder women as mothers; the younger as sisters, with all purity."

'Letter XIII. DRESS—STYLE OF LIVING—PECUNIARY CONCERNS. "Let your moderation be known unto all men."

'Letter XIV. MISCELLANEOUS COUNSELS. "Let all things be done decently and in order."'

Dr Miller has a happy talent for the composition of a book. His method, though running out too much into detail, is very perspicuous. His style is marked by an elegant simplicity, and is always intelligible. Generally flowing with the easy sweetness of Doddridge, Newton, and that class of writers on experimental religion, it occasionally rises to the more artificial, condensed, and elevated strain of Hannah More. His English is of the purest kind, and his selecter expressions uncommonly felicitous. Even in his more personal controversies, there is little that is rough, discourteous, Warburtonian. All is as smooth as oil; though, as Burke once described the reproof of a certain righteous man, it is often the oil of vitriol. No man surpasses him in the art of saying severe things in a soft and tender way, and with a kind of helpless, unconscious simplicity. The affectionate pressure of his hand becomes unawares a rigorous grasp. His knowledge of human nature is deep; not arising merely from the varied trials and conflicts of experience, but also from strong natural sagacity, and the habitual study of his own heart. Admirable are his precepts on managing and regulating one's own prejudices, weaknesses, and virtues; delicate and skilful his tact in teaching us how to deal with those of others. Some portions of the present volume breathe a lofty and refreshing morality, however the fastidious may be displeased with several apparently coarse and trifling topics. We would recommend its perusal to readers of every class, as well as to the divine, or theological student. Let congregations learn the requisites for a perfect minister, and they will be more apt to assist and stimulate their own pastors in conforming to an elevated standard.

Probably, however, no recommendation of ours will ever attract to this book the attention of general readers. We will venture, therefore, to suggest a mode by which it may be rendered universally popular and useful. Not more than one half of it is at present peculiarly and specifically appropriate to persons of the clerical order. The author is constantly obliged to force his various topics over to the side of his main subject, by the remark that such or such a virtue is indeed to be cultivated, and such or such a habit to be shunned, by all others, as well as clergymen, but by *them* especially. Now, instead of thus pursuing two several tracks, which perpetually cross each other, we could have wished that he had divided his plan, and given us two moderately sized manuals; one addressed to the young in general; another, with the title and object of the book before us. What American youth, for instance, is unconcerned in any part of Letters third and fourth, of which the following expressive summary is given in the table of contents?

'Letter III. Offensive personal habits—Spitting on floors and carpets—Excessive use of tobacco—Use of ardent spirits—Fondness for luxurious eating—Boisterous laughter—Paring the nails—Combing the hair—Yawning—Picking the teeth—Leaning on the table—Mode of sitting in company—Importance of sitting erectly—Pulling at articles of furniture—Guarding against slovenly habits of every kind.

'Letter IV. On conversation—Importance of the subject—Talking too much—Excessive silence—Tale-bearing and tattling—Prying into the secrets of families—Propagating ill reports—Discussion of personal character and conduct—Making conversation useful—Making preparation to converse—Paying close attention in conversation—Treating what is said by others respectfully—Looking the individual with whom we converse in the face—Opposing erroneous sentiments in a suitable manner—Haughtiness in conversation—Controversy—Losing the temper in controversy—Ease and attractiveness in conversation—Too much readiness to make promises of services—Disposition to take offence—Sudden and excessive intimacies—Maintaining personal dignity in conversation—Retailing anecdotes—Repeating old proverbs—Coarseness or indelicacy—Interrupting another in conversation—Contradicting—Indulgence of personal vanity—Egotism—Affectation of wit—Pedantry—Flattery—Inviting flattery to ourselves—Speaking of our own performances—Rude familiarity—Strict regard to truth—Proprieties of time and place—Faithfulness to confidence reposed—Loud and boisterous manner in conversation—Frequent

use of superlatives—Conversing with the wise and good—Observing the conversation of the best models.' pp. vi, vii.

Letter third should evidently be perused long before a young man commences the study of theology. We know not how it is among our brethren of the middle states, but in these latitudes, we should esteem the case of a youthful divine as very hopeless, who should indulge in almost any of the habits therein enumerated. So the whole of Letter ninth, entitled 'Habits in the Lecture-Room,' would be read with special profit, not only by every student attending a course of medical or law lectures, but by every undergraduate. Nearly all of Letter seventh, entitled 'Habits in the Seminary generally,' is well calculated for every member of a college or university. Even the second Letter, enumerating the general characteristics of clerical manners, could be perused by no person of moral susceptibility, without some good effect. In treating elsewhere of habits in the study, of dress, style of living, expenses, female society, matrimony, and various other miscellaneous subjects, we regret that the author should have locked up so much valuable advice in a volume from which the title will immediately repel the general reader.

We apprehend that the work would receive still farther improvement, if subjected, in many cases, to a rigorous process of condensation. We would recommend an occasional departure from the author's plan of rolling out every separate direction or precept into an imposing section. Many of his maxims would speak at once for themselves; their effect is enfeebled by putting the thought into new modes of expression, showing it on every side, and handling it over again and again. He has himself set the example of a better method in Section thirteenth of Letter third, in which a variety of subjects are touched in a neat and summary manner. Why a whole section might not have been fabricated for each of them, or why numerous sections throughout the Letters might not have been compressed in the manner of this one, we are unable to discern. The diffusive habit to which we object was probably brought by the author from his preparations for the pulpit, where a given quantity is often delivered by a preacher on every separate head of his discourse, whatever be its relative or direct importance. As one instance among others, of the peculiarity to which we allude, we refer to Section sixth of Latter twelfth, in which *the inestimable importance of piety*

in a clergyman's wife is urged with so much repetition and prolixity, that we almost become tired of the subject.

Why, too, could not a single general section have been devoted to inculcating the duty of prayer on a variety of important occasions, instead of recommending it separately and at large in different parts of the book, under the several heads of religious conversation, official visits, short social visits, private study, pulpit performances, returning from the pulpit, attendance on every church judicatory, speaking in judicatories, transacting business in judicatories, and choosing a companion for life? It is evident that occasions of this kind might be greatly multiplied, and if so many sections in detail are necessary, the book is imperfect for having no more.

From these general criticisms on the frame-work of the volume, we pass to some desultory remarks on its subject matter. A work of this description would naturally raise many questions of minor casuistry, of mere taste and opinion; a few of which we shall attempt to examine with due frankness and respect.

The question is discussed with elegance and ingenuity in the second Letter, whether there is anything *peculiar* in the style of manners proper for a minister of the Gospel. The Doctor maintains that the six following characteristics are essential to a perfect clerical deportment; Dignity, Gentleness, Condescension, Affability, Reserve, and Uniformity. Among other rules for the preservation of a clergyman's dignity, the author lays down the following. 'When you are invited even to what are called *family parties*, and you find either cards or dancing about to be introduced, though it be on the smallest scale, and in the most *domestic* way, make a point of withdrawing. It is, on all accounts, better to be absent. When a clergyman allows himself to be found in the midst of exhibitions of this nature, though he take no part in them, yet, if he have a proper sense of christian and ministerial duty, he will be more or less embarrassed; and, if he attempt to be faithful in reproof or remonstrance, may, perhaps, do more harm than good.' In this advice, notwithstanding a show of decision, we cannot but perceive something at once wavering, unsatisfactory, and inconsistent. The amusements to which reference is made, are either proper or improper. If proper, we see no reason why a clergyman should withdraw from witnessing them. If improper, we are unable

to conceive why he should not faithfully, but as gently and calmly as you please, remonstrate against them. Is it not possible that the presence of clergymen and other persons of sobriety may prevent innocent amusements from degenerating into extravagance or indecorum? If such spectators abruptly and sullenly withdraw, they acquire no respect from those whom they leave behind; they only diffuse a momentary embarrassment without effecting a reformation; they diminish affectionate confidence, and establish a virtual breach. How can they ever return to the houses they forsake, until the offensive amusements are renounced? We refrain altogether from entering on the question respecting the propriety of the abovementioned recreations. We only wish for decision, independence, and consistency in a clergyman, and can perceive but little of either in a timorous and ambiguous flight.

Again; 'If you happen,' says our author, 'to be thrown into young company, and any of the *little plays* which are frequently resorted to, by youth of both sexes, for passing away time, happen to be introduced, it will be by no means proper that you take any part in them.' The Doctor's correspondent may be able to keep this rule tolerably well, unless he has himself a few young children; in that case, he must be more or less than a man, to permit the little amusements of a birthday evening to fail for want of efficient support.

Some of the following directions inculcate, it may be thought, an almost impracticable and unprofitable strictness.

'You can be at no loss to decide, that—the *private affairs* of your neighbors;—the characters, plans, and conduct of the *absent;*—questions which implicate the principles and views of *other religious denominations;*—the conflicts of *party politicians;*—your *own private concerns;*—the *petty scandal* of the neighborhood; what others have *communicated to you*, in reference to delicate subjects, whether under the injunction of secrecy or not;—your *opinions* concerning the passing events and persons of the day, unless in very clear and special cases;—on all these and similar subjects, if you are wise you will exercise much reserve;—nay you will seldom allow yourself to converse at all, even when all around you are chattering about them. You can seldom do any good by talking on such subjects.' p. 53.

General indeed must be the circle, where restraints so severe ought to be imposed upon a clergyman. In companies of a private and social description, let him take some part in

the talk of the day, or lay his account in being an unwelcome guest. Let him glide along on the current of conversation with an amiable though cautious participation, since thus only can he effectually prevent, or gracefully reprove, those occasional breaches of charity, prudence, and propriety, to which our author would condemn him to be a stern and silent listener.

In Letter fourth, Dr Miller cautions his friend, with especial earnestness, against ever being drawn into controversy, in company, with *aged men* and with *females*. As to the former, he says, 'Never dream that you will be able to convince, or by any means to *effect an alteration* in the opinions of a man who has passed the age of three score, or three score and ten.' As to the latter, he thinks nothing can be a match for their acuteness, wit, sprightliness, and delicate raillery; or at all events, he considers that common gallantry must seal the lips of any one who differs on important subjects from the fair. How absolute and sweeping are such remarks! Many an elderly person, many an intelligent female have we known, capable of conducting a controversy with all desirable fairness and calmness. Why should their friendly challenges or candid inquiries be evaded, in favor of the warm, positive, prejudiced dogmatists of a younger age and a rougher sex?

For the sake of the author's consistency we could wish him to revise some of his directions respecting the miscellaneous literature proper for a clergyman to cultivate. How have Shakspeare, Pope, and Johnson, any *peculiar* bearing on theological studies? And if there be danger even in 'touching, tasting, or handling' a novel of the highest class, would there be nothing perilous in the fascinations of the great dramatist? To expose a clergyman to the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' and yet forbid him to read 'Tremaine,' is to us an incomprehensible distinction. Why should the young divine be debarred from those deep lessons in the human heart, that exquisite perfection of taste, that delightful solace of his heavier hours, which exist in the volumes of Scott and others of the same school? He who cannot be trusted with such books in his hands, because 'he is never sure that he will not go to excess,' has no business in this world of temptations; he must dispense with chairs in his study, for he may die of sedentary indulgence; he must cause his door to be locked on every beautiful day, otherwise he will spend it in sauntering abroad;

he must be confined to bread and water, for ruin awaits him in the least artificial luxuries of the table.

With regard to opening or shutting the eyes in public prayer, instead of taking a positive, absolute side, and recommending, with our author, the latter in all cases, we would have left it to be determined by circumstances. Very high authorities beside Doddridge condemn the practice which Dr Miller enjoins. In some regions, one custom, we find, prevails and is favored; in others, another. A pure and true theology, recognising the universal presence of the Deity, would seem to render either mode indifferent.

The two letters on 'Habits, in the Theological Seminary,' and on 'Conduct in Church Judicatories,' present a curious, but rather sad picture of the state of things, which sometimes exists in those places of resort, and of which there is sufficient danger to induce the author to lay down such particular directions. We were not a little amused by the address of his gentle satires and indirect reproofs on these subjects, and have no doubt that many an individual has secretly thanked him for administering his correction over the shoulders of a student at Princeton.

The Doctor's general rules on matrimony are excellent; but his superabundant and too minute directions respecting the choice of a wife, seem to presuppose in his young friend the faculty of cool prophecy, and almost to place the adviser himself among a certain interfering class, against which he devotes a whole indignant section. Where can be found the paragons whom he destines for the rising generation of divines? And supposing they could be discovered,—

> 'Crois-tu que d'une fille humble, honnête, charmante,
> L'hymen n'ait jamais fait de femme extravagante?
> Combien n'a-t-on point vu de belles aux doux yeux,
> Avant le marriage anges si gracieux,
> Tout-à-coup se changeant en bourgeoises sauvages,
> Vrais démons apporter l'enfer dans leurs ménages,
> Et, découvrant l'orgueil de leurs rudes esprits,
> Sous leur fontange altière asservir leurs maris!'

'Never allow yourself to be a politician.' With the whole section on this maxim, we cordially agree; but wish it had been accompanied by the advice given by the venerable Dr Freeman in his discourse at the settlement of a colleague, namely, to maintain the practice of depositing his vote in the ballot-box at every important election.

On the subject of an appropriate professional garb, we were surprised to find this book entirely silent. In that portion which treats of dress, the reader is persuaded to be only economical, whole, neat, and clean; but nothing is anywhere hinted of an established clerical uniform. Would the author encourage his pupil to assume any other than the color usually worn by clergymen? Does not this ingredient enter into one's romantic and unspeakable musings on a perfect clerical character, as readily as the six moral qualities formerly enumerated? A course of sermons, we allow, would lose none of their inherent excellence, by coming from the lips of a person clad in the varying habiliments of the day. But never may we witness such an anomaly from our usual associations. We would enter our protest against the liberty which is beginning to be assumed in these respects by some members of the cloth. Could we legislate for that respectable profession, we should at once abolish the white hats that have occasionally appeared among them for the last few summers. We should be almost jealous of minister's grey. Not that we perceive in black any abstract fitness for a clerical dress. The plain, unobtrusive drab of the quaker, or any other color, if conventionally and universally adopted, would equally answer the end. But the former, being already in such extensive use, ought, as we conceive, to be scrupulously retained, in spite of trivial inconveniences. We will venture to assert, that the Moravian brethren, whom Dr Miller pronounces, in the end of his second chapter, to be clerical models, are dressed according to the spirit of our remarks. At all events, we cannot be wrong in pleading for the continued prevalence of that modest, sensible, and gentlemanly costume, which is allied to our hallowed recollections of a Matignon, a Buckminster, a Dehon, a Worcester, a Stanhope Smith, and a thousand others, of every denomination. These, amidst the unavoidable discrepancies of opinion and ceremonials incident to the limited nature of the human mind, seemed willing to unite in at least one common observance, and, by something like a happy emblem or allegory, tacitly consented to merge all their disagreements in a uniform suit of sable.

But we have pursued our little differences with the author far enough. To show how much more easily and safely we might approve, a few extracts shall be presented from various parts of his book. The first will at once exhibit the modesty of his pretensions and the propriety of his design.

'I will only add, that in preparing this little system of advices, I have by no means forgotten how small my title is to assume the office of teacher on such a subject. It is a maxim in physical science, that a stream can never, in ordinary circumstances, rise higher than its fountain. If I thought this maxim applied as rigidly in intellectual and moral culture, I should lay down my pen in despair; or rather, I should not have dared to take it up for the purpose of discussing a subject at once so delicate and difficult. But it does not. Nothing is more common than to see pupils rising far higher than their instructors in knowledge and practical wisdom. This thought comforts and animates me in the undertaking. My office having placed me in the way of perceiving how greatly a body of precepts and suggestions on this subjsct is needed; having never seen anything which appeared to me to approach toward answering the purpose in view; knowing that all that many ingenuous youth need, to put them on the right track, is a collection of hints, for setting their own minds at work; and hoping that what is "sown in weakness," may be "raised in power," I venture to make the attempt which the title of these Letters announces. May our common Master accept and bless it!' pp. 33, 34.

The next passage skilfully justifies his uniting the apparently opposite qualities of affability and reserve in the ministerial character.

'By *reserve* I mean, not the opposite of *frankness;* but a manner standing opposed to *excessive* and *unseasonable communicativeness.* This is in no respect inconsistent with anything which has been already recommended. The most attractive affability is not only quite reconcilable with a delicate and wise reserve; but really requires it, and cannot be of the best character without it. There are many subjects on which a minister of the Gospel ought not to allow himself, in ordinary cases, to talk with freedom, if at all; and, of course, concerning which, when they are introduced, he ought generally to exercise a strict reserve. Every wise man will see at once the reasons, and the importance of this counsel; especially in reference to one who bears so many interesting relations to those around him as a minister of religion. He ought certainly to be affable. But if by this he should understand to be meant, that he ought to talk freely, at all times, to all classes of people, and on all subjects, which the idle, the meddling, the impertinent, or the malignant may choose to introduce, he would soon find to his cost that he had totally misapprehended the matter. Affability is good—is important; but incessant and indiscriminate talkativeness, will soon reduce in public esteem, and entangle in real difficulties, the official man who allows himself to indulge it. pp. 51, 52.

The following may furnish a valuable hint to some of our studious readers; though we think the author pushes his theory beyond necessary limits.

'We owe it to our bodily health, as well as to good manners, to learn the art of *habitually sitting in an erect posture.* Few things are more important to a student. If he allow himself, in the privacy of his own apartment, to sit in a leaning, lounging, half-bent posture, with his elbows on his knees, or with his feet stuck up on a chair, or against the side of the fire-place, higher than his head, or on a level with it; he will be much more apt to contract a pain in his breast, and to find his eye-sight, and his general health affected by three hours' study, in such a posture, than by five or even six in a more erect one. Let your habitual mode of sitting, even in your study, be perfectly erect, with the breast rather protruded than bent in; and, in short, very much in that self-supported and firm manner, in which you would wish to sit in the most ceremonious company. This may seem, at first view to be too formal; but it will become, in a short time, what it is the object of this counsel to make it, the most natural posture; and will, without effort on your part, confer all those advantages on the score of health and manners which it is desirable to gain from it. Besides; if now, in your youth, you are constantly seeking, as many appear to be, something to recline upon; if you cannot sit ten minutes without throwing yourself into the recumbent, or semi-recumbent postures, to which we see the young and healthy constantly resorting; what will you do in the feebleness of old age? If you cannot sit otherwise than half-bent at twenty-five; how will you sit at three score and ten? Let the sunken, revolting figures of many aged persons give the answer.' pp. 83—85.

The next is a specimen of that united knowledge of the world and matured Christian spirit, which appear in many parts of the work.

'It is one of the most obvious dictates of good manners, *not to interrupt another person when he is speaking;* and yet how frequently is this plain rule of decorum violated! To interrupt one in conversation, almost always carries with it an offensive character. It implies either, that we are not instructed or interested by what he is saying; that we have not patience to hear him to the end, and are anxious that he should come to a more speedy close; or that we are wiser than he, and more competent to give instruction on the subject on which he is speaking; neither of which is consistent with that respect and benevolence which we owe to those with whom we converse. But, while you sacredly guard against interrupting others in conversation, be not

impatient of interruption *yourself*. Bear it with calmness, and without the least indication of irritated feeling. Set it down to the score of inadvertence, of nervous excitement, of irascible feeling, of constitutional impatience—in short of anything rather than a design to give offence, unless you are compelled by unquestionable testimony to adopt this unfavorable construction.' pp. 115, 116.

So again;

'Introducing and conducting religious conversation with persons of *wealth, and high station in society,* is a peculiarly important, and, at the same time, a very delicate and difficult duty. Peculiarly important, because any good impression made on them, will be likely to extend itself more widely; and in many respects, delicate and difficult, because this class of persons are more in the habit of being approached with deference, and, for various reasons, more apt to be nice, and even fastidious, in their feelings, than many others. At the same time, I have no doubt, that the difficulties of this duty have been, by some, greatly overrated; and that plain, good sense, with a heart overflowing with piety and benevolence, will be found, humanly speaking, safe and adequate guides, in all ordinary cases. My advices on this point shall be short. Never, on any account *court*, or *affect* the company of the wealthy and great. Never take pains to be much with them; and never *boast* of their acquaintance. When you are providentially thrown in their way, sacredly avoid everything that approaches to a supple, sycophantic spirit of accommodation to their errors or vices. Never accost them with that timid, embarrassed diffidence, which may lead them to suppose that you have more veneration for them, than for your duty or your God. At the same time, let nothing of the unmannerly, the sullen, or the morose mark your deportment toward them. An old divine was accustomed to say, "Please all men in the truth; but wound not the truth to please any." Let them see that christian duty is not inconsistent with the most perfect politeness. Introduce pious thoughts and divine truth to their view, in a gentle, and sometimes in an indirect manner; and let them see that you are much more intent on doing them good, than gaining their favor. When you have occasion to oppose them, let it be done mildly and meekly, but firmly; with the air and manner of one who dislikes to oppose, but feels constrained to "obey God rather than man." In a word, I believe that a minister of the Gospel never appears to more advantage in the view of those who are considered as the great ones of this world, and is never likely to make a more deep impression upon them, than when he makes them to feel—not by ostentation, sanctimoniousness, or austerity; not even by impor-

tunately soliciting their attention to his own views of truth and duty—but by exhibiting meek decision of spiritual character,—that they are in the presence of a man, who regards the authority and favor of God above all things, and whose supreme and habitual object is to promote the everlasting welfare of his fellow-men.' pp. 147—149.

A glow of fine moral eloquence appears in the following.

'If you desire to gain an easy, natural, and attractive manner of introducing and maintaining religious conversation, let the foundation of all your efforts at improvement in this respect, be laid *in the culture of the heart.* Study daily to grow in *vital piety.* Perhaps there is nothing more indispensable to the happy discharge of the duty under consideration than that the HEART continually prompt and speak; that heart-felt emotion and affection dictate every word, and tone, and look, while engaged in addressing a fellow creature on the most important of all subjects. Truly, without active, fervent love to God, and to the souls of men, it will be vain to hope for the attainment of this happy art, in any considerable degree. But if your heart habitually glow with interest in this subject; if the "love of Christ constrain you;" if you daily cherish a tender concern for the salvation of your perishing fellow mortals; if your mind be constantly teeming with desires and plans to do them good; then religious conversation will be as natural as to breathe. Then your lips will be opened seasonably, unaffectedly, and profitably to all around you. Then, instead of being at a loss what to say; or being timidly backward to say it; or saying it in an embarrassed, awkward, pompous, or unnatural manner; there will be a simplicity, a touching tenderness, a penetrating skill, a native gracefulness, an unction in your mode of conversing, which no spurious feelings can successfully imitate. The true reason, I have no doubt, why religious conversation is so often what it ought not to be, and so often useless, is that it is so seldom the offspring of that unaffected, warm, spiritual feeling, which piety of an elevated character alone can give.' pp. 165—167.

How full of delicate and humane instruction is the ensuing paragraph.

'Let your *prayers* in the apartment of the sick, be tender,—sympathetic,—appropriate from beginning to end,—*short,*—and as much calculated as possible to fix, calm, and enlighten the mind of the sufferer, and to direct his meditations. It is very injudicious to make prayers in a sick chamber, as they often are, pointless, tedious, general, inapplicable in the greater part of their structure, or loud and harsh in their manner. Many topics proper for social prayer, on other occasions, ought to be left out here;

and every tone adapted to the stillness and sympathy of a sick chamber.' pp. 186, 187.

On the subject of plans of study there is this judicious advice.

'There is such a thing as a student's making himself the *slave* of his plan, instead of using it as an auxiliary. He may erect it into an end, instead of employing it as a means. His plans were made for *him*, and not he for his plans. Let your plan of study, therefore, be, at all times, judicious, practicable, and adapted to your situation; such as you will not be compelled frequently to violate. Do not be perpetually altering it; and yet accommodate it, from time to time, to your situation. If you either alter it, or depart from it very frequently, it will soon cease to have any power over you. And here, as in many other cases, you will have occasion for all that *decision of character*, which is so important in a public man. I could almost venture to prognosticate whether you would do much to purpose in future life, if I only knew with what degree of rigor you adhere to your plan of study. If you are unsteady and undecided in regard to this, you will probably be so in every important occupation as long as you live.' p. 261.

The following should be attentively considered by all public speakers.

'Never habituate yourself to the use of many of those tonics, nourishing draughts, and clearers of the voice, of which many make such abundant use. I have known some preachers, who abounded so much in the use of eggs, and honey, and mint drops, and spirits of lavender, and wine, and sugar-candy, &c. &c., immediately before going to the pulpit, that, when abroad, and among those who were not accustomed to their habits, they were really troublesome guests. And I not long since read a work, entitled 'Medicina Clerica,' from the pen of an English clergyman, in which the writer makes preparation for entering the pulpit so complicated a system; in which he recommends such a long list of drops, and lozenges, and stimulants, and remedies for hoarseness, and such an endless round of indulgences and plans for "ease and comfort," that the perusal of his book appears to me much better adapted to teach a man how to make himself a hypochondriac, than a powerful, active preacher. The truth is, young preachers do not stand in need of any of these things, and ought not to use them. They are seldom necessary for any one who does not make them so, by improper management. If you ask me, what plan I would recommend for keeping the lips, and mouth, sufficiently moist, and for clearing the voice, in the pulpit?

My answer is—I would recommend, just nothing at all. Avoid the use of anything for this purpose. Guard against the miserable servitude of having a dozen little wants, all of which must be supplied before you can ascend the sacred desk. Endeavor, by temperance and exercise, to preserve in vigor your general health, and then, unless some organic disease should render some application to the mouth or throat necessary, you will do much better without any thing of the kind. The truth is, this is one of the numerous cases in which, the more you make use of the auxiliaries of which I speak, the more indispensably necessary to your comfort they will be likely to become, until you may convert your study into an apothecary's shop, and render yourself a poor, feeble valetudinarian, by the very efforts which you make to avoid the evil. On this subject I speak from experience. In the early part of my ministry, I abounded in the use of prescriptions for strengthening and clearing the voice. I soon discovered, however, that the only effect of them was to increase the difficulty which they were intended to remedy; and to render an increase both in the frequency and quantity of the applications indispensable. Alarmed at this discovery, I determined to lay them all aside. I did so; and found, when the first little inconvenience of the privation had passed away, that I was able to do better without than with them. And now, with a delightful independence of all my former little wants, for which I cannot be sufficiently thankful, I usually go to the pulpit more comfortably, without a single medical, or dietetical application, than before with a host of them.' pp. 306—308.

The Doctor sometimes holds a graphic pen.

'Let every look, motion, and attitude in the pulpit correspond with the gravity of your character, and the solemn purpose for which you ascended it. Let there be no roving of the eyes over the assembly, as if to gratify curiosity, to search for acquaintances, or to indulge vanity at the sight of a crowd. Let there be no adjustment of the dress, as if you were anxious about your personal appearance. Everything of this kind should be done before you go thither, and afterwards entirely dismissed from the mind. Let there be no abrupt, rapid motions, as if you were hurried or agitated; no tossing about of books, or turning over, their leaves in a hurried manner, as if vexed or impatient. But let every movement, and your whole demeanor, be of the calm, sedate, gentle character, becoming a mind withdrawn from the world and its scenes; a mind even withdrawn from its own secular feelings, and occupied with divine contemplations; a mind softened, tranquillized, and adapted to its holy employment. There is something as beautiful as it is impressive, in seeing the whole air, countenance, and manner of a man of God, who is just about to

deliver the message of his Master, corresponding with his office and his work; and without either affected solemnity, or any other species of affectation, evincing a heart absorbed with the great objects which he wishes to recommend to others.' pp. 311, 312.

And sometimes a humorous one.

'While marriage is a subject concerning which counsel is more frequently needed than almost any other; it is one, at the same time, in which feeling and caprice are so apt to triumph over reason, that, when counsel is most urgently needed, it is seldom heard, or at least, seldom properly weighed. What else, indeed, can be expected, when so large a portion of mankind, and especially of the young, and even of the conscientious and pious, seem to think that here, if ever, inclination ought to bear a sovereign sway; and that listening to the dictates of prudence, is a sort of high treason against that refined system of "sentimentalism" which they suppose ought absolutely to govern in such cases. This is being weak and foolish, if the expression may be allowed, upon principle. And hence, I have known, again and again, some of the most sober-minded and excellent people of my acquaintance, giving themselves up to matrimonial partialities and connexions so manifestly unworthy of persons in their senses; and so perfectly deaf to all the suggestions of wisdom, that they deserved the discipline of the rod just as much as children at school.' pp. 383, 384.

But he most excels in the mild sagacity with which he lays down prudent lines of conduct for one's intercourse with mankind.

'In travelling among strangers guard against every thing that may savor of a forward or obtrusive spirit. There are two extremes in relation to this point, into one or the other of which public men are prone to fall. Some retreat to the most private recess of the vehicle in which they travel, or the hotel in which they lodge, and wrap themselves up in the silence and impenetrable reserve of one who wishes to escape from all intercourse with his species. Others are forward, talkative, and apparently desirous of making themselves known to every individual with whom they travel, and engaging with prominence in every conversation that occurs. The former is a monkish plan of proceeding, by which an intelligent man loses many pleasures and advantages, and withholds from others many a social benefit which he might confer. But the latter plan of deportment is no less faulty. It is weak, undignified, obtrusive, and, to all delicate minds, extremely revolting. Be invariably polite, and ready to accommodate every fellow-traveller; but never obtrude your acquaintance or conver-

sation on strangers. Rather wait to be drawn out, than run the risk of being repelled as unduly forward. Those who, in travelling, thrust themselves into every circle, and meddle in every conversation, seldom, I believe, get through a long journey without placing themselves in circumstances, which, if they were persons of delicate sensibility (happily for their feelings this is seldom the case), would lead to many an hour of deep mortification. When designing or unprincipled men meet with such persons in public vehicles or places, they are peculiarly apt to single them out as objects of their artful approaches, under the confidence that they shall find them more accessible than others, and more open to imposition.' pp. 465–467.

In the present volume, there is little opening for verbal criticism. The epithet *newsy*, descriptive of a newsmonger, is hardly well coined. 'Unfortunate *whisperee*,' for a person annoyed by a whisperer, is but little happier. The phrase *in common*, for *commonly*, is here often used, but, as we think, with doubtful propriety in written composition. An infirmity of Bishop Burnett is described as 'infinitely ludicrous,' only two pages before the section against fondness for superlatives. 'The *knack* of closely observing,' is an expression which somewhat degrades one of our best habits or faculties. To *put up* at an inn, is, we suppose, a pardonable Americanism.

We conclude by requesting our author to employ his pen more frequently and copiously for the public. His large experience in men and things, his power of sagacious observation, his long habits of reflection, together with the peculiar merits of his style, must contribute to render any of his productions, on general subjects, very popular and useful. Who could better execute memoirs of his own times, or more thoroughly instruct his countrymen on the right formation of American character? If these are presumptuous suggestions, let them be excused by a zeal for the promotion and honor of our literature.

ART. XIII.—*Report of the Board of Directors of Internal Improvements of the State of Massachusetts, on the Practicability and Expediency of a Rail Road from Boston to the Hudson River, and from Boston to Providence, submitted to the General Court, January* 16, 1829. *To which are annexed the Reports of the Engineers, containing the Results of their Surveys, and Estimates of the Cost of constructing a Rail Road on each of the Routes selected. With Plans and Profiles of the Routes.*

HAVING devoted a portion of our last number to an examination of the Reports upon the Baltimore and Ohio rail road, we should not at present have called the attention of our readers to the documents named at the head of this article, had not the subject become one of peculiar interest, at this moment, from the position in which it has been placed by the legislature of Massachusetts. Engineers have been engaged during the two last seasons, under the superintendence of different commissions appointed by the government of the state, in making very thorough surveys of the country between Boston and Albany, and also between Boston and Providence; the routes which offer the greatest advantages for rail roads in those two directions have been selected; a species of rail road, to be formed principally of materials found in abundance along the several routes, and which will combine the advantages of solidity and durability with those of cheapness and simplicity of construction, has been particularly described, and the cost of construction carefully estimated. Inquiries have also been made, to determine the amount of business to be accommodated, and other facts necessary for forming an estimate of the degree of benefit to be expected from these works. The results of these investigations are submitted in the Reports which form the subject of this notice, to the legislature, with a strong recommendation that the construction of rail roads upon both routes should be undertaken at the cost of the state.

The legislature, instead of acting definitively upon the question thus submitted to them, at their late session passed resolutions declaring their opinion that it is expedient to aid and encourage these works by the funds of the state, and recommending the subject to the people for their consideration, and to the next legislature, as deserving a thorough examination, and

an early decision. The difficulty of forming a satisfactory judgment on a subject involving so many details, in so short a period as was allowed after the publication of these Reports, and the magnitude and novelty of the undertaking, afforded strong reasons for deferring a final decision upon the question presented to the legislature, and for appealing to the sense of the public at large upon it.

In this state of things, the people of Massachusetts are loudly called upon to examine into the merits of this question, that they may make such a decision upon it as will be creditable to their intelligence, as well as consistent with their own best interests. Feeling the obligation of citizens thus called upon to form an opinion on this subject, we have carefully looked over these Reports, and made such an examination of the facts and principles stated therein, as will enable us to present our views of the improvements here recommended.

The distance from Boston to Albany, by the most favorable of the routes surveyed, is found to be one hundred and ninety-eight miles; that by the roads now most travelled being about one hundred and sixty-five. This route is on a line so nearly level as to admit of being travelled throughout by locomotive power alone, without the aid of any description of stationary power, in surmounting the elevations to be passed. By the adoption of stationary powers, on inclined planes, in surmounting some of the steeper declivities, it is supposed the distance might be reduced to something less than a hundred and ninety miles, without any considerable increase of the elevation to be passed.

The distance by the most level of the Providence routes, from tide waters on Front Street in Boston, to the neighborhood of deep navigable waters, at Fox Point, in the southerly part of Providence, is forty-three miles and forty-eight chains. This is about two miles farther than by the shortest road now travelled. It is found that no part of the inclination on this route need exceed thirty feet in a mile, and that no aid of stationary powers will be required.

The route which is recommended for the Albany road, passes through the towns of Newton, Framingham, Westborough, Worcester, Brookfield, and Palmer, to Springfield; and thence, through Westfield, Chester, Pittsfield, Canaan, Chatham, and Castleton, to Greenbush, on the Hudson river, opposite to the city of Albany. On this line the estimates of cost are made, but it is supposed that occasional de-

viations from it may be advantageously made on the final laying out of the road. In proceeding westwardly from Boston on this route, the line of the road, when formed on the principles assumed in the estimate, will have an ascending inclination for ninety miles and a half, a descending inclination for ninety-four miles and a half, and it will be level for thirteen miles. On forty-nine miles of the ascending part of the road, and the same number of miles on the descending part, the inclination exceeds the rate of twenty-six feet to a mile; and on these portions of the road, varying in their rate of inclination from twenty-six to eighty feet per mile, it is computed that the resistance or acceleration of the motion of the load by its gravity, will be greater than the resistance from friction. On the other hundred miles of the road, the inclination will be so slight, that the gravity of the load will act advantageously in aiding its motion in descending, in the same degree that it will act disadvantageously in ascending. The travelling on these parts of the road, therefore, will be nearly as easy, and accomplished by about the same exertion of travelling power, as it would be if it were level. On the forty-nine miles of ascending road, an additional travelling power will be necessary, proportioned to the degree of inclination. On the forty-nine miles of descending road, no exertion will be required to move the load forward, but precautions will be necessary to retard and regulate the motion.

It is computed, that on all parts of the road constructed in the manner described, except those which make up the forty-nine miles of steep inclination, an average load for a single horse, travelling twenty miles per day, will be sixteen thousand pounds, or eight tons of two thousand pounds each, exclusive of the weight of the wagons; and that, on the steepest parts, an additional horse will be necessary for conveying the same load, travelling ten miles a day in an ascending direction, and returning the same distance. It is further computed that the cost of transportation for heavy articles, exclusive of tolls, will not exceed a cent a mile per ton. The particulars of this estimate are stated in the report. Admitting the assumed cost of labor to be correct, of which every one conversant with such subjects can judge, and admitting also the correctness of the statements which are found in works of acknowledged authority, of the ordinary performance of horses on rail roads which have been for some years in use, the form and inclination of

which are particularly described, there can be no doubt of the accuracy of this estimate. It being once ascertained what degree of locomotive power is necessary for the conveyance of loads of a given weight on a level rail road, or on a road of a given inclination, it is easy to calculate the power which will be necessary on a road of similar construction, having any specified rates of inclination. In this estimate, there appears to be an ample allowance for the increased power which will be required in consequence of the departure from a level line.

In the above estimate of the cost of transportation, it is assumed that the road will be made without the application of stationary powers to surmount any of the declivities in the route. The Report, however, recommends, that before the road is finally laid out, further examinations and calculations shall be made, with a view of determining whether it may not be expedient to adopt a system of stationary powers, on inclined planes, for the purpose of passing the principal elevations in the line of the road. Such an investigation ought unquestionably to be made, and a careful estimate of the comparative cost and value of the two modes of construction. After the proper surveys and inquiries shall have been completed, it will be easy to make such a comparison as will leave little doubt which of the methods of passing these declivities should be preferred. Should it prove on inquiry, that there is a sufficient supply of water to afford a permanent moving power on most of the elevations, there can be little doubt that it will be found expedient to appropriate this power, which can be obtained at an extremely low cost, to this purpose.

The principal facts necessary for this inquiry, which have not yet been ascertained, are, the saving which may be made in the distance, by admitting of steep inclinations instead of those never exceeding eighty feet in a mile; the cost of constructing inclined planes, with the necessary machinery; the cost of the stationary power, whether it be water or animal power; the cost of attendance, and of the probable repairs of machinery; and the comparative length of time required to pass, in the two modes.

On most of the rail roads of any considerable magnitude in England, stationary steam-engines are used for the purpose of moving the loads over the steep elevations. They are also adopted on the rail road connected with the Hudson and Delaware canal, leading to the Lackawaxen coal mines in

Pennsylvania. But this species of power would not be at all adapted to the convenience of the irregular travelling, on a public road like that here proposed. Besides this objection to the use of steam power for this purpose, it is evident that it would have no advantage over horse power, in a part of the country where the cost of fuel for the supply of the engines would exceed that of keeping a sufficient number of horses or oxen, to perform the same amount of labor.

On the Stockton and Darlington railway, which is the longest in existence now completed, the loads are moved principally by locomotive and stationary steam-engines, but partly by horses. The cost of maintaining locomotive engines in England, near the coal mines, and where, consequently, the expense for fuel is low, is greater than that of keeping the number of horses, in this country, which will exert the same degree of power, provided the horses travel at a slow pace. But if the pace of the horse is accelerated, his power is diminished in a much greater ratio than his speed is increased. With steam power, acting on a locomotive engine, it is otherwise. The same power which will move twenty tons a given distance per hour, will move ten tons double that distance in an hour; so that the effect produced is the same in a rapid as in a slow rate of motion. For rapid travelling, therefore, locomotive engines may be cheaper than animal power. But they are applicable only to the conveyance of loads of many tons' weight, and are therefore not suited to the purpose of moving stage-coaches. Indeed the resistance to the motion of a carriage on a rail road is so slight, that the cost of horse power, even at the low degree of exertion which he is capable of when travelling at a very rapid rate, is a matter of small consideration, compared with the cost of travelling in any of the ordinary modes. The power of a single horse is sufficient for drawing a stage-coach as fully loaded, and at as rapid a speed, as the passengers will desire. For other purposes than the conveyance of passengers, a rapid rate of travelling is not, in general, of any great advantage. It is not probable, therefore, that locomotive engines will, for the present, be found advantageous in this country.

But if by the use of horse power on a rail road, the cost of transportation can be reduced as low as a cent a mile for the conveyance of a ton; if a single horse, travelling at a slow and natural pace, can draw a load of eight tons, exclusive of the weight of the wagons, and a stage-coach loaded with

fifteen or twenty passengers, when travelling at a speed of nine or ten miles an hour; it is evident that such a rail road, passing through a rich and populous country, must be of immense benefit, and that it will not only afford a great facility to business, but will produce a great increase of business and of profits.

The Report goes into a variety of investigations, for the purpose of showing the amount of business which will be thus accommodated. The data for this calculation are derived from a great number of scattered sources; and many of them are too uncertain to be very fully relied on. The results are stated with a good deal of reserve, and the aggregate of the estimate appears to be moderate. In this estimate, the business that is expected to pass the whole road, between Boston and Albany, is not relied on for more than a fifth part of the whole income. This amount is supposed to be about a third more than the present amount of business between the two places. A material increase of this business is anticipated, not so much from a reduction in the cost of transportation, as from the greater expedition and certainty of the conveyance, and from the continuance of an advantageous trade through a great part of the winter, when the present outlet of the trade of Albany is closed. These are certainly substantial grounds for anticipating a great increase of business, and the introduction of a much more extensive direct trade than is now carried on, in place of that which at present centres in the city of New York. The extent of this increase must of course be in a great measure a matter of conjecture. It could not be considered an extravagant supposition to place the amount much higher than the estimate in the Report.

Some persons have expressed a belief, that if the rail road were built, the trade between Boston and Albany would still be carried on by water, because this conveyance would be cheaper than that by the rail road. Those who have adopted this opinion, must have taken it up without due examination. It will be found on inquiry, that the customary freight for heavy articles, which pay at the lowest rates, between Boston and Albany, is three dollars and seventy-five cents a ton, but that, for the purpose of filling up a vessel, which would otherwise sail with part of a cargo, certain articles, particularly flour and mackerel, which are the most considerable articles of transport between the two cities, are often taken at two

dollars and fifty cents a ton. We have the authority of the largest importer of flour from Albany for the two last seasons for saying, that he has never paid less than twenty-five cents a barrel for the freight of flour, that he often pays thirty-seven and a half cents, and that he thinks the average price paid by him about thirty-one cents. Those who ship but transiently, and in smaller quantities, of course generally pay more. The gentleman above quoted, and others competent to judge, are of opinion that the business could not be carried on at so low a uniform rate of freight as the lowest price above named. To the freight must be added, for the cost of water conveyance, the insurance, at an average of three fourths of one per cent. on the value of the article. This would be, on a ton of flour, from thirty to sixty cents; on most other articles more than this amount, and on the cheapest of manufactured goods, which will form a large part of the transport, more than the above rates of freight.

In these facts we place entire confidence, and therefore cannot doubt that a rail road, constructed in the manner proposed, will command the whole transport between Albany and Boston, provided the tolls are placed as low as is recommended in the Report, namely, a dollar a ton for the whole passage. Higher tolls might be charged on the more costly articles. The distinction proposed to be made in the rate of tolls, on articles carried through the whole line, and on those which are carried to or from the interior of the country, will be entirely reasonable, and will probably be necessary for obtaining a proper income for the support of the road. It will be reasonable that the compensation for the use of the road, should be in proportion to the benefit afforded by it. It is on this principle that bulky articles, of small value in proportion to their weight, are usually charged at low rates of toll, on rail roads and canals, in comparison with more costly articles. Where the transportation on the rail road comes in competition with water conveyance, as between Albany and Boston, the tolls must be low, or there will be no inducement to prefer the rail road. Where the only competition is with the conveyance by land, on common roads, much higher rates of toll may be demanded for the use of the rail road, and still the benefit will be far beyond the price paid.

However great may be esteemed the benefits anticipated from the facility which this improvement will afford, to the com-

munication between Boston and Albany, and to a direct trade between the manufacturing towns of the East and the agricultural regions of the West, the accommodation of the intermediate country must be regarded as the leading motive for undertaking this great work. The cost of transporting merchandise and produce any considerable distance by land, in the ordinary method, is so great, compared with that of water conveyance, that this disadvantage alone is sufficient to make trade, and every branch of industry, languid and unprofitable, compared with the same degree of industry and skill, exerted in parts of the country where nature has furnished a cheaper mode of intercourse. Every one, in estimating the bounties which nature has conferred on different states and countries, has been accustomed to regard the possession of extensive navigable rivers as among the most enviable advantages, on account of the facility which they afford to intercourse and trade. The late improvements of steam navigation have given these natural channels of intercourse a new value, so that they have become the great highways not only for trade but for personal intercourse. The introduction of steam-boats, with luxurious accommodations, travelling with a rapidity heretofore unheard of, on the Long Island Sound and the Hudson and Connecticut rivers, has given to the parts of country bordering on those waters, more decided advantages over other parts of the country, than they before possessed, and drawn to those routes much of the business which was formerly carried on by land transportation, in other directions. But a very large tract of country, including the whole of the central and western parts of Massachusetts, and a large portion of several of the neighboring states, is remote from either of these channels. To these parts of the country it is important to afford some substitute for the advantages of navigation, which their situation does not permit them to possess.

The rail road will furnish them that substitute. It will afford a method of communication in some respects superior to any inland navigation. It will not be so cheap as sloop navigation, but it will be more safe and more free from interruption. It will probably not admit of the conveyance of passengers quite so rapidly as steam navigation under the most favorable circumstances, but it will admit of their being carried more safely, and at a cheaper rate, unless in cases where by the latter great numbers are carried. The cost of locomotive power in the

fast travelling steam-boats is very great. The power of the engines used in these boats is nearly equal to a horse power for each of the average number of passengers. On the rail road the power required will be but that of a single horse, when travelling at a very rapid rate, for a large coach-load of passengers. The cost of conveying merchandise will not be greater, independently of tolls, than that of the same conveyance on a canal, and the tolls may be less, in the same proportion as the cost of the work is less.

It has sometimes been erroneously inferred from the fact stated by elementary writers, that a boat may be moved on a canal at the slow rate of two miles an hour, by one third of the power required to move the same weight on a rail road, that the cost of transportation by the former mode, will be two thirds less than by the latter. This is a great mistake. A horse does not in fact draw three times the amount on a canal, which he usually draws on a rail road. Two horses are usually employed in drawing a boat with a load of about thirty tons; and what is more material, two men are required, besides the person who drives the horses, to conduct the boat. The slow pace at which they necessarily move, limits the progress of the men, as well as of the horses, to about twenty miles a day, unless they travel through the night, in which case two sets of men are necessary. The daily cost of two horses at fifty cents, two men at one dollar each, and a boy at fifty cents, is three dollars and fifty cents for the conveyance of thirty tons twenty miles, or six hundred tons one mile. On the rail road, two horses at fifty cents each, travelling twenty miles in six or seven hours, and two other horses to be driven the same distance on the same day, by the same driver, with one man at one dollar, will cost three dollars for conveying sixteen tons forty miles; which is equal to six hundred and forty tons, one mile. The allowance for the expense of horses must be increased on the steep parts of the road, but the expense for the conductor is the same. In the above estimate a horse is supposed to draw fifteen tons on a canal, or what is equal to three hundred tons drawn one mile daily. Heavier loads are no doubt often drawn by a single horse, but we believe that this is fully equal to the average load. Taking together, therefore, the cost of locomotive power, and the necessary attendance of men, that which is required for transportation on a rail road is lower than what is required on a canal.

Transportation by a good rail road, therefore, must be as cheap as by the best canals. It has a great advantage over canal transportation in its greater rapidity even in the conveyance of merchandise, and this advantage is of much greater moment in the conveyance of persons. It gives to rail roads a value for the conveyance of passengers only, nearly equal to that which they have from the conveyance of property. They have the still further advantage of being less liable than canals to interruption. Canals are necessarily closed by frost four or five months in a year, and they are liable to interruption by droughts, and by the failure of their banks. Rail roads are not interrupted by frost, nor by a light snow. In some seasons they will be interrupted by deep snows, but the interruption will be much shorter than that to which canals and rivers are always liable. They may be interrupted by other accidents, but the injuries to which they are liable are not likely to be so extensive, or to require so long a time in the repair, as those to which canals are subject.

By opening a channel of communication of this description, adapted to all purposes of business through a tract of country two hundred miles in extent, filled with an industrious population, who rely in part on foreign products for their subsistence, and on the exportation of the products of their industry for their means of wealth, there can be no doubt that a new vigor would be given to the public industry, and a new value to the resources of the state. The population of the five western counties is about two hundred thousand souls. Nearly the whole of this population would pass over some part of the rail road, on their way to the best markets for the sale of their products, and for the purchase of their supplies from abroad. An equal number of people, inhabiting the borders of Connecticut river in New Hampshire and Vermont, and the parts of Connecticut adjoining this state, would derive a similar benefit from this rail road. To these should be added the inhabitants of that part of the state of New York through which the route passes, and of part of the county of Middlesex, and it will be found that the number of inhabitants who would be more or less accommodated by this rail road, is equal to more than half the population of the whole tract of country which depends for the transport of its produce and supplies on the New York canals, including the whole of the northern and western parts of New York, and the western parts of Vermont.

The Directors, in their Report, estimate the cost of the rail road at a sum which may be procured on the credit of the state at an interest of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars per annum, and the annual cost of superintendence and repairs at fifty thousand dollars more. In their estimate of the income which may be expected from the use of the road, in the present state of the population and wealth of the country, they endeavor only to show that the business will be amply sufficient to produce this sum at very low rates of toll. They argue that if, in the present state of the country, the income of the road will be sufficient to defray the whole of the annual charges, including the interest on the cost, the additional income, arising from the increase of population and business which may be reasonably anticipated, may be relied upon as a fund for paying off the debt at no remote period; after which, the whole income of the road will remain as a perpetual revenue to the state, to be appropriated to further improvements, or in such other manner as the legislature may direct. The whole burden and risk to which the state will subject its treasury, by undertaking the work, will be, the payment of the interest on such part of the debt as shall be incurred before the road begins to afford an income, and the hazard that the income may fall short of the amount estimated. Against this hazard, is to be set off the chance that the income may exceed the estimate, and the whole unincumbered income of the road, after the debt shall have been paid off.

But this is not all. Another view is presented in the Report, of the advantages which will result from this improvement, in the increase of business, and the increased value of property in the state. The precise amount and value of these benefits cannot be estimated; but we agree fully in the opinion intimated in the Report, that, independently of the other advantages, from the increased facility of transacting business, the immediate increase of the value of real estate in the Commonwealth would be more than equal to the whole cost of the road. If these anticipations are well founded, there are twice the inducements which are necessary for this undertaking. The cost will be twice repaid, once in refunding that cost in the direct income of the road, and once in other pecuniary benefits which the citizens of the Commonwealth will derive from it.

We have remarked that the Directors in their report attempt to show only that the annual income of the western road

in the present state of population will be equal to the annual charges, including the interest on the cost. This estimate appears to be extremely moderate. Nearly half of this amount they anticipate will be derived from the conveyance of passengers, and one fifth from the business between Boston and Albany, of which we have already spoken. The residue must be derived from the business of the intermediate places, and of all those parts of the country which will be in any degree accommodated by it. The population to whom this road will afford the best access to a large market, in the whole or in part, cannot be numbered at less than five hundred thousand. Of the income which may be derived from the business of such a population, some conjecture may be formed, by comparing this business with that done on the New York canals.

The Erie and Champlain canals measure about four hundred and thirty miles in length, and their cost was ten millions of dollars. The amount of tolls received on them, the last season, was eight hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars, and the preceding year eight hundred and fifty-nine thousand dollars. It appears from the last report of the canal commissioners that the navigation of the canals was open from the 1st of April to the 19th of December, a period of eight months and fifteen days, and that this was the longest period of navigation, which has occurred in any season. In this period of a little more than two thirds of a year, these canals have afforded an income which would be sufficient in four years to pay the whole cost of a rail road from Boston to Albany.

We know that some persons have adopted the belief, that the people of New England have nothing to transport on a rail road or canal, and that on this account the work here proposed will bear no comparison in its advantages, with the great canals of the state of New York. They appear to forget that the people of the interior of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Connecticut, live as well, and in their mode of living consume as much (and we might perhaps safely say much more) of foreign merchandise, and products of the seaboard, as the inhabitants of New York, who receive their supplies through the canals. To enable them to pay for the articles thus imported, they must carry something abroad, of the produce of their home industry. These exports, it is true, do not consist of two or three great staples, like the wheat and flour of New York, and they are perhaps in general not so

bulky, in proportion to their value as the present products of the northern and western parts of the state of New York, which are in a larger proportion the fruits of agriculture. Many products of the interior, however, which are of great weight and bulk in proportion to their value, will be transported on the rail road, such as wood, timber, charcoal, and lime. Besides these articles, there are now transported a great variety of coarse manufactures of wood and other materials, pork, butter, cheese, and live stock. There are now annually brought to Brighton for the supply of the market of Boston and of the neighboring towns, thirty-seven thousand fat cattle, one hundred and thirty thousand sheep, and twenty-two thousand swine, weighing twenty thousand tons; a large proportion of which are brought from the west. These might undoubtedly be brought most economically, either dead or alive, upon the rail road.

With the present means of transportation, the produce of the interior, carried abroad for sale, must be sufficient in amount and value to pay for the supplies brought from abroad for the consumption of the inhabitants. It is well known, that the people of the interior of Massachusetts and other New England states are accustomed to use for their subsistence, not only all the foreign productions which are in common use by the inhabitants of the western parts of the state of New York, but several other articles from abroad which the inhabitants of that part of the country produce for themselves. Among these articles are flour, salt, and plaster. Singular as it would have seemed a few years ago, a very large proportion of the farmers of these states depend in part for the subsistence of their families, on flour from New York or the more distant states. Salt is obtained by them from abroad exclusively, but the people of the western part of New York procure their whole supply of this article, as well as of flour, at home. The importation of these articles adds very materially to the amount of transportation, and a greater quantity of articles must be exported to pay for these imports. From these facts, and from what is well known of the habits of living among the inhabitants of the interior of New England, it may be confidently inferred that they require a greater amount of transportation, for the supply of their families, than the same number of inhabitants in the parts of the country through which the New York canals pass.

We have already spoken of the comparative amount of

population accommodated by the two improvements. It is a low estimate to compute the number of those who will transport their supplies and produce upon the Western rail road, at half those who depend on the New York canals. The average distance of transportation on the rail road, will perhaps not exceed half the average on the canals. If, therefore, we suppose that half the quantity of merchandise transported on the canals, will be transported on the rail road, and that the average distance of the transportation will be half, the amount of tolls, if charged at the same rates, will be one quarter, or two hundred and ten thousand dollars per annum. This, it should be remembered, does not include the estimate for passengers, as the amount of tolls for passengers on the canals is inconsiderable.

To this mode of calculation it may be objected, that in the estimate of the population accommodated by means of the canals, we do not include the inhabitants of Ohio and the Canadas, who live beyond the terminations of the canals, and receive a part of their supplies through them. To this we reply, that the proportion of merchandise which will be carried through the whole course of the rail road, for the supply of inhabitants not included in the number supposed to be directly benefited by the road, is much greater than that which is carried through the whole course of the Erie canal to Buffalo, and through Lake Champlain to Canada. The whole amount of property received at, and transported from Buffalo on the canal, in 1827, was short of twenty thousand tons; and in 1828, the amount was still less. The amount conveyed to and from Canada, through the Champlain canal, is not known, but it is undoubtedly less, with the addition of the amount belonging to persons residing west of Buffalo, than the amount which will be transported to and from Albany, over the whole course of the rail road.

If, therefore, we are correct in our premises, that the population of the interior of the New England states requires as great an amount of transportation (including the supplies of flour, salt, plaster, and raw materials for manufactures, and the new exports of wood, marble, lime, and other heavy articles which the rail road will enable them to make,) as the same number of inhabitants of the western and northern parts of New York, our conclusion cannot be denied, that, at the same rates of toll, this transportation will afford an annual income of more than two

hundred thousand dollars, independently of that which will be derived from the conveyance of passengers. The estimate in the report of the Directors, is but little more than half this amount. Their estimate, it will be observed, is made at the low rates of a half cent and a cent a ton per mile, whereas the canal tolls are nearly all at the rate of three cents a mile for the transportation upward, and the greater part at the rate of a cent and a half for the transportation downward. The transportation on the rail road, with the exception of that through the whole route from Boston to Albany, will bear to be subjected to as high rates of toll as that on the canals, though sound policy may recommend the adoption of lower rates.

If it is still objected that we estimate too highly the amount of produce which will be exported on the rail road, we will suppose, for a moment, that nothing is exported, and that the supplies required by the inhabitants to be imported, in proportion to their numbers, are only equal to the imports on the New York canals. The tolls received at Albany and Troy the present season, which we understand to be exclusively for the transportation upward, amounted to more than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Tolls at the same rate, on half the amount of merchandise, carried half the average distance, would amount to more than sixty thousand dollars. This alone is within about ten thousand dollars of the amount estimated in the Report of the Directors, as receivable on the whole trade of the interior, including exports and imports. This will serve further to confirm our opinion, that the estimate in the Report is extremely moderate, and the rates of toll assumed by the Directors much lower than may be charged, if it shall be found desirable to enhance the amount of revenue above that estimate.

The Directors, in their Report, estimate the present number of persons travelling on the several routes between Boston and Albany, and on parts of the route selected for the rail road, to be equal to seventy-five passengers, both directions included, per day; and that, if by means of the rail road the time of performing the journey should be reduced to twenty-two hours, and the cost to three dollars, this number of travellers would be doubled. This number of passengers, at a toll of a cent each per mile, would afford an annual income of ninety-three thousand and nine hundred dollars. Nothing can be more unsafe than to undertake to determine with confidence what number

of persons will travel on a given route, in a very different state of things from any which has yet existed. The number here assumed is apparently a moderate estimate. At any rate there can be no hazard in considering it as certain for the present purpose; for if the number should fall short of this estimate, the toll on the actual number might be doubled, without the least hazard of driving them to any other mode of conveyance.

There are some other parts of the Report of the Directors, on which we intended to have made some remarks; but this article is already drawn out to too great a length. The Reports of the engineers show that their investigations have been thoroughly, carefully, and scientifically made, and the results are very clearly and satisfactorily stated. These Reports contain a vast deal of topographical information, which will be useful for other purposes than those for which the surveys were specially made. The inquiries and calculations for the estimates appear to have been very elaborate, and we believe they are made on principles which entitle them to the strongest confidence. The care with which all the reports are elucidated by maps and plates is deserving of commendation. These are so complete as to render every part of the Reports perfectly intelligible.

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Erratum.—On pages 279, 287, and 288, for *Dauberry*, read *Daubeny*.

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ART. I.—*Mémoires de G. I. Ouvrard sur sa Vie, et ses diverses Opérations Financières.* Première et Seconde Partie. Paris. 1827. pp. 360 and 368.

OF all secrets, which engage human curiosity, that of making, in a short time, a great fortune, with very slender means to begin with, will ever be, we fear, the most courted by the bulk of mankind; though there are certainly some to be solved, of more concern to their real happiness. Few there are that 'consider the lilies of the field, how they grow;' and even those who do believe, that 'the morrow will take thought for itself,' are not entirely wrong in wishing to acquire the means of avoiding vexatious cares, and of doing good. What must, therefore, be the attraction of the memoirs of an individual who, entering upon the scene of active life, in possession of little or nothing, shortly afterwards engaged in enterprises, in which millions were at stake, influenced the public credit of the first nation of Europe, and was an almost indispensable instrument for gigantic political schemes, and for the maintenance of mighty armies; who became the partner of a sovereign, for the administration of a large portion of the American Continent; who was, by turns, persecuted, and, from necessity, cajoled by Bonaparte; who is warranted in priding himself upon having contributed to establish the financial credit of

France, after the eventful hundred days, and who aided thereby the Allies to do what, in reality, their own interest required,—to be content with what France could possibly pay of the military contributions imposed upon her, and to withdraw their armies from a scene, dangerous to some, and inconvenient to others. But this is not all. The same individual played a remarkable part, under the several ruling, or misruling governments, to which his country was given up, during thirty years; he knew intimately Barras, and Moreau, and Bernadotte, and General Bonaparte, and all the worthies of that time; he negotiated with the Prince of Peace, and Wellington, and the other diplomatists, who were sitting in judgment on European affairs, at Paris; and possessed the confidence of a statesman, whose esteem was of high value, the late Duke of Richelieu. He can tell many wonderful tales of Bonaparte's financial operations, and the unpleasant chances to which a man of wealth was exposed under his reign.

This coloring of the picture of his singular fortunes, is not however, to be given, after the Chinese manner, without any shade. Though related to the Duke of Richelieu, through the marriage of his daughter,* this did not save him from the rude hands of the law; and notwithstanding the numerous estates, manors, princely palaces, and country-seats which he at one time possessed, and the splendid chateau of Raincy, of which we believe he is still proprietor, he was for many years an inhabitant of St Pélagie, and is, perhaps, there still; and it requires a peculiar taste, and happily a rare mode of thinking, to look gaily upon life from such an abode. But, if few have had such singular ups and downs as Mr Ouvrard, few have born them so well. He gave a million of francs to his daughter, at her marriage with Mr de Rochechouart, and was, perhaps, on the same day, unable to rid himself of a dunning baker. He had, in his happiest times, at his sumptuous mansions, guests whom he never invited, and whom he hardly knew; but now, though exercising proportionally as much hospitality, within the walls of a prison, he has probably the advantage of acquaintance with those whom he feeds. He has, besides, the satisfaction of seeing his Memoirs go, in a short time, through more editions than Adam Smith's work would be honored with, on a first ap-

* Not the one, of course, who acquired, some years since, such an unfortunate celebrity in London.

pearance, in our money-loving times; and although some acts of his public life be still the matter of judicial investigations, and have been actually denounced as criminal by his government; and although he may have had as little to do with the writing of his Memoirs, as with many of the financial schemes, of which he is the ostensible author, Mr Ouvrard is, nevertheless, an extraordinary man, and his character not unworthy of some attention. Nothing would be less reasonable than to imagine that his biography can throw new light upon human nature. Nor would it be charitable to consider him a specimen of the French character. But he certainly deserves a cursory glance, as much as any man, who should successively escape a dozen shipwrecks or a score of fires and of inundations; and who, after all sorts of vicissitudes and misadventures, that can befal a fearless adventurer, should sit down to tell with somewhat more than a traveller's veracity,

> 'of most disastrous chances,
> Of moving accidents, by flood and field,
> Of hair-breadth 'scapes.'

Such characters are rare in all ages and in all nations. But we verily believe, that the French have always had fewer of them than nations less mercurial, less amorous of enterprise, less quick in apprehension, or more sparing of their dear lives. The individual, who comes the nearest to Mr Ouvrard, is Law; and, indeed, in England many circumstances of great pith and moment concur to level the way for sudden and gigantic fortunes, and for frequent practical confutations of the maxim, 'Ex nihilo nihil fit.' Comparatively the French have always been a very timid race as to commercial enterprise. The slow, phlegmatic, penny-saving, amphibious Dutchman has often proved himself nimbler, cleverer, more sanguine, and more daring than the brisk, gunpowder-like Gallican. The French have been always less successful in commerce than the English, notwithstanding the superiority of their natural resources. In fact, the French are a cautious people, in all serious transactions. Individually, they have a natural love of order, economy, and regularity, which is, alone, perhaps, sufficient to explain the inferior success they have obtained in the career of adventure and profit. Credit, which is the great promoter of commerce and industry, which often ruins individuals and procures to political bodies resources infinitely superior to their national means, was long almost unknown in France, and is still less

cultivated at present in that kingdom, than in any other country, Turkey and Spain always excepted. If we should ask our own merchants, why their transactions with France are less active and less extensive than with England, we venture to say, that the reluctance of the French manufacturer to give long credits, will be among the principle causes to which they will ascribe it. Three, or at the most, six months' credit, and to an amount regulated, as nearly as possible, on the capital generally attributed to the borrower, will be the utmost limit to which the most enterprising French manufacturer or merchant will venture to go with his foreign correspondent. He prefers a moderate profit to the chance of retrieving, by the success of some large and hazardous speculations, the frequent losses consequent upon others. He would rather send *commis*, than trust his goods to commission merchants. In one word, the French are old-fashioned traders, who love to know on the first of January the balance of their profit and loss account for the past year. The favor which Law's system found in France, the eagerness with which, at one epoch of the revolution, the estates of the emigrants were bought, the jobbing and breathless speculating on the public funds, which became fashionable in the most aristocratic circles of Paris, after 1815, and procured to brokers admission into satined saloons and velvet boudoirs, are not so much a characteristic and permanent feature, as symptoms of a particular and temporary state of society in France, the signs of some impending change, in the political complexion of her affairs, or the effect of some great internal commotion. Fashion will go in that country a great way, even in such serious matters as pecuniary concerns. It may become fashionable to gamble desperately in the public funds, and to live in great intimacy with stock-jobbers. But, it will require much time; the political institutions, which rule France at present, need the consolidation which time alone can give them, and the developement which either the legitimate monarch, or new convulsions (of which there are yet, happily, few indications), may procure them, to transform the calculating, reflecting, dispassionate French (for they are, we repeat, all this, in money matters) into a highly commercial and speculating nation. Such men as Beaumarchais and Mr Ouvrard may appear at long intervals, and be a problem to their own countrymen, more than to many other nations, on account of their sudden wealth; a new Necker may acquire an immense fortune, after having begun as a poor

clerk; but there will be in France, generally speaking, more of that strict honesty, which was ascribed to Necker in spite of his sudden wealth, and more of the timidity, which he displayed in the latter part of his political career, than in countries more particularly flourishing by means of vast and adventurous enterprise.

France, in fact, is richer by her soil than by her industry, however great be the wealth which she derives from this latter source; and we should not be astonished if after all the changes which have been produced by the revolution, ministers favorable to commerce, manufactures, and credit, should yet, for a long time, have no more popularity than Colbert or Necker enjoyed in their last days.

From these few prefatory remarks, we will proceed to a sketch of Mr Ouvrard's life and financial operations, or we should rather say, financial adventures.

Mr Ouvrard was born on the eleventh of October, 1770, consequently a year less than a century after John Law, or *Beau Law*, as he was nicknamed, the bubble-projector of France, who died in 1729. His birth-place was in the neighborhood of Clisson. His father was a paper manufacturer, rich enough to give his eight children a good education. Upon leaving college, the author, who was then eighteen years old, entered as clerk in a mercantile house at Nantz, and shortly afterwards formed a separate house, with a partner of the name of his former principal. Though Rennes was the capital of Brittany, Nantz, from its extensive commercial relations, was one of the principal towns of France, and the second town of the duchy. At the breaking out of the revolution, it was, therefore, important for the leaders to enter into correspondence with so important a population, and their cause had much success at Nantz. Mr Ouvrard was sent in July 1790 as a deputy of his province to the Great Federations, assembled at Paris; but, either before or after this, the example of a rich citizen of Nantz who had created a paper money under his own name, payable at sight, but (strange to say) in copper coin, for the salary of the journeymen whom he employed in the construction of a new quarter of his native town, induced the author to fix his thoughts more on currency and credit, than their mortal antagonists, revolution and anarchy. The application which he made of this valuable lesson, was to buy up all the paper that could be made within two years,

wherewithal he promised himself to supply all the scribblers, gazetteers, pamphleteers, and reformers, who were engaged in regenerating France, and indeed the whole world, by their writings. This operation yielded him a clear profit of sixty thousand dollars. The colonial trade was, at that time, the most productive branch of foreign commerce. Ouvrard engaged in it with so much success, that he was denounced, in 1793, as a monopolist, and probably would not have escaped becoming a victim of the atrocious Carrier, had not the military commander at Nantz nominated him his aid-de-camp. In this situation, he had the good fortune to destroy a warrant of the Revolutionary Committee, commanding the slaughter of three hundred persons, suspected by the existing rulers. Disgusted with the abominations of which his native city was the theatre, with the Republican baptism and Republican marriages, he determined to seek safety in the army of Kleber, and in an encounter in which this general was wounded, he had himself the command of a detachment. Commissioned by General Canclaux to present to the convention two stands of colors, he had, on this second visit to Paris, too many inducements to resume his former pursuits, not to feel disposed to turn away from the seductions of martial glory. He had, moreover, an opportunity, of contributing to save the life of a great number of his townsmen, whom the ruffian Carrier had given over to the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, and who were to be assassinated, on their way to that city, had the order not been disregarded by the officer who commanded the escort. Mr Ouvrard sought the acquaintance of the family of the carpenter, in whose house Robespierre was lodged, and who had two daughters; through the younger of them, he obtained a conference with that man, who held then, almost literally, the lives of his countrymen in his hands. At the appointed hour, he found the Angel of Death sitting at breakfast, between the two daughters of his host. He received him politely; and said that he knew the errand for which he called upon him, but that he could do nothing in this busines. 'Seek Fouquier Tinville or his clerk,' said Robespierre. When Ouvrard went to visit that wretch, he was not at home; and his wife, his own wife, told him that without a fair intercessor, he would never obtain what he wished. A beautiful young lady, whose father was also a captive, undertook to execute that dangerous commission; and, wonderful as it may seem, her timidity, her tears, her beauty,

her ingenuousness, made such an impression upon the heart of the bloody Jacobin, that he promised to grant her request, if she would meet him in the walk of the Tuileries, the next day. At the appointed hour, the diminutive Fouquier, muffled in a blue coat, and with a broad-brimmed hat, which hid a part of his face, appeared at the rendezvous, and offered his arm and his umbrella to the distressed supplicant, begging leave to accompany her to a tavern, where he regaled her with a modest meal. He spoke little, during the dinner; and although his eyes were often fixed with a feline look upon his fair guest, he uttered not a single word by which she could have felt offended. After dinner, he accompanied her to the garden, where they had met previously, and took an awkward leave of her; but what was better than his politeness, he performed what he had promised.*

* We shall throw into a note some particulars in regard to this ruffian. He was the intimate associate of Robespierre and the prosecuting officer to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Whilst he performed his public functions, no other sentence but death was decreed; and death was also the decision of all the juries of which he was himself either foreman or a member. Among his earliest victims were Madame Elizabeth and the queen; and it was he who insulted the latter with the reproach which drew from her, that sublime answer (so well known) of an offended mother. Alike cruel to all parties he was successively the persecutor of Royalists, Constitutionalists, Federalists, Moderates, Girondists, Mountainists, &c. One day when he was unable to extort an answer to his hasty interrogation from one of his victims, who happened to have his mouth palsied, the bloodhound roared out, 'Never mind, I do not want your tongue but your head,' and the guillotine sanctioned the abominable jest. A beautiful young lady less than eighteen years of age, and her mother, astonished him by the courage they displayed during their trial. 'Are these women impudent?' cried Fouquier; 'if I were to lose my dinner, I must see them on the scaffold to know whether they preserve their assurance.' This wretch supported the accusation against his compeers of the Revolutionary Tribunal, in consequence of which all its members as well as Robespierre were sent to the guillotine which had so long obeyed their decrees. When Barrère proposed to continue him in his functions of attorney general at the new tribunal, Freron, who was yet himself deep in the revolutionary mire, exclaimed in the Convention; 'I propose to let Fouquier Tinville sleep himself sober in hell of the blood with which he is drunk.' At length retributive justice reached him on the seventh of May, 1795. He had affected great coolness and indifference during his trial, and when his sentence was read, he giggled and sneered. The cart which carried him to the Place de Grève being stopt twice on the road, he replied with wry and crabbed looks to the imprecations of the crowd gathered around him; spit upon them; and assailed them with a volley of oaths, when a voice repeated

Mr Ouvrard married, shortly after this, the eldest daughter of one of the richest and most eminent merchants of Nantz, who was also a captive in the revolutionary prisons, and who recovered his liberty, on the 9th of Thermidor. The most sanguinary period of the revolution drew to an end, and Mr Ouvrard availed himself of that favorable moment to claim an indemnity for the destruction of his father's manufacturing establishment; but it was less important to him, as the event proved, to obtain a considerable sum, than to become more intimately acquainted with the pecuniary embarrassments of the government. Fertile in inventions and remedies for such perplexities,—'integros haurire fontes,' he proposed that the assignats should no longer be received in payment of taxes, at their nominal amount, but according to the price at which they were negotiable, in each respective month; this plan, however, was rejected, and the projector found in his ill success an occasion of bewailing the little progress which financial science had, as yet, made in France, notwithstanding the great number of men of talents who outlived the National Assembly, and who had indeed thrown more glare than splendor upon it.

Mr Ouvrard relates many curious anecdotes respecting the reconstruction of the Parisian Society, with the elements of personal distinction which then existed. Madame Tallien was at the head of the principal coterie, and all the revolutionary chiefs and generals of renown used there to meet. There Madame de Beauharnais became acquainted with Bonaparte; and there the latter was alternately the silent, stern, impenetrable, and spare Cassius, and the playful, hot, or good-humored soldier, seemingly void of all pernicious ambition. Chancing one day to tell several individuals their fortunes, General Hoche's turn came, and he also exposed his palm; after having diligently scanned every line in it, Bonaparte said to him very gravely, 'General, you will die in your bed.' Hoche took fire, at this ill-natured prophecy,* and Madame de

aloud the fatal words with which he had stopped the mouth of those who sought to defend themselves against his sanguinary charges. 'Rascals,' cried he, 'seek your three ounces of bread at the Section, I have my full ration.' But he lost his ferocious courage when he reached the scaffold; and died with the cowardice proper to his innate infamy.

* There are grounds to suspect that he was poisoned. 'Have they clad me with Nessus' poisoned tunic?' cried he in the agonies of death.

Beauharnais was obliged to qualify the ill-natured jest of her lover, with the graces of her characteristic amiability, to prevent a quarrel between the future Emperor, and the noble-spirited hero of Neuwied, the pacificator of the Vendée, and the unsuccessful invader of Ireland.

It seems that Bonaparte had claimed, about that time, a suit of clothes, which was to be given by the government to each officer in active service; and he accepted from Madame Tallien an introduction to the Commissariat to obtain it, a few days before the eventful thirteenth of Vendemiaire (fifth of October, 1795), when he gave the first evidence of his love for the French, by cannonading the Parisians.

Mr Ouvrard is prone to compare his fortunes with those of Bonaparte; and he pretty clearly intimates that the latter envied him, before he set out for Italy to gather his greenest laurels. Mr. Ouvrard was then at the head of a banking-house; and by a single speculation in the colonial trade, he realized, in a short period, half a million of francs. However, great politico-financial operations were his hobby-horse; and a visit which the famous Barras paid him one day, opened to him the way to indulge his predilection, and brought him into connexion with the successive governments, that ruled unsettled France.

We readily believe him, when he avers, that foreign wars, discontent in the interior, and schemes of national and individual ambition less agitated the mind of the Directory, than the want of money. It was much less difficult to collect troops than to provide for their maintenance and their equipment. In 1797, the Commissariat of the Navy was entrusted to four Directors, who managed that department, for the government, but so little to its satisfaction, that it became a question, whether it would not be better to commit it to private enterprise. Mr Ouvrard pleaded for the latter system; was employed to provide the fleets with all necessaries; and thus became Commissary-general of the Marine (Munitionnaire général), a place which threw into his hands a business amounting to about sixty-four millions of francs a year. Not long afterwards, the Spanish fleet, commanded by Admiral Masarredo, arrived at Brest, and Ouvrard, by undertaking to victual it for several years, had the first opportunity of uniting his fortune with that of Spain, or rather to make his own at her cost. He confesses a profit of fifteen millions of francs, from that single source. The financial and political situation of the Directory was much less

prosperous; the victories of Bonaparte in Egypt were balanced by the defeats of the French army in Italy; parties ran high in France; the frontiers were defenceless; and the troops had not been paid for a half year, and wanted arms, clothing, and often rations. At that critical moment, the Directory applied to Mr Ouvrard for a loan of ten millions, which he immediately furnished, by means of credit, added to his own resources. He took advantage of the service rendered thereby to his government, to propose a financial plan, the principal feature of which was the creation of a public debt, proportioned to the amount of a fourth, or a third, of the public revenue, and secured by an independent and considerable sinking fund. Mr Ouvrard, like Mirabeau and many other political economists, who are disposed to think the French capable of becoming as readily versed and embarked in the affairs of exchange as the English and the Dutch, declaims against loans for a fixed term, and against annuities; but they all alike forget that loans must be framed to the taste of the lender, as well as that public debts must be funded as nearly as possible according to the convenience of the creditor, and not merely according to abstract principles, nor even exclusively to the most exact calculation of equal advantages. 'To charge a country,' says Mr Ouvrard, in support of his own opinion, 'with payments at fixed periods, is to plunge hoodwinked into a suspension of payment, into bankruptcy, and all the consequent misfortunes. The fortune of a state consists merely in its revenue; and it is acting in contradiction to its nature, to charge it with obligations which it is unable to fulfil, inasmuch as it can only redeem them, by the annual and limited amount of taxes.'

He makes some just reflections respecting the propensity of ministers to undervalue, in their reports and estimates, the expenses of their respective departments, in consequence of which, at the end of the year, they are compelled to confess a *deficit*. The good management of the public money would be better authenticated, at the close of the year's accounts, than in prospective computations; and this course would produce general confidence, and really give means to economize the national resources. Adventurous engagements, so fatal to the public credit, are generally the result of errors of calculation, that, at first, had the plea of strict economy. 'The order to be established, in the administration of the public money,' says Mr Ouvrard, 'is much like the order which good sense sug-

gests for the management of private fortunes. A state that has fallen into pecuniary embarrassments, is like a private individual, who wishes to recover public confidence, and who would free himself, for the future, of all obstacles and trouble. His operations ought to be so regulated as that the liquidation of his old debts may be effected by means entirely separate from, and independent of those, which he intends to employ in his actual and future speculations; for, if his discharge of former claims is uncertain; and if there remains ground to fear, that they may intervene in his new necessities, he remains in the situation of an embarrassed debtor, in whose uneasiness it is as natural to share, as to feel reluctant to enter with him into fresh engagements.'

But the rulers of France, at that epoch were too much oppressed by urgent wants, and the events of the passing moment; their authority was too insecure and ephemeral, to leave them free to adopt the wisest scheme of financial reforms that could have been proposed to them, the principal condition of which would always have been security and time, honesty and economy, peace and order.

Mr Ouvrard was, of course, intimately connected with the several ministers, who were at the head of the finance department. The following anecdote is characteristic of those unhappy times,—we speak now of 1799. Bernadotte, the actual king of Sweden and Norway, was then Secretary of the War Department. The Directory suspected him to lean towards the Council of Five Hundred, who were supposed to be conspiring the overthrow of the Executive by means of the army. To diminish his influence with the troops, the Directory left the minister without the means of supporting them. But General Bernadotte entered, one morning, the room of Robert Lindet, who was Secretary of the Treasury, with his drawn sword, to compel him to supply him with money. The civilian trembled, and did not conceal his panic; but he could not give what he had not; and the defiance of one minister, and the abject fear of the other, served only as a new proof of the anarchy, which then existed in the government of France. We take from the author another anecdote, which shows that there was not much more spirit of conciliation between the executive and legislative powers. Barras had just read a lecture to Bernadotte, on his supposed secret intelligence with the Council of Five Hundred. General Guidal, who command-

ed the Military School, entering the room, the Director asked him, whether he could rely on his troops, for a measure intended against the Council? 'Give me full liberty to act,' said the patriotic general, 'and I shall soon have five hundred bags, to bag these Deputies, and they shall all find before long their graves in the Seine.' This was, as the author observes, the bluster of a brave; but the Five Hundred, and their ally the Minister of War, profited by it, and abandoned their design against the Directory.

The rulers of France foresaw, however, greater dangers from the defeat of their army at Novi, which the victories obtained in Germany and Switzerland were insufficient to counterpoise; and their fears for their personal fate could only increase, at the news of Bonaparte's arrival at Fréjus. It is a curious fact, that on the sixteenth of Brumaire, Mr Ouvrard met Bonaparte in Barras' apartment; and that him also the hero of the eighteenth of Brumaire thought it not superfluous to deceive, in regard to his ulterior designs. Canvassing the means of revolutionizing England, he, by the way, proposed to Ouvrard the commissariat of the naval expedition, which should carry that project into effect. Mr Ouvrard, however, was not imposed upon; and he warned Barras. Yet, not only were his own suspicions unavailing with the infatuated Director, but even the communication which he made, in behalf of two distinguished generals, Beurnouville and Macdonald, of offers preferred to them by Bonaparte, were not listened to by Barras, who replied, 'Let them obey Bonaparte's orders.' Mr Ouvrard was with Barras, on the morning of the eighteenth of Brumaire. His apartment was deserted; his breakfast table, prepared as usual for thirty guests, was occupied by Barras and the author, without other company. But soon Talleyrand and Admiral Bruix arrived to ask the Director's resignation, in the name of the general, who was indebted to him for his first steps in his wonderful military career.* Mr Ouvrard paid a visit to the ejected revolutionary chief at Grosbois, and might, therefore, have expected to become sus-

* Mignet says, that 'Barras, Moulins, and Gohier attempted to use their authority, and secure the protection of their guard; but Gohier having received through Bonaparte intimations of the decree of the Ancients, refused to obey them. *Barras* became discouraged, sent in his resignation, and set out for his estate of Grosbois.'—*History of the French Revolution.*

picious to the newly hatched power. If there was really any jealousy against Ouvrard in Bonaparte's mind, the latter intended perhaps to punish him by proposing a loan of twelve millions; but the wary banker refused, and the First Consul, having made an unsuccessful application to other commercial houses, might have inferred, as the author suspects, that there was already a conspiracy on the exchange, against his authority. Be this as it may, about a fortnight after the establishment of the Consulate, Mr Ouvrard lost the ten millions which he had lent to the Directory, by a nominal reimbursement, without value. But this was not all. Upon some suspicion, which was perhaps nothing more than a low envy of the profits which the victualler in chief was supposed to be realizing from his office, his imprisonment was ordered by the Consuls, and, in the middle of the night, a hundred grenadiers invested his dwelling. Madame Bonaparte, who had some obligations to Mr Ouvrard, informed him secretly, that he was to be brought before a military court, which was sitting at Marsailles. The merchants and bankers of Paris sent a deputation to the Consuls, to prevent this act of arbitrary power, and five hundred persons left their cards at Mr Ouvrard's door, to testify their sympathy. There was, perhaps, some courage in these demonstrations of interest in the oppressed. A gentleman, who is now Director of the Mint at Paris, having observed to the first consul that 'it was a bad beginning to give uneasiness to so many people;' received for answer; 'A man, who is worth thirty millions, and cares not for his wealth, is too dangerous for me.' However, the measure intended against Ouvrard was modified, and reduced to placing him under the *surveillance* of the police.

Bonaparte's valuation of Mr Ouvrard's fortune was not much exaggerated; upon investigation, it was found to amount to twenty-nine millions, including property in land to a great amount. The wealthy banker displayed a princely hospitality at Raincy, where, even in his absence, any person of his acquaintance was always free to enjoy the pleasures, which that splendid establishment always afforded; field sports, fine horses, an excellent table, and a rich library. It may be an anecdote not uncharacteristic of the time, that, in 1799, a person of distinguished rank entered, one morning, Mr Ouvrard's room, saying; 'Sir, you have succeeded here to the Duke of Chartres; were he here, he would instantly supply me with five hundred *louis*, which I want, and which I now ask of you.'

Mr Ouvrard sweetened his refusal in his happiest manner. But the determined borrower declared, that there was no other alternative than to give the money, or to fight; and a second was at hand, who repaired to the room, holding under a large cloak swords and pistols. Without accepting any of these arms, Mr Ouvrard made a manly stand; 'Who are you? Where is your residence?' cried he. Upon explanation, it was found, that extreme want had led to this new mode of raising a forced loan.

The Spanish government owed to Mr Ouvrard, for his supplies to the royal squadron, which had been at Brest, four millions of dollars, payment of which was to be made from the treasury of Mexico. He had some thought of going to America for the recovery of this money, and to try with it a great mercantile operation in the East Indies, when, seduced by the payment of four millions of francs, which his own government owed him, he concluded an agreement with it, for the supply of the army, during the ensuing Italian campaign. Immediately afterwards, Bonaparte departed to gather a new wreath of laurels at Marengo. Ouvrard despatched his brother to Mexico; the same who was the principal partner of the house of Ouvrard de Chailles and Co., which existed at one time in Philadelphia. This individual, on his arrival at the capital of New Spain, was introduced by the treasurer into the office of his department, where seventy-one millions of dollers were then accumulated in specie, and at the disposal of the parent state; four millions were already set aside, and labelled, as the property of Mr Ouvrard. We are pleased to quote this fact, as an example of old Castilian integrity and honor. By the information which his brother collected in Spanish America, he considered himself fully warranted to press upon Bonaparte's mind the advantages he might derive, through the channel of the Spanish government, from those rich and virgin countries. If the French Consul, who was during his whole life a most 'merchant-marring rock,' was little prone to adopt such a slow and indirect mode of attaining the universal empire, which he already coveted, he was nevertheless ready to avoid desperate means, when dangers broke out near him. In 1802, France was threatened with a general famine; and popular excesses began to be committed in different cities. Mr Ouvrard lost, by this occurrence, seven millions, from his previous contracts for military supplies; but the gov-

ernment, was obliged to have recourse to him for the importation of foreign corn; and there was, even by receiving a commission of two per cent. only, a fair prospect of remuneration. In less than three weeks, all fears respecting the impending danger were appeased; but when the first payment was to be made to Ouvrard, Mr Barbé-Marbois declared, that there was no money in the treasury. Nevertheless, he entered into a new agreement for the supply of the navy, when Bonaparte contemplated his expedition against England. Such was the amount of this speculation, that, in 1804, the government owed to Mr Ouvrard and his associate, nearly seventy-eight millions. But in conducting his operations on so great a scale, he found himself hampered by a loss of forty-three millions, from expenses of negotiation alone; and to cover it, he was obliged to sell the greater part of his real estate, in which was included a forest of seven thousand acres. Bonaparte was a bad paymaster; for his financial views were narrow, and the French capitalists were reluctant to trust him. Had he been, therefore, willing to pay Ouvrard, he might have found it difficult. One day, when this individual applied earnestly for his payment, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr Barbé-Marbois, instead of listening to his complaints, harped on the embarrassment of the treasury. Mr Ouvrard, with his usual promptness, turned from a claimant into the proposer of a loan. 'How much do you want?' 'Fifty millions.' 'You shall have them,' replied Mr Ouvrard. The terms on which he made this loan, will show that the quickness of his invention did not seduce him into an oblivion of his own interest. As part of the fifty millions, he surrendered to the government a claim of his own for twenty millions, for supplies to the army and the navy, and he accepted in payment of the whole, drafts on the Paymasters of the several departments, at a discount of three fourths per month. This fact is not an indifferent evidence of the financial situation of France, shortly after the establishment of the Empire; and it might absolve Mr d'Ivernois from the charge of exaggeration, which prevails at present against his estimates of the resources of which Napoleon was able to dispose. The expenses of the new Imperial government, were altogether beyond the actual resources of France. The army, the marine, the new court, the festivities of the coronation, the visit of the Pope, threw a heavy burden upon a country so recently recovered from a state of universal anarchy and general

poverty. Mr. Ouvrard was solicited for a new loan, of thrice the amount of the former; and he contracted for it, upon the condition, that forty-eight millions in claims for military supplies, should be received as part of the payment; and shortly afterwards he entered into another agreement, by which he undertook to provide the treasury with all the funds it should want during the year 1814, the amount of which was rated at four hundred millions.

Though it is not our intention to mention all the financial operations of this inventive and enterprising banker, we can the less omit to draw the reader's attention to his pecuniary connexion with Spain, as a large portion of this continent was nigh falling, more or less directly, under his sway. The unfortunate Charles the Fourth had engaged to pay to France an annual subsidy of seventy-two millions, of which thirty-two millions were already due, in the summer of 1804. Diplomatic negotiations had been entred into, on the part of Spain to obtain a reduction or a delay, and on the part of the French, to obtain an immediate payment. At length, Napoleon pitched upon Mr Ouvrard to recover this sum; and he was coaxed into that operation, which required an immediate disbursement to a large amount, by the attraction of a special mission to the court of Madrid. The thirty-two millions were furnished to the emperor, and Mr Ouvrard set out for the capital of Spain. He not only found the Spanish government in an utter destitution of money, but a great part of the kingdom visited with famine; and the royal family accepted gratefully an advance of a hundred thousand dollars, to enable them to leave the capital, for their usual autumn residences. The following remarks on the Prince of Peace are exact enough to be quoted as a specimen of the author's talent for observation, and the general style of his work.

'A l'appareil qui l'entourait, à la soumission de ceux qui l'approchaient, il me fut facile de voir que je parlais au maître de l'Espagne. Il se montra, à mon égard, affable et bienveillant. J'ai eu avec lui des rapports assez fréquens, et assez intimes, pour apprécier son caractère. Sa grandeur inespérée, loin de l'étonner, n'avait fait que lui inspirer l'ambition de parvenir plus haut encore; mais elle lui avait laissé quelques bons sentimens. Elevé par la faveur, il eût voulu justifier son élevation par quelque chose de grand, d'utile, de national; malheureusement il n'avait ni l'activité, ni l'énergie nécessaires pour réaliser de telles intentions; lorsqu'il avait déjoué les intrigues dirigées contre lui, prêté quel-

que attention aux affaires courantes, il retombait dans cette indolence, qui tient au caractère Espagnol, et à la possession d'un pouvoir, qu'on croit inébranlable. La nation, malheureuse sous son administration, plus malheureuse après sa chûte, a rejeté sur lui une terrible responsabilité.'

Mr Ouvrard either was authorized, or took it upon himself, to enter into political intrigues with Godoy, though it may have been merely one of the 'moyens diplomatiques' of the banker, to fill the Spanish favorite alternately with hopes and fears in regard to the influence of Bonaparte on the mind of his royal master, and the means which the Emperor possessed of rewarding his pliancy to his wishes. Mr Ouvrard pretends to have already known, at that time, that Godoy had views upon the crown of Portugal; and he hinted to the vain man, 'that he was one of those, whom Napoleon liked to make kings.' These mean intrigues terminated in two measures, which were really so important in their bearings, that Mr Ouvrard may pride himself on having, on the one hand, cheated Spain into one of the most gigantic arrangements, that were ever heard of, and, on the other, having rendered her an important service. The problem to solve was, on the one hand, how to relieve Spain from famine, how to provide her with money, and to establish her credit by her own means; and, on the other, to collect the subsidies she was under obligation to pay to France. Loans must be contracted; but in order to obtain them in Holland, where, at that time, they could alone be raised, securities and means of reimbursement must be devised. The method which Mr Ouvrard proposed, was to establish a company which should have,

1. The monopoly of the Spanish American trade, during the war of the parent country with England.

2. The privilege of exporting from the colonies all specie, both silver and gold, belonging to the crown. And,

3. That of raising loans in all the Spanish colonies, under the guarantee of their respective treasuries, which were made responsible for the payment.

Although Mr Ouvrard had free access to the Prince of Peace, his negotiation made no rapid progress. Godoy, indeed, who is the scape-goat of all the blunders that were committed during the ill-fated reign of Charles the Fourth, has the merit of having exerted himself most earnestly to prevent the conclusion of the treaty of subsidy; and Napoleon had been

obliged to resort to a threat, as dishonorable to himself, as frightful to Godoy, to render him more manageable. Beurnonville, Bonaparte's ambassador at Madrid, was furnished with a letter insulting to the queen, and in no way flattering to her royal consort, in which the banishment of Godoy was peremptorily asked, as a means of consolidating the peace between France and Spain. Beurnonville was instructed to make use of that paper dagger of the imperial diplomacy, should the Prince of Peace hesitate any longer to submit to Bonaparte's demands. The favorite probably remembered this letter, when Ouvrard was urging the fulfilment of the treaty; he was, therefore, as tractable as the Frenchman could wish. One morning, when the latter repaired to the prince's, at the usual breakfast hour, he found the queen in company with him. That unfortunate princess was so blinded by her passion, that she took pleasure in showing to the emissary of Napoleon, the power which her unworthy favorite exercised over her heart. Godoy seemed quite at ease in her presence; and Ouvrard was permitted to explain his plans for the welfare of Spain, seasoning his communication with fair promises of personal advancement for Godoy. After this interview, the minister of finance used the most unlimited hospitality towards Mr Ouvrard, whose plans were soon adopted by the Council of the Indies. They embraced the payment of the national debt of Spain, the reorganization of the bank of St Carlos, the establishment of provincial banks, and the creation of a public debt upon principles of extinction, by means of a considerable sinking fund. To this effect, Mr Ouvrard was authorized to raise loans in Holland and at Mexico, Lima, and Buenos Aires; and lastly he was acknowledged as creditor of the subsidies claimed by Bonaparte. But the most singular feature of this agreement is, that a formal covenant of partnership was concluded on the twenty-sixth of November, 1804, between Charles the Fourth and Mr Ouvrard, for the continuance of the war between Spain and England, by which the Parisian banker obtained, in fact, the monopoly of the colonial trade. The king bound himself to furnish the licenses for shipping; and the profits arising from the nominal partnership were to be divided equally between the contracting parties. 'This was, perhaps,' observes Mr Ouvrard, with a self-complacency not at all surprising, 'the first instance of a commercial agreement between a sovereign and a private individual;' but he might

have spared the further remark, as insulting to the memory of the deceased king, as to the good sense of his reader,—'that this act was as honorable to one of the parties, as useful to the other.' In a note, Mr Ouvrard adds that on the same day five hundred licenses, with blanks for the names of the vessels, were delivered to him, whilst Lucian Bonaparte, though ambassador and brother of the ruler of France, could not obtain more than two, which he sold at Hamburg, for half a million of francs. This brings to our mind a curious passage of an unpublished letter of Godoy to the queen, Maria Louisa; and it will not be amiss to mention, upon so incontrovertible an authority, a fact that corroborates the one related by our author.

It will only be necessary to preface the following extract with the observation, that the treaty of which mention is made, was the one concluded between Spain and Portugal, at Badajoz, and that Lucian Bonaparte acted as mediator; and further, that the paper from which it is extracted, was in Godoy's own handwriting, and enclosed in a letter to the queen, dated Badajoz, June 1st, 1801.

'Lucian is directed to ask fifteen millions of francs for his government, and at the outset he asked thirty millions. When I represented, that this was an enormous sum, he lowered it to twenty-five, adding; "Fifteen are for my government, and ten for us two." I was not, at first, struck with this expression; but when he repeated it, "My friend," said I, "if the government receives fifteen millions only, you should be contented with five millions, and ask only twenty." He then replied; "And you? It is necessary to take advantage of the opportunities that present themselves, for they are not of every day's occurrence." Your Majesties will easily imagine how humbled and angry I must have felt, whilst I was, at the same time, obliged to be cautious, in obviating the expedients to which he is apt to have recourse on such occasions. I did my best to persuade him to ask only his part, whereby we should come the sooner to an agreement, and to prove that it was impossible to keep such an arrangement secret; but all was in vain, and he said to me; "You have only an income of two millions; I have secured to myself one of four millions in one single year of ministerial functions, and until I have twelve, I must avail myself of opportunities, as they present themselves." Such being the condition of things, I am at a loss to know what I shall say when the subject shall be treated again, and how I shall fence myself against his demands. I had some idea of remedying the evil, by speaking to Pinto [the Portuguese negotiator,] should the treaty be agreed

upon; for if we could present to the ambassador [Lucian] the treaty definitively concluded between us, Portugal would give him nothing, and I should escape so great a disgrace; for whatever may be, unhappily, the usage in Europe, all negotiators are not like Manuel.*

'That devil has already made out his schedule of jewels and money that must be given to him; and, therefore, with the exception of the conditions *sine quâ non*, which he is instructed to obtain, it would not be difficult to have all the others altered, by dint of money. Fortunately, and unfortunately, the affair is not yet so far advanced; but we shall have a terrible piece of business when the event shall happen.'

This paper says a world of things, respecting the morality of Bonaparte's most confidential diplomatists, and is certainly not an indifferent specimen of Godoy's style, nor an uninstructive document in respect to his relation to his sovereign and to Napoleon. But we must leave Godoy, and returning to Mr Ouvrard, we shall at least have to deal with one, who writes better himself, or has those who do so for him.

This intelligent gentleman really considered himself, by virtue of his trading partnership with Charles the Fourth, an associate-sovereign of the kingdom of 'Spain and all the Indies'; and the duties which he enumerates, arising from it, for his own share, left little to do for the nominal 'Yo el Rey.' But they did not, in fact, weigh more upon him, than the seven hundred and fifty drafts, which the royal treasury, and the bankers Gardoqui (or *Garochi*, as he calls them, by rather a singular infidelity of memory), delivered to him, amounting together to fifty-two millions and a half of dollars. A large amount in specie passed, however, through his hands. He asserts that he was instrumental in the consent given by Pius the Seventh to the king's decree for the alienation of some portion of the real property of the church. His plan was to give to the clergy, in exchange, inscriptions upon the great book of the public debt. At any rate, ninety-one agents were appointed to execute this measure in America, and Mr Ouvrard informs us that, but for the series of events, which began in 1808, nothing would have hindered the success of

* Godoy speaks often of himself in this manner, in his letters to the queen. In the passage, to which this note refers, he intended to say that *he was more honest than the generality of negotiators.* The profligate favorite was, from sheer ignorance, not always able to express what he meant.

their operations. Mr Ouvrard had also contracted to import into Spain from France two millions of quintals of wheat, equal in value, at the time, to fifty-two millions of francs. Napoleon had permitted the exportation, under the condition of a duty of four francs per quintal. There was still a great difficulty to overcome; and this was on the part of England, which power was then negotiating a new coalition against France. However, the wise statesman who then directed the affairs of Great Britain, immediately granted licenses to all ships bound for Spain with corn. But, as it generally happens with famines, as soon as it was known that supplies were coming, the price of corn fell rapidly, and the measure of wheat, which had cost one hundred francs fell to sixteen.*

The acquiescence of the British government was not less indispensable for the execution of the agreement in regard to the colonies. Mr Ouvrard proposed to sell the dollars, which should be drawn from America, to the British East India Company. Pitt, at first, it seems, regarded the scheme with a jealous eye on account of the advantages, which Napoleon would derive from it; but calculating those, also, which the commercial world would gain, and the profits which would accrue to the British government, he consented, at length, to let English vessels be the carriers of the specie, appertaining to Bonaparte's most intimate ally. Four frigates were specially commissioned to that effect. Not satisfied with the contracts he had already entered into with Spain, Mr Ouvrard made another excursion to Madrid, and agreed for the working of the lead and quicksilver mines, and the supply of tobacco for the royal manufacture.

But, while his speculations were taking so prosperous a course at the court of Spain, Napoleon meditated against him one of those acts of arbitrary power, from which even his

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* We may add, from authentic sources, a fact not uninteresting to the United States, respecting the quantity of wheat wanted every year by Spain. Although in several of its provinces the growth surpasses considerably the consumption (in Aragon, for instance, by three hundred and eighty-eight thousand *cahices*), the whole kingdom is every year in want of between one thirtieth and one sixtieth of the amount of its consumption in wheat, which is rated at sixty millions of *fanegas*. The minister of finance, Cabarras, in his letter to the patriotic and illustrious Jovellanos, estimates the indispensable import at one million of *fanegas*.

most laurelled generals were not always exempt. On a sudden, he received from Mr Barbé-Marbois an invitation, on behalf of the Emperor, equivalent to a peremptory command, to furnish to the imperial treasury, half of the drafts which he had received from the Spanish Government on the colonies; and which together amounted to twenty millions. The apology of the minister is a curious specimen of ministerial logic.

'Je vous le demande, avec tous les droits que me donnent les moyens que j'ai mis à la disposition de vos sociétaires, et j'avoue que je n'aurais jamais pris sur moi de le faire, si d'un côté, l'importance des mouvemens de nos armées, et de l'autre, la connaissance que j'ai eue de la solidité de vos affaires, ne m'y avaient déterminé. J'ai pris, surtout, en considération cette partie importante de votre avoir, et ne pouvant attendre, dans un moment aussi urgent, votre acquiescement, je l'ai tenu pour donné, car vous n'auriez pu le refuser, sans mettre toutes vos affaires, et même celles de l'Amérique, dans le plus grand péril. Aujourd-hui, je me borne à vous dire ce que j'ai fait, sur quel fondement je l'ai fait, et je suis assuré, qu'il suffit que je vous les dise, pour que vous donniez toute satisfaction au trésor.'

Mr Ouvrard immediately obeyed the injunction. Nobody, however, will imagine that this sagacious gentleman would give his money, without any security or profit. It may fairly be presumed, that in his arrangements with Spain, he was merely the 'homme d'affaires' of the French government, and he, or rather one of his associates, had well nigh jeoparded the existence of the bank by operations, which he could never have undertaken, had not the government placed more confidence in his solvency, than Mr Ouvrard had, perhaps, at any time, put in that of the government. For the details of this curious occurrence, we must refer the reader to the work itself. The co-monarch of Spain, Mr Ouvrard, was near being arrested in that half-kingdom of his, and sent to Paris, under a military escort. So little respect had Napoleon for his greatness, that Godoy, who had been secretly informed that such was the fate which was impending over Mr Ouvrard, advised him to make a speedy retreat to America. But Mr Ouvrard preferred to return to Paris, and to weather the storm as well as he might, that is, as we infer from some passages, to sell at a loss the Spanish drafts, to enable himself to appease the Emperor's wrath. France was then in a dreadful financial crisis. Mr Barbé-Marbois was thought to have contributed to it, by his

tenaciousness of his opinions, or perhaps, rather by the severity of his principles. Be this as it may, Mr Ouvrard says, that Napoleon shortly after the armistice of Austerlitz, hastened from Austria back to Paris, to put things in better order. Mr Mollien was appointed in the room of Mr Barbé-Marbois. The first thing which Mr Ouvrard learnt from his irritated sovereign, in a personal interview with him, was, that he owed to the imperial treasury eighty-seven millions of francs, for what he and his partners had received from the government, and were accused of having invested in their private speculations with Spain. They were summoned to surrender the drafts they had received from the Spanish government, and the funds that were deposited in the hands of the Dutch bankers, who had raised loans upon these securities. Mr Ouvrard sought to soothe the incensed Emperor, by promising to refund the sum due from his associates, if his Majesty would leave them at liberty. Napoleon rose from his chair, and went aside with Mr Ouvrard.

"'" Monsieur Ouvrard, you have brought down royalty to the level of commerce." "Sir," replied Ouvrard, "commerce is the soul of all political power; it can well exist without royalty; but royalty cannot exist without commerce." "Nonsense!" returned the Emperor, "do you promise to reimburse the treasury?" "Yes, Sir." "Well, I depend upon it, and my decree shall be altered, but so as to leave still at my disposal the dollars, and the other property, which you have in the hands of Messrs Hope and Co." "Sir, the British government will resist the exportation of the specie from Spanish America, if they learn that it belongs to your Majesty, and Spain will think herself warranted to annul the treaties I have concluded with her, rather than let that money fall into the hands of England." "Well, I will, in that case, go to Madrid myself; with five hundred thousand men one can do what one fancies." "Sir, your Majesty can do every thing in Spain, through an able representative; but, I think that your Majesty will do nothing desirable, with five hundred thousand men."'

Whatever may be the stenographic exactness of this report of the dialogue between Napoleon and Mr Ouvrard, it has not perhaps much less authenticity than most of the conversations and speeches recorded in history and in diplomatic despatches. At any rate, the measure devised for the reparation of the funds in the treasury, overthrew, at once, the whole fabric built up by Mr Ouvrard; and Charles the Fourth lost his partner, and remained yet for a few years longer sole sovereign

of his own kingdom. Setting aside, however, Mr Ouvrard's personal interests and views, in the plan which he had suggested, it was certainly ingenious and plausible enough, so far as it tended to facilitate to Spain the means of receiving remittances from her viceroys and governors in America; of existing a while longer as a monarchy; of displaying some strength, in her unnatural and involuntary war against England; of paying subsidies to France, who drove her into these hostilities, and of continuing to be the channel, through which continental Europe was wont to receive the treasures of the new world. Napoleon was too much of a conqueror to be a good financier; and, in his eagerness to save a few millions, with which two or three choice spirits of Paris sought to enrich themselves, he lost, perhaps, immense advantages, which he might have gained by their sagacity. Though himself the child of fortune, Napoleon had a sort of instinctive detestation of mushrooms, especially those of the moneyed class. Commissaries and speculators, who grew wealthy, became occasionally the victims of that deep-seated antipathy; and he considered them, as the Sultan considers his Pachas, responsible for their wealth, if not directly accountable for their extortions. 'In the midst of the revolutionary effervescence,' observes Mr Ouvrard, 'he was in immediate contact with the inferior classes of society, and a witness of low intrigues, mean speculations, and criminal shifts; or in other words, he had been in a situation which led him to see mankind in its less pleasing aspect; and the recollections which he preserved of those times, rendered him distrustful and suspicious.' Mr Ouvrard's reflections (Vol. I. pp. 136, 140.) on this disposition of that extraordinary man, and on his economical errors, are marked by much judgment and penetration.

At the close of 1807, Mr Ouvrard and his partner, Mr Vaulerberghe, stopt payment. The author protests strongly against the insolvency, with which he is charged by a committee, instituted by the royal government. At any rate, his misfortunes did not prevent, as it seems, the Prince of Peace from offering to put into his hands his whole private fortune, after his flight from Spain. Godoy told him, that it had been much diminished, in consequence of the late events, but that it was still considerable. But Mr Ouvrard declined, for fear of the Emperor. In 1809 he was arrested as surety for a debt due to France from the Spanish government. Upon being bailed by

a friend, he was no sooner free, than he was near being compelled by Fouché, his townsman and friend, to go to England, on a secret mission of a most delicate nature, the principal object of which was to discover the dispositions of the British government as to putting an end to the war. But Mr Ouvrard very sagaciously sought to know, before he set out on this delicate errand, what were the intentions of Napoleon himself, and whether he was informed of Fouché's project of pacification. Having received no answer to a communication, which he addressed, on this subject, to a secretary of the Emperor, he returned to Paris, from Amsterdam, whither he had gone on his private business, instead of embarking for England. This attempt at a negotiation for peace with the British government, was either an intrigue of Fouché, or if Napoleon had authorized it at the beginning, he was afterwards little disposed to acknowledge it. Mr Ouvrard was arrested for the part which he was supposed to have taken in the intrigue, and, on the same day, Fouché ceased to be minister of police. Mr Ouvrard, who had already been an inhabitant of St Pélagie, had now his lodgings *à l'Abbaye*, and shortly afterwards at Vincennes. Like Young's Chremes,

> 'All schemes he knows, and knowing all improves;
> Though *Britain*'s thankless, still this patriot loves.
> What makes him model realms, and counsel kings?
> An incapacity for smaller things.
> Poor Chremes can't conduct his own estate,
> And thence has undertaken Europe's fate.'

At Vincennes, he was registered under a supposititious name, and kept in close confinement. However, Madame Ouvrard was admitted to an audience with the Emperor, and obtained her husband's liberty, or rather his removal from Vincennes back to St Pélagie; and upon ceasing to be a prisoner of state, he became again the captive debtor of his government. He remained several years at St Pélagie, stoutly resisting all proposals for an arrangement, which were made to him, and disregarding even the entreaties of his family.

In September, 1813, a party of *gens d'armes* came to conduct him before Fouché, who offered him his liberty, if he would propose means for relieving the government from its pecuniary embarrassments. He refused to accept his release upon any compulsory condition, but was, nevertheless, permitted to return to his own house, where he remained under the

inspection of the police. He professes not to have been, in any way, employed, or instrumental, in the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. As soon, however, as Mr de Talleyrand took the lead of public affairs, he emerged from his retreat in the neighborhood of Orleans, whither with maiden shyness he had for a time betaken himself, and reappeared on the more congenial scene of Paris.

On the twelfth of April, we find him manager of the ceremonies for the reception of the Duke of Angoulême at Livry. The imperial finances were in a sad condition, for the resources by which they were wont to be recruited, were lost, from the moment that the French armies could no longer be maintained at the expense of foreign countries. 'Europe,' says Mr Ouvrard, with much truth, 'had nourished its conquerors, and paid the expenses of its defeats.' The two or three hundred millions, which had been hoarded in the cellars of the Tuileries, were expended. This was a fair occasion for the author to bring forward some of his nostrums, in a memoir which he addressed to the Executive, and to the two Chambers. The minister of finance, Baron Louis, paid no attention to his suggestions, and was so much the less inclined to hearken to the experienced credit-monger as Mr de Blacas seemed willing to adopt them. The financier of all parties, and of the various phases of the Revolution, could have no great scruple to enter again into relations with Napoleon, during the Hundred Days. 'Are you willing to go to Vienna?' asked the Emperor; 'you are acquainted with Talleyrand; Metternich, whom you have often seen, will listen to you; you know all the diplomatists who are there; I will give you my instructions, and arrange your pecuniary affairs.' Ouvrard declined the equivocal honor of such a mission. Napoleon then requested his intervention for raising a loan. 'I want fifty millions.' Ouvrard mentioned the terms upon which he would be able to procure them. Napoleon dictated immediately a convention to Mr Fain, his secretary. But, upon reading it, Mr Ouvrard found that his stipulations were altered, and he said so to the Emperor. '*Vous avez raison*,' returned Napoleon, '*j'ai fait trop d'esprit*,' and instantly he dictated another treaty.

> 'Cæsar's *a* merchant, to make prize with you,
> Of things that merchants sold.'

We mean the French Cæsar, and not Shakpeare's Octavius, who, we know, says precisely the contrary. Mr Ouvrard agreed,

also, for the supplies of the army; and he gives many characteristic details, in regard to the administration to which this branch of the government was entrusted. Shortly afterwards, he was secretly denounced to Napoleon, as being in communication with Louis the Eighteenth, who resided then at Ghent; but the Emperor himself informed him of it, and secured his personal liberty against the measures, which his ministers would have adopted. Ouvrard paid every day two millions into the treasury, according to his agreement to furnish the fifty millions in twenty-five days. He followed, at length, the imperial head-quarters to Laon, and at the battle of Waterloo he was again the victualler of the army. When, shortly afterwards, Napoleon was obliged to admit into his presence the deputation which required him to abdicate the imperial crown, Ouvrard was in his cabinet. The rabble shouted 'Vive l'Empereur.' 'Observe,' said Napoleon to Ouvrard, 'how popular opinion manifests itself;' and after a pause he added, 'I will go to England and America; you have there many friends; I shall be glad to see them.' The fallen monarch asked of him drafts for sixteen millions on America, to be secured by liens upon the imperial domain. But Mr Ouvrard's sensibility to such a proof of confidence, was not stronger than his regard to his personal interest, and he declined. He was then desired to take charge of a large number of boxes; but again his gratitude yielded to his prudence.

On the second restoration, Mr Ouvrard had a good deal of trouble about five millions which he had in the stocks; and he states that he lost two millions and a half by the settlement of his claims under that head.

But now approached the epoch, at which he really was eminently instrumental in the greatest financial operations of France, and in the restoration of her credit. A contribution of seven hundred millions was to be paid to the Allies. It would have been impossible for the royal government to enable itself to pay this prodigious sum by taxes.* Mr Ouvrard proposed to discharge it by means of foreign loans, payable in *inscriptions*. The plan by which this operation was to be executed, was necessarily complicated, but it shows the author's ingenu-

* According to the Duke de Gaëte, one of Napoleon's ministers of finance, the amount of specie possessed by France in 1813 was rated at three thousand millions and a half.

ity and skill in such matters; and it was not enough to make it acceptable to the French government, but it was also to be made palatable to the representatives of the Allies. One of the principal features of this arrangement was, that the contribution should be paid in stocks at a certain price, which the Allies were to leave in the hands of a company of bankers, to dispose of gradually, and so as not to produce a fall in the price of stocks by the sale of a large quantity at once. This plan was not at first adopted, and the embarrassments of the government increased to such a degree, that they were at length obliged to stop payment to the Allies, for the maintenance of the army of occupation. Mr de Cazes sent for Mr Ouvrard, to ask his agency for a loan of sixty millions. The banker replied, that it was beyond possibility to procure him sixty millions, but that he would engage to raise a loan of a thousand millions of francs, by which the debt due to the Allies would be completely discharged. The minister considered this, at first, as a paradox; but Mr Ouvrard alleged that, unless the government should find means to pay all its debtors, it would not find more credit than an embarrassed merchant, who should endeavor to borrow, without being able to prove to the lender, that all his previous debts would then be discharged. To be brief, Messrs Baring and Hope agreed upon a treaty, founded on the terms proposed by Ouvrard eighteen months before. In consequence of the payment of the military contribution, the army of occupation was soon reduced in number. Messrs Baring and Hope, who at first consented only to be the commissioners for the sale of the stocks, were fain to buy themselves large amounts, and the stocks rose rapidly from fifty-three francs and eighty-five hundredths, to sixty-five francs; and such was the rage for buying them, that the sentinels at the treasury had much ado to resist the impetuosity and impatience of the crowd of purchasers. Mr Ouvrard complains that this negotiation did not produce him the least profit, and that even his travelling expenses were not paid. In fact the allied powers, in accepting the stocks, encouraged foreign bankers, their own subjects, to buy them; and the credit to which the public funds rose, soon induced French capitalists to enter into competition with their compeers in England and Holland. The allurement was great, from the price at which the stock was issued, and the commission and the interest which were allowed. France contracted a debt larger than that which she owed to the Allies;

but the money with which she paid them, was principally imported from the allied states; and much of what they received, returned to, or remained in France, thanks to their predilection for French fashions and raree-shows, French wines, French operas, French cookery, &c.

We must hasten to the conclusion of this article; and the short space that remains, would be ill employed in echoing Mr Ouvrard's complaints of the refusal of the French government to pay his old claims, and his discussions of that subject, when we have yet to represent him launched anew in a prosperous career, in the very element in which he breathes the most freely, namely, at the head of the victualling department of large armies, and in negotiation for loans to authorities, to whom, one should think, no man in his senses would lend a shilling.

Mr Ouvrard, on such occasions, is neither royalist nor Jacobin; he is a financier, a speculator, a banker, a broker, a stock-jobber, or rather he is 'Ouvrard again.' The royalist Junta of Urgel wanted money to defeat the Constitutionalists, who had a little more than they of 'the nerve of state.' One of their agents addressed himself to Mr Ouvrard, for a loan of two or three hundred thousand francs (forty or sixty thousand dollars). 'Pshaw! that will never do. You want four hundred millions, sir, and you shall have them,' said Mr Ouvrard.

'What! lack I credit?
I had rather you did lack than I, my lord.'

The Spaniard, we imagine, showed the whole size of his eyeballs, and had his mouth wide open, wondering whether he or Mr Ouvrard was in a dream. But this did not prevent these worthies from concluding a treaty for four hundred millions, on the first of November, 1822, in which the three poor Regents, installed at Urgel, were obliged, at Mr Ouvrard's express demand, to assume the title of *Regency of Spain.* However, this financial convention had the fate of many political ones, and it will not even receive the honors of an insertion in Mr Marten's labyrinth of existing and annulled treaties. Mr de Villèle refused to acknowledge the Regency, and there was an end of the loan; and a pity it was, for Mr Ouvrard, besides money, had also provided a plan for the military operations, and memoirs for rebuilding the political fabric of Spain. Dissatisfied with Mr de Villèle, he departed for Verona, in quest of more willing listeners; but here, too, notwith-

stauding the fairest prospects, as he thought, he found himself at length ousted by a decree of adjournment to Paris for the conclusion of the negotiations on the Peninsular affairs; and on the Alps, avalanches prevented him from treading upon the heels of Mr de Châteaubriand. French troops were departing for Spain, and Ouvrard thought himself in duty bound to follow the army, although he had not contributed to the declaration of war; for should the Regency be acknowledged, his treaty with the self-styled Regents required his presence; and should it not be acknowledged, or in other words, should Spain be governed by Jacobins, or a king, in either case he could not lose an opportunity of settling his former concerns with that country. Under these circumstances, he contracted for the supplies of the French army.

Mr Ouvrard reached Bayonne early in April, 1823. The duke of Belluno, who was then minister of war, arrived at the army, to discharge the functions with which Berthier had been invested under Napoleon. The Duke of Angoulême, little pleased, it seems, with this appointment, had caused Count Guilleminot to continue acting as major general. The military stores were almost empty, and the means of transportation, wagons, horses, mules, drivers, &c. were dreadfully scanty. 'The more difficulties the better,' probably thought Mr Ouvrard; and the contracts which he made for supplying the army with all necessaries, were as he could wish. The Duke generalissimo ratified them, but without the direct intervention of the minister of war. His Excellency was then afflicted with the gout. When Ouvrard waited upon him, the Duke of Belluno said to him tartly, 'You are victualler in chief, Mr Ouvrard! well! to how much will your profits amount? to five or six millions? Rather six millions, I think.' However, as soon as the negotiation was concluded, orders were despatched to the army to pass the frontier. Mr Ouvrard's functions were to begin only on their arrival at Tolosa, the troops having been provided with rations for six days; but when they reached the banks of the Bidassao, they had either eaten or thrown away their provisions, with soldier-like husbandry; and on the next day they grew discontented, as it behoved hungry heroes. The crisis seemed to grow more serious when they reached Tolosa. Mr Ouvrard was unprepared, and he had nothing to rely upon, except his presence of mind, his ardor, and his daring spirit, in lieu of bread, cattle, provender, carts, &c.

On this occasion, however, his wit proved sufficient for a triumph over the greatest obstacles. He offered to pay ten times the value of the supplies, which should be furnished by the inhabitants of the town and the neighborhood, within a given time; eight times the value, if an hour later, and so on, till the most critical moment; and in this manner, which, indeed, required great pecuniary sacrifices, he was enabled to give to a *corps d'armée*, rations for ten days, although he had been entirely unprovided on the preceding evening. Money lay heaped upon tables, to stimulate the most sluggish, and it was seemingly thrown away on that day, although merely to ensure the means to treat afterwards at a fair market price, and to be always certain of supplies. Mr Ouvrard may be excused for being a little vain of that *coup de maître* of a victualler, in which capacity he continued acting during the whole war, and always with equal success. However, after the downfall of the Cortes, and when Ferdinand returned to Madrid, Mr. Ouvrard resigned that comparatively humble ministry, to try again the part of a civilizer and restorer of Spain, and of a coadjutor of its sovereign.

Long before the overthrow of the constitutional government, he had projected the removal of the royal court to Mexico, and the establishment of a regency in Spain, in Ferdinand's name, and under the presidency of the Duke of Angoulème. Laws were to be enacted by the Cortes for the better administration of the resources of the kingdom, and we see no reason to doubt that France, and Mr Ouvrard, as a portion not inactive of that powerful state, might have partaken largely of the advantages of this plan. He had explained it to the Dauphin, at the beginning of the campaign. His Highness, on hearing that the national debt of Spain was to be arbitrarily reduced, felt angry at the project. 'Mr Ouvrard,' said the heir to the crown of France, 'this reduction would be equivalent to a bankruptcy;' and with his characteristic laconism he put an end to the conference.

After the complete success of the royal cause, Mr Ouvrard laid much stress upon the alienability of a large portion of the real property of the church, in virtue of an ordinance promulgated by Charles the Fourth, in 1804. A statesman, of no common compass of mind, was of Mr Ouvrard's opinion, that nothing but the spoil of the church could save the state. 'Il n'y a point de salut hors de l'église,' said he to the highest

personage in the kingdom. The difficulty of such a measure, indeed, consists in avoiding the footsteps of Henry the Eighth, and of the French Revolution. Beginning to pillage and alienate the property of the church, would probably soon lead to no other end than the death-blow of Catholicism; and a Catholic monarch may, therefore, justly feel reluctant to enter on such a course.

Mr Ouvrard treated with the Junta of Spain, which had been established under the auspices of the Duke of Angoulême, respecting loans and internal reforms; but Mr de Villèle put a stop to these negotiations, by ordering the victualler to abstain from all intervention in the political concerns of Spain. Another Parisian banker was more successful, at least in the negotiation of a loan, and the provisional government raised one of fifty millions. This financial operation is ruefully complained of by Mr Ouvrard; and indeed Spain obtained little upon that loan; hardly was she able to pay the interest with what she received. The military operations, nevertheless, could not be interrupted; and therefore France was obliged to supply the money. Mr Ouvrard has the merit of having voluntarily sent to the king two millions of francs in gold bullion, when that prince was shut up in Cadiz, in June, 1823, and the author vaunts himself thereupon, that never any port had been blockaded against him.

We find him afterwards engaged in a negotiation with the Emperor of Morocco, for large supplies of corn and cattle; though France had never before obtained so considerable a concession from that semi-barbarian prince. General Silveyra, one of the royalist leaders of Portugal, asked Mr Ouvrard's intervention for a loan to continue hostilities against the Constitutional party. During the siege of Cadiz, the same Cortes, which had been wroth against him on account of his connexion with the Junta of Urgel, deputed an emissary to treat with him for a loan; and about the same time McGregor, the far-famed Cacique of Poyais, entered into a sort of negotiation with him, to obtain the recognition of his title by Spain, for a sum of ten millions. Mr Ouvrard, who in this manner was the man to whom all parties looked for money, kept his mind steadily fixed upon the New World, or at least the Spanish portion of it, —the El Dorado of all high-fliers, and all speculators. 'This,' he thought within himself, 'is the true field, where a mind like mine can display all its resources; benefit millions; create

states, or at least establish banks; and raise with paper a most solid fabric, that would shame all the dusty granite foundations of old and rotten Europe.' He positively declares, that the Duke of Angoulême recommended him to king Ferdinand for the office of minister of finance; but he was not inclined to tread in the steps of Cabarus, who also rose from a banker to be the Necker of Spain. Instead of kissing his Majesty's hands on acceptance of the ministerial trust, he brought forward a new plan for meliorating the condition of Spain, giving peace and prosperity to South America, and securing the world against the danger of a want of silver and gold, which would, of course, be worse than a second deluge, in a financier's opinion. The plan was so vast, that the overture of the Cacique of Poyais entered into it merely as a trifling *item*. 'This proposition,' the author says, 'was absorbed in my general views on America;' and his views turned principally upon the formation of an American Military Society, 'Société armée,' modelled on the English East India Company, with a capital of twenty millions of dollars, and the privilege of the exclusive trade for thirty years with all the Spanish colonies. The company was to begin its military operations for the reëstablishment of the royal authority, with a naval and land force, thirty thousand strong. The colonies were to pay to the Crown a tax of one thousand millions of francs, upon which the company was to receive ten per cent. Unfortunately for the projector, the Spaniards have no kindred with the *Vraibleusians*, and he had as little success among them as Popanilla in the Isle of Fantaisie. Mr Ouvrard's project was condemned to sleep in his portfolio, until it appeared in the second volume of his Memoirs. This ill success did not prevent a prelude in Madrid to the future splendor of a rival of the Medici. He rented a ducal palace, with stables for two hundred horses, coach-houses for sixty vehicles, and a garden of five acres in extent, 'divided into large squares, bordered, in the old French fashion, by dwarf-box; with large flower-baskets in the middle, numerous small channels destined for their irrigation, and beautiful trees so disposed as to present the appearance of *an orchard*.' Mr Ouvrard had sent for his family; and had it not been, as he informs his readers, for the strong attachment, which his youngest daughter felt for France and her family, he might have contracted another eligible family alliance. It would have been as illustrious, we must

presume, as that with Mr de Rochechouart, as he had previously refused to become the father-in-law of General Palafox, the high-born hero of Zaragoza. He gave splendid *soirées;* and grandees, who had partaken of his hospitality in France, honored him with their presence, and invited him into their circles. All these interesting little events are recorded in the Memoirs; and they are, indeed, too characteristic of the author to be omitted. Despairing, at length, of seeing his views adopted by Spain, and probably weary of being at the expense incident to reconciling the parties into which that kingdom was then divided, and bringing Frenchmen and Spaniards, by social intercourse, into a closer political union (for this, as he clearly intimates, was the real purpose of his entertainments and assemblies),* he determined upon a long tour through the fairest and most interesting parts of Europe, in company with his family, before their return to France. He proposed to direct his course along the Mediterranean and Adriatic coast, to visit Sicily, Sardinia, and the Levant, to spend a month at Constantinople, and from thence to proceed to Odessa. A visit to this latter city was, by the way, a delicate compliment to the memory of the Duke de Richelieu, especially as the tour was to be performed in company with Mr de Rochechouart. From Odessa, the travellers intended to proceed towards Moscow, St Petersburg, Riga, Stockholm, Berlin, Munich, Amsterdam, &c. The ladies had their portfolios ready for the landscapes, which a professional painter was to sketch along the road. The plan was well devised; there might have been, besides the agreeable, something useful in such a tour. Stubborn Turkey was then already on the eve of her present crisis. The Ionian Islands and Greece were worth surveying, in a political point of view. But 'Fortune,' says Knickerbocker, 'is a pestilent shrew, and withal a most inexorable creditor; for though she may indulge her favorites in long credits, and overwhelm them with her favors, yet, sooner or later, she brings up her arrears, with the rigor of an experienced publican, and washes out her scores with their tears.' Mr de Villèle played the part of Fortune, in regard to Mr Ouvrard. In the midst of actual splendor, and the prospect of the most rational pleasures, the almost ripe

* Captain Popanilla also maintains, that *pleasure in itself is a losing business.*

fruit of much speculation, care, and ingenuity, he was on a sudden informed, that all payments to him must be stopped; shortly afterwards his magazines were seized, and he himself was ordered to leave Madrid, and to return to France, or be carried thither by *gens d'armes*. The steam-boat, which had been chartered by the month at Cadiz, in preparation for the splendid Enropean tour, was necessarily given up, and the late *magnifico* had just time enough to pack up his papers, and obey the law of necessity. Yet, along his journey through France, the passion for improvement and political speculation did not abandon him. He who could not sail along the Guadalquivir, without finding in the unequal cultivation of the two banks of that goodly river, an image of what Spain is, and what it might become, were it administered according to his views, devised, as easily, new means of splendor for Rochechouart, and new aristocratic enjoyments for the nobleman who bears the name of that small town, and who is, withal, Mr Ouvrard's son-in-law. He regretted that no millions had yet been voted by the legislature for canals and roads, and concluded that France must extend to the left bank of the Ebro, because Spain and Portugal could not fail to be incorporated into one state. With such diversions from his cares and sorrows, he reached Paris, and at his first interview with the French premier, he was thus accosted; 'Do you know, Mr Ouvrard, that had we not feared that his Highness would take post-horses, and break with us, I should have caused you to be arrested at the very beginning of the campaign?'

We have left for the conclusion of Mr Ouvrard's personal narrative, contained, as far as it goes, in the two volumes before us, the circumstances to which may principally be ascribed their publication, and which constitute the author's latest mischances. The contracts he had concluded at Bayonne, were, it seems, from the beginning disliked and disapproved by the ministry. They were several times modified, by agreement with Mr Ouvrard. Still, either because Mr Ouvrard had not fulfilled all his agreements, or because he had received more money than he was able to account for, or because his accounts were otherwise defective, or, as he believes, because his profits were beheld by Mr de Villèle with as jealous an eye as his former ones had been viewed with by the First Consul and the Emperor, Mr Ouvrard was arrested anew, and, if we are not misinformed, is still deprived of his personal liberty. Much

has been published against him; much has been said about his affairs, in the French Parliament; but such matters are not for discussion in our journal.

Our readers need not be reminded of the wild speculations that have been carried on lately in England, and have ended in the ruin of so many. Pope, speaking of the woeful catastrophe of the South Sea scheme, said, 'Most people thought the time would come; but no man was prepared for it; no man considered it would come *like a thief in the night;* exactly as it happens in the case of our death.' The bubbles of our days have burst almost instantly, and it may be a sign of the greater civilization of the present times. Curious parallels might be drawn, between the year 1720 and 1820. 'In this disastrous year [1720] of national infatuation,' says Dr Johnson, 'when more riches than Peru can boast, were expected from the South Sea; when the contagion of avarice tainted every mind, and even poets panted after wealth, Pope was seized with the universal passion, and ventured some of his money. The stock rose in its price, and, for a while, he thought himself the lord of thousands.* But this dream of happiness did not last long, and he seems to have waked soon enough to get clear with the loss of what he once thought himself to have won, and perhaps not wholly of that.' Gay and Swift ventured, also, a portion of their small fortunes in that game. But Pope's own remarks are more to our purpose than those of Dr Johnson. 'The universal deluge of the South Sea, contrary to the old deluge, has drowned all except a few *unrighteous* men. I am much pleased with a thought of Dr Arbuthnot's; he says the government and South Sea Company have only locked up the money of the people upon conviction of their lunacy (as is usual in the case of lunatics), and intend to restore them as much as may be fit for such people, as fast as they shall see them return to their senses.' † Little was restored, and late years prove that good sense has not made a rapid progress.

We are not hostile to credit and banks, nor have we the smallest wish to raise any question about immense fortunes, acquired in a short time. Each craft has its mysteries, which

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* Pope says;

'In South Sea days not happier, when surmised
The lord of thousands, than if now excised.'

† Roscoe's Edition of Pope, Vol. ix, p. 197.

are unintelligible to the uninitiated and the unpractised. But we should be happy to contribute to discountenance overbanking and a too adventurous enterprise. We see no great blessing in a paper currency to such an amount as to weigh *in paper*, in ten pound bank notes, more than one hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds.

> 'Blest paper credit,——
> Gold, imp'd by thee, can compass hardest things,
> Can pocket states, can fetch or carry kings;
> A single leaf shall waft an army o'er,
> Or ship off senates to a distant shore;
> A leaf, like Sibyl's, scatter to and fro
> Our fates and fortunes, as the winds shall blow.'

Political cobblers and financial quacks could easily bestow upon Spain, by temporary shifts and experiments, a similar blessing, and would have, moreover, an advantage rather rare elsewhere, that of taking in exchange no little silver and gold. In the midst of all the difficulties of its internal situation, Spain will remain in a *curable* condition, so long as it escapes falling into such hands; and, preserving the moral qualities for which it has been so eminent, the nation will outlive the severe trials to which the times and circumstances may expose its natural fortitude and dignity. Mr Ouvrard's Memoirs contain many shrewd remarks on Spain. He may have looked keenly into its wounds and infirmities, but Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy' is better as picture of the human frame, than Mr Ouvrard's Memoirs are as a statement of the condition of Spain. That country has resources which may seem worthless to a financier, but which are precious in eyes less blinded by the glare of metals. Jeremy Taylor found much to admire in a usage of the kings of Spain, at which a financier would shrug his shoulders, were he even the commercial partner of these sovereigns. 'In the same Escurial, where the Spanish princes live in greatness and power, and decree war or peace, they have wisely placed a cemetery, where their ashes and their glory shall sleep till time be no more.' 'There is an acre sown with royal seed, the copy of the greatest change, from rich to naked, from ceiled roofs to arched coffins, from *living like Gods to die like men*. There is enough to cool the flames of lust, to abate the heights of pride, *to appease the itch of covetous desires*, and dash out the dissembling colors of a lustful, artificial, and imaginary beauty.'

ART. II.—1. *Philosophy of the Human Voice, embracing its Physiological History; together with a System of Principles by which Criticism in the Art of Elocution may be rendered Intelligible, and Instruction Definite and Comprehensive. To which is added a brief Analysis of Song and Recitative.* By JAMES RUSH, M. D. Philadelphia. 1827. J. Maxwell.

2. *Analysis of the Principles of Rhetorical Delivery, as applied to Reading and Speaking.* By EBENEZER PORTER, D. D., Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in the Theological Seminary, Andover. 1827. Mark Newman.

WE take all due shame to ourselves, that two works on Elocution, like those now before us, should have remained so long unnoticed in our pages. We have thought it singular, and we are willing to confess our share in the fault, that works as creditable to our literature as these are, and in a department of knowledge, which, as matters now stand, is positively of greater importance to the body of our scholars than any other, should have been ushered into the world without receiving a hearty welcome from any leading Journal among us. The Rev. Dr Porter's book, we perceive, has been suffered quietly to slide into a second edition; and from that circumstance we presume it is gaining, unpraised and unnoticed, the estimation it deserves among our Academies and Colleges. As to Dr Rush's work, we venture to say that not one in a hundred of our literary men has ever read it, or known anything about it.

We have in these suggestions struck the key-note; but the *strain* of our complaints is yet to come. It is a small matter, comparatively, that these books on Elocution have been neglected in our Journals, or by our scholars. The great evil is the evil *indicated* by this fact. The great evil is, that the subject itself has fallen into neglect. The art of Rhetorical Delivery is regarded with a more amazing and unaccountable indifference among us than ever befell any other art, in circumstances so apparently favorable to its cultivation. This, and nothing but this, accounts for the fact adverted to. One of the works, in question, it is true, is only a Manual, and might not be thought to crave much discussion. But the other is a stout octavo on the Philosophy of the Human Voice. An analysis of the voice, in many respects novel, and running through

more than five hundred pages, is a pretty serious matter. It must be a very weak production, indeed, to deserve to fall into utter neglect. If such a work,—a work of such size and pretensions, of whatever character, had been thrown out among the ancient rhetoricians, we imagine that they would have turned it over, and handled it, till they made something of it. But now, if we should please to assert that this work of Dr Rush surpasses all that the ancients have done,—surpasses all the rhetorical works in the world; we presume, that not one in a hundred of our scholars and public speakers, could give any good reason for contradicting us.

Our plan is, first, to take notice of these publications, and, then, to offer some remarks on the general neglect of elocution among us, the want of good speaking, and the almost absolute futility of the common methods, devised for its improvement.

We confess our obligations to the distinguished gentleman, at the head of the Andover Institution (as we understand, according to a late arrangement of the officers), for the popular and most valuable treatise on 'the Principles of Rhetorical Delivery,' which he has presented to the public. We are obliged, we do not say to his condescension,—for we hold that to descend to labors like these, is to *rise*; but to the well known professional zeal, which, amidst ill health and the arduous duties of his station, has given us a work, evidently requiring much thought and attention. It is, beyond all comparison, the best work of the kind, that has appeared in our language. We do not now bring it into any comparison with Austin's Chironomia, which is too elaborate and expensive for common use; and in the department which forms its principal distinction from other rhetorical works, that of action, too artificial, perhaps, to be safe as a manual. It were to be wished, by the by, that half a dozen copies of this work were placed in all our college libraries. Sheridan's and Steele's works had, and have, their value; but they are too speculative, and go too much into detail, for the purpose now in view. The same may be said of Walker's Elocution; though a great advance on previous undertakings, yet characterized by something of the vagueness and obscurity, and what now seems to us the unnecessary minuteness, incident to the investigation and establishment of new principles. Rome was not built in a day, and those who rebuild and improve, often do it out of the hard-wrought works of their predecessors. Campbell's invaluable 'Philosophy of Rhetoric,' which is, in-

deed, the philosophy of language with reference to its rhetorical uses, does not fall within the range of our present comparison.

We consider Dr Porter's work, therefore, as supplying a most material deficiency in our works on Elocution; and it is in all respects exactly what was wanted. The 'Analysis of Principles,' is sufficiently philosophic, and yet very practical. It is a condensed summary; the work, manifestly of an experienced hand, the result of much observation; clear, judicious, and discriminating. We have read, and re-read the whole, and can find no fault with it. We did, indeed, venture to question whether some of the 'exercises on inflection,' given to illustrate the fifth rule on that head, did not more properly belong to the ninth; and we suppose that there is some 'debateable ground' between these rules. *Where* 'the sense *is* suspended;' and what *constitutes* 'an emphatic succession of particulars,'—questions which determine whether the rising, or the falling inflection should be used, may in some cases be a matter of doubt. But the more we have examined these exercises, which occupy more than half of the volume, the more we have found it hazardous to dissent from so respectable an authority. We have only to add that the style of this work, that is, of the original part, is admirable; and that those who have had the pleasure of listening to Dr Porter as a preacher, will meet here with the simplicity, perspicuity, and elegance, together with the pith and energy of expression, with which he is wont to deliver himself. More we might say, and strongly say, if it were proper, of the rhetorical qualifications of this gentleman, for the task he has fulfilled; but lest praise should become intrusion, we leave the subject; again expressing our hearty thanks to Dr Porter, for a work, which, however simple in its character and claims, we are satisfied will do more to raise the tone of speaking in our academies and colleges than anything else that has issued from our press.

We turn now from this manual of 'the Principles of Rhetorical Delivery,' to the much larger and more elaborate work on a single branch of the subject, the 'Philosophy of the Human Voice.'

This, we do not hesitate to say, is the most important department in the whole science of oratory. The voice is the principal organ of the soul; it is that by which the mind first and immediately pours forth its thoughts. Articulate speech is

the grand instrument of the orator; the most accurate, flexible, delicate, exquisite, and powerful. It is from this, that eloquence derives its name. We can bear any defect in a speaker, better than a bad, or a badly modulated voice; none so directly interferes with the just and forcible expression of his thoughts. We dwell upon this a moment, partly for the sake of inviting attention to the importance of the subject which Dr Rush has chosen for his essay; and partly because it is not an uncommon idea, that *gesture* is the principal thing to be taught in our courses of rhetorical instruction. We believe that the cultivation of the voice is entitled to this preëminence, as, at once, the most essential, the most difficult, and the most practicable of all the labors of the rhetorician. It is the most practicable at the same time that it is the most difficult, because while, on the one hand, no man ever became a perfect reader without much practice and deep study, on the other, no one ever failed to improve his voice by daily and careful practice. This is more than can be said of gesture, which depends much on the general manners of the speaker; whereas to cultivate the voice requires nothing but sense, feeling, and patient study. And yet nothing, much as it has been studied both in ancient and modern times, has been the subject of so many vague ideas and descriptions, as the human voice.

But, not to wander too far from our object, we return to the essay before us. We have had some difficulty in deciding what course to pursue in presenting this work to the notice of our readers. But we have not been long in determining that we cannot find space for any minute criticism on the work. We cannot let our readers far into the mysteries of its nomenclature and notation. We cannot go much into detail, in reviewing a book of details. Almost every page is crowded with discriminations, requiring more deliberation and experiment than we are wont to solicit for our own pages; if it were possible, indeed, to find place in them for discussions of this nature. We shall endeavor, therefore, to give such a notice of this treatise as may, we hope, induce others to read it, rather than attempt to supply them with an abstract so full as to lead them to think a perusal of it unnecessary. We read it with great satisfaction. We considered it as going far beyond any former analysis of the voice. It is from an honest and hearty impulse, therefore, that we recommend it to others;—not having read the book, to review it, but reviewing it because we have read it.

Of all subjects for philosophical analysis, Dr Rush has taken up the most difficult. This arises from the flexible, variable, vanishing nature of the voice. It is ever changing. It does not stand still to be the object of attention. It does not pause to be listened to. He who hunts in this field, to use the huntsman's phrase, must 'shoot flying.' It is like examining objects which pass swiftly before the eye, and almost instantly vanish from sight; making it nearly impossible on both accounts to distinguish them. And, indeed, the only method of examining the voice, is artificially to lengthen out or prolong its tones; just as we should cause the object of vision in the case just supposed, if we wish to examine it, to move more slowly or to pause before our eyes. It is for this reason, that the singing voice is more easily analyzed, and has been so much more accurately defined. It is not a continuous flow of sound, but it skips from note to note, pausing upon each one, and giving time for the listener to mark and describe it. The speaking voice is like a stream; the observer perceives, that there are undulations in it, that it rises or falls, that its current is stronger or feebler, that its sound is higher or lower; but all minuter discrimination is lost in its continual flow.

Observations of this sort, indeed, pursued, not into detailed and accurate descriptions, but into more vague diffuseness, are by all that we obtain from the ancients. Julius Pollux, as quoted by Austin, enumerates (Lib. II. c. 4.) no less than thirty-seven qualities of voice. Our readers may be curious to know what they are. The following is the catalogue; high, powerful, clear, extensive, deep, brilliant, pure, sweet, attractive, melodious, persuasive, tractable, flexible, executive, mellow, sonorous, distinct, perspicuous, obscure, dull, unpleasing, small, thin, faint, indistinct, confused, discordant, unharmonious, unmanageable, not fitted to persuade, rigid, harsh, cracked, doleful, hoarse, brassy, shrill. 'What can be more wonderful,' says Mr Walker in a note to his Observations on the Greek and Latin Accent, 'than that, among so many of the ancients who have written on the causes of eloquence, and who have descended to such trifling and childish observations upon the importance of letters and syllables, we should not find a single author who has taken notice of the importance of emphasis upon a *single* word? Our modern books of elocution abound with instances of the change produced in the sense of a sentence by changing the place of the emphasis; but no such instance appears among the an-

cients. Not one poor *Will you ride to town to-day?*' And yet they labored over the voice, they sent it to school, they had masters for it, they prescribed diet and a course of life for it, forbidding figs, apples, pears, nuts, gross eating, much wine, and especially, 'Veneris damnosa voluptas,' and requiring moderation, early rising, exercise, &c.—all which, by the by, we suppose, amounts to this, that to the cultivation of a good voice, good health is usually necessary.

The ancients understood the rising and falling inflections, and that circumflex, which consists of the rise and fall of the voice on the same syllable. To these, Mr Walker claims the honor of adding that circumflex which is the reverse of the old Greek circumflex, which consists, that is, of a fall and rise of the voice on the same note; and this, together with the application of these inflections, and some discrimination of the alphabetic elements, has hitherto been the extent of philosophical analysis, among modern inquirers. It may be asked, what other conditions in the movement of the voice there can be than its monotone, its rising, its falling, its rising and falling, or falling and rising on the same syllable? None certainly; but then, there are species to be sought for under these genera. For instance, the voice not only rises, but it rises through semitones, tones, seconds, thirds, fifths, and eighths on the musical scale; and these transitions are appropriated to various sentiments, the semitone to the plaintive, the tone to ordinary emotions, the third to more earnest, and so on. It is with discriminations like these, that a part of Dr Rush's work is occupied. In the same manner he traces the descent of the voice through the several intervals of the scale. He, then, applies a similar process of investigation to the circumflex, which he denominates 'the wave of the voice.' He not only perceives a rising and falling tone or the reverse, on the same syllable, as others have done, but he finds that it rises or sinks, higher or lower, through various intervals, each having its peculiar expression; and moreover, that it executes this movement by unequal intervals, sinking lower for instance than the note with which it commenced; a circumflex, or 'wave,' expressive of the highest degree of scorn. We cannot go farther into particulars; but this notice of what they may find will induce our readers we hope, to look into these chapters for themselves.

Dr Rush has taken up all the qualities of the voice, and ap-

plied to them the same minute analysis. Words have not only force, as a quality of sound, but the stress may be applied at the beginning, the middle, or the end, or throughout; or it may be compound, being laid at the beginning and the end; or it may be a particular loudness on one syllable, to distinguish it from the rest. On emphasis, again, we have the same, and many more distinctions. The quality of the voice, time, accent,—in short, most of its rhetorical characteristics have sections devoted to them, in which the object is not to lay down rules and definitions, but to investigate the principles which govern the voice, in these various respects. There are sections also upon other powers and conditions of the voice, which are new in rhetoric, or invested with new importance; as upon 'Aspiration,' one of the most powerful elements of sound; on 'the Tremor of the voice,' a quality somewhere between its ordinary sound, and laughter or crying, and proper to the most impassioned language of either joyous or distressful emotion; on 'the Drift of the voice,' which is its general and prevalent tone, with reference to the leading sentiment of a discourse or part of a discourse; and on 'the Grouping of speech,' or the skilful mangement of the voice in such a manner as to show the bearing and connexion of the different clauses in a sentence. We cannot, in consistency with the further views we have in this article, follow Dr Rush into that detail on these several heads which is necessary to do his thoughts any justice. And, in truth, we are more desirous, if it were in our power, to excite curiosity, than to gratify it. For we repeat the expression of our earnest desire that this work may be much better known.

We cannot help bearing testimony to the spirit of thorough philosophy, and to the evidences of patient and acute observation, which are everywhere manifest in this very curious and original production. We do not profess to have entered very deeply into this *new science*, for in the hands of our author it is new; but allowing for such differences as will arise where the ear is consulted, we yield our full assent to his general principles. We particularly recommend the long sections on 'the Mode of Instruction in Elocution,' and on 'the Faults of Readers,' to all those who have any thorough interest in this subject. The section on 'Syllabication,' in an early part of the work, is a fine argument. And if any one would take account of articulate sounds, from an ear that seems to have listened to nature as few ears have listened, we would advise him to read the third section, on 'the Alphabetic Elements.'

After all, we have had our fears, from the first, that this work would not be much read. It is too profound, for that leisure reading, commonly assigned to books on rhetoric. He who erects an art into a science, and calls for a new style of thinking, for a novel application of the mind, on any subject, must wait with patience for the 'hearing ear.' The intrinsic difficulty of the inquiry is a still greater obstacle to its obtaining the necessary attention. It is this that deters most men from the study of the mind. But the voice is a more impracticable and evanescent subject for philosophy. The mind has states, at least; but the voice has no condition but that of impulse and immediate vanishing into nothing. The new nomenclature in this essay will be apt to discourage readers. Indeed, it gives an aspect of novelty to things that are not new. As for instance, what is Dr Rush's 'radical and vanishing movement,' but a rising or falling inflection? If he had oftener stated, how far the books of rhetoric, or its received principles, accompanied him in this inquiry, he would have saved an indolent reader from the appalling difficulties of entering upon what seems to him an entirely new field, and an attentive one from the depreciating feeling, that very obvious matters are made mysterious by the new garb in which they are clothed. And, indeed, we think that there are decided faults in the work, which interfere with its success. There is a tone of contempt toward all former writers on rhetoric, not very conciliating to those who have hitherto taken them for masters and guides. The style, too, is often involved and obscure, and, it seems to us, unnecessarily singular and technical, however new are the thoughts to be exhibited. In fine, we cannot commend the manner of this performance, as we cordially do the matter. Dr Rush has not patience. If we had said, modesty, it would have been more than we chose to say; but there are many passages which have an air of haughtiness and self-complacency, that are not needed in a work so capable of resting on its own merits as this.

What will be the effects of this 'Philosophical Analysis,' we venture not to predict. We wish that we could see a grammar of rhetoric, formed on its principles. In the close of his essay on Greek and Latin accent, Mr Walker has the following language. 'But till the human voice, which is the same in all ages and nations, is more studied and better understood, and till a notation of speaking sounds is adopted, I despair of

conveying my ideas of this subject with sufficient clearness upon paper. I have, however, marked such an outline as may be easily filled up by those who study speaking with half the attention they must do music. From an entire conviction that the ancients had a notation of speaking sounds, and from the actual experience of having formed one myself, I think I can foresee, that some future philosophical inquirer, with more learning, more leisure, and more credit with the world than I have, will be able to unravel this mystery in letters, which has so long been the *opprobrium et crux grammaticorum*, the reproach and torment of grammarians.' If we were to apply this language to the whole science of the voice, which it really embraces in its spirit, we might say, that the course and object of Dr Rush's work comes within the range of the prediction. He has, with his 'Philosophical Analysis,' undertaken to give a notation of the speaking voice. It is drawn, as we have already intimated, from the sister art of music, and is founded on the musical scale. This is the most natural resort; since the speaking voice differs from the musical, only in its being concrete, instead of discrete; that is, only in its flowing through the whole scale. But whether Dr Rush shall be that fortunate philosopher, or whether his system, like the notation of gesture laid down in the 'Chironomia,' will not require more attention, than speakers of modern times will give, must be for time and experiment to determine.

Having thus attempted to discharge something of our duty towards the works named at the head of this article, we shall now take up the burden of our original complaint, at the neglect with which this whole subject is treated. Let it be admitted, in the outset, that not one man in ten can or could be eloquent, though we do not believe it; or, if our readers please, that not one in fifty can rise to the highest efforts of oratory. No doubt there is a distinction to be made between agreeable speaking and powerful eloquence; and we make it, *in limine*, because we would not be charged with the extravagance of complaining that the body of our speakers are not eloquent, in the highest sense of the term. It is the agreeable speaking that we ask for, first of all, and most earnestly. Is it not, in fact, through four fifths of every discourse, all that is wanted? Is it not the staple of good oratory? And if it were not, shall a man say that because he cannot speak eloquently, he will not endeavor to speak agreeably? that because he can-

not please in the highest degree, he will take no pains to avoid giving offence? Nor would the distinction turn out to be, in fact, so great as, for the sake of argument, we have admitted it to be, in statement. If men were trained to this art, with half the care that they are to the offices of the counter or the work-bench; if they were trained from their youth to a just, easy, and graceful delivery; if the spell of embarrassment were taken off, and they were 'redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled;' in one word, if their powers and affections had a free and full manifestation, we believe that the proportion before stated would be reversed, and that the nine would be, at times, truly eloquent, would be interesting at least, and the one only would be inveterately dull. For there is by no means so great a difference among different minds, in regard to sensibility, as is commonly supposed. The difference, much of it, lies in the mode and power of manifestation.

After all, there must, no doubt, be instances of rare and unequalled excellence, such as Cicero has described in his opening, 'De Oratore'; there must be such instances in this art, as well as in statuary or painting. Yet, neither is this altogether a fair comparison. The labors of the sculptor and the painter are far more artificial than those of the orator. The breath of eloquence is in the human soul; the instruments are provided by nature,—the voice, the countenance, the eye, the lips, the hand, the whole frame; and if habit did not make men automatons, and embarrassment did not put a dull mask over 'the human face divine,' the eloquent soul would speak out,—the man could not help being eloquent.

We are aware that we touch a point here, on which some may differ from us, or may think they differ, and therefore we dwell upon it for a moment. There is a mystery about this matter with some, and with others there may be a misunderstanding of our meaning. There are some who regard the eloquent man as a kind of immediate creation from the Almighty. They say that a man is 'born an orator,' and that it is in vain for any man to strive for excellence in the art, who is not made for it. If by this it is meant that eloquence is a peculiar gift, distinguishable from all the other powers of the human mind, we differ from such an opinion entirely. But if it be meant only, that a man is born an orator just as he is born a mathematician, a philosopher, or a statesman, we have no objection to offer to this position. It confirms what we have

been saying. There are natural differences among men, but it is none the less necessary that they should use study and effort; and this difference is not, in other cases, construed into a discouragement from study and effort.

The comparison just made, may also help us to make our meaning understood. There are but few men who can be statesmen or philosophers of the highest order; but there are many of various degrees of excellence, to whom we apply these titles. Let it be so with orators; and let it not be said that because only one in a century can rise to the highest sphere, therefore but one has any call to exertion. Or if any one choose to understand by eloquence, the loftiest pitch of excellence, we will not dispute about a word; let us then, we say, have good speaking; and good speaking, we are sure, will pass oftener than men expect, into eloquent speaking. All that we are anxious for is, that no mystical or unphilosophical ideas of eloquence should prevent men from cultivating the powers they have, and from availing themselves of the noble opportunities that are offered to them in this country. For, look abroad through this goodly land of free and intelligent communities, with its thronged schools, and academies, and colleges, with the most popular institutions in the world, with its theatre for oratory in every town-meeting, with its churches, and tribunals of justice, and halls of legislation,—and tell us why eloquence may not flourish here; why its elder glories may not be revived among us. We are accustomed to say, and not without reason, that this country offers the fairest field in the modern world for the culture of eloquence. Nor have men lost their eagerness to witness the displays of this divine art. There is nothing, in ordinary times, that will draw such multitudes together, or transport them with such enthusiasm. They actually feel, that is, the multitude, as if there were something divine, something like inspiration, in the inexplicable and overwhelmning powers of a great orator. They are ready, like those who listened to the 'Oration' of Herod, but not with the same venal feeling, to exclaim, 'It is the voice of a god!' We well remember, in the days of our boyhood, when our fathers and seniors had been up to the distant City, and talked to us, on their return, of the eloquence of Hamilton, that we caught from them an impression of wonder and delight, bordering almost upon supernatural awe and admiration.

If any one would judge of the estimation in which this glo-

rious gift is held, let him observe how the least approaches to it are received; how a fine voice, or a prurient imagination, like charity, will cover up a multitude of sins against taste, and reason, and truth; how the most absolute dearth of thought, or the most barren commonplace, will be forgiven, will escape the notice even of cultivated audiences, if it wear the veil of an elegant delivery; how—we had almost named names—but how men of the most ordinary talents will make a sensation wherever they go, and collect crowds, not of the weak alone, but of the wise also, to hear them; nay, how dignified senators, the 'most potent, grave, and reverend seigniors' of the nation, will sit as if they were fastened to their seats, and listen by the hour to the most trifling anecdotes, to the most irrelevant stories, when delivered with the ease, and grace, and charm of finished oratory. Indeed, in this matter we grow skeptical about the authority of our (by turns) most wise Hamlet. 'The judicious' do *not* 'grieve'; but they smile, and listen,—and listen, and look grave, and say it is very 'good talk.' And the multitude—it is indeed a 'gaping multitude,' and ready to swallow anything that comes in the shape of rhetoric. They are hungering and thirsting for it. They are lifting up their souls for it,—to the pulpit, to the bar, to the senate-chamber. They are ready to be instructed, to be moved, aroused, transported; yes, the most obstinate are willing to be enlightened, the most obdurate to be melted, the dullest to be charmed, if the power and the wisdom come in the form of eloquence.

'The field is white to the harvest' (not irreverently to make the application), but where are the laborers? Indeed, 'the laborers are few.' Some eloquent men there are in this country; eloquent from the simple force of talent, from the irrepressible burstings forth of genius, on great themes and occasions; eloquent, because they cannot help it. But anything like settled, concentrated, patient effort, for improvement in oratory; anything like an effort, running through the whole course of education, renewed with every day as the great object, pursued into the discharge of professional duties, is scarcely known among us. The mass of our public speakers would as soon think of taking up some mechanical trade as a subsidiary occupation of life, as they would think of adopting Cicero's practice of daily declamations. They would be ashamed, like the member of Parliament, mentioned by Ches-

terfield, and very properly justified by him, of being *caught* in any practice of this sort. The art of speaking well, seems to be thought a trifling or an unworthy art. Or, is it that most extraordinary desire that prevails so much among our speakers and writers, to have it supposed that their best and most successful efforts cost them little or no preparation?

Whatever be the cause of this general neglect, the consequence is plain enough. *The making of good sentences*, the first business of a public speaker, seems, by most of our legislative debaters and forensic orators, to be least of all understood. Violations of sense, of the structure of sentences, nay, and of grammar, too, are constantly witnessed. It is really perilous to listen. We are in perpetual terror lest the speaker should make shipwreck of all reason and sense. As he rises on the wave of some swelling period, our own minds partake of his insecurity to such an extent, that we lose all thoughts of his subject, in sympathy for his situation.

It fares no better with our discourses, than with our sentences. Alas! what would Father Quinctilian and Dr Hugh Blair say, if they could listen to some of our speeches? The most solemn rules about the exordium, narration, statement, argument, peroration,—about the order, progress, climax of a discourse,—about the consistency of metaphors, with themselves and with the subject,—about figures, comparison, vision, hyperbole, are scarcely more regarded among us, than if those venerable personages had never lived.

And then, what a variety of gesture have we, from the arms, that sail about like the arms of a wind-mill, and with as little meaning, to the more common sawing, and hammering, and punching, that suggest a doubt whether the man was not brought up to a different trade from that of speaking. And so it is with the other organs of the speaker. The countenance is dull, or distorted. The voice is harsh and vociferous, or feeble, or drawling and monotonous, and comes out with a languid and reluctant effort, as if the alternative were to 'speak or die.' And the eye,—we refer now to the pulpit,—the eye wanders upon vacancy, or gazes strenuously upon nothing, or is fixed intently and sedulously upon the cushion, as if it were that 'Velvet Cushion,' which teemed with wondrous thoughts to the attentive Vicar; or the same organ, being lifted up, instantly seeks some pillar or post, on which it may conveniently rest itself. We almost wish, indeed, that those great boxes,

called pulpits, with their many props and appliances for indolence and dulness, were hewn down, dismantled, and destroyed. Seriously, our only difficulty would be to find a place for the *incumbent*, and for his manuscripts; and this we should do by arranging a bare platform, and a simple low reading-desk. For we would not have the manuscripts rashly given up, though they are undoubtedly an obstruction oftentimes to the zeal of the preacher. No man can ever do full justice to his powers, who always literally follows his written page. But it requires a much more thorough training than our preachers yet have had, to venture much upon extemporaneous delivery. On this subject we would earnestly commend to our clergy, a little book from one of their brethren,* intitled 'Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching;' a book which, in some portions of it, illustrates the eloquence it recommends.

It may be thought that we have indulged somewhat in caricature; but on this subject we are certain that no strength of language can be too great. No caricature, no extravagance, nor ridicule can come up to the absurdity of expecting to speak well, on the slight preparation which is commonly made,—or that which is provided for, in fact, in our systems of education, —for this noble exercise. There may be, of lawyers, clergymen, and others, probably twenty thousand public speakers in this country. We do not believe that, on an average, they have each spent ten weeks of preparation, for this most important part of their professional duties. The orator, with the ancients, was held to be the perfection, the *beau idéal*, of a man. They directed that all the powers of their noble youth should be concentrated to the attainment of this character. But that training of all the faculties to this great accomplishment; that various study, all with reference to this end; that sedulous culture of the memory, the judgment, and the fancy, as the polished instruments of eloquence; that laying in of the stores of learning and the treasures of history for its use; that patient, constant, daily practice of reading and speaking; and, at last, that summoning up of all that was strong, and beautiful, and accomplished, and treasured in the mind, to the great endeavor,—that almost godlike sway and mastery over human hearts, at which they aimed;—all this, we seem as little

* The Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., lately appointed Professor of Pulpit Eloquence and the Pastoral Care, in the Theological School, Cambridge.

to think of, as if it were detailed in the stories of old romance. Compared with those free and noble spirits, we are content to be slaves, and to wear chains. And yet we are speakers, forsooth, and we talk about eloquence; or we are passing through courses of study preparatory to an appearance before the public; and occasions and subjects that stir up all the passions of the soul are offered to us; the high claims of justice are to be pleaded; the great interests of the nation are to be discussed; the tremendous 'powers of the world to come,' if we may speak so, are to be wielded; and yet the chain is upon us, the chain of mechanical habit, or slavish timidity; the arm moves constrainedly in its socket; there is a leaden weight upon the tongue, and a film upon the eye, that should flash forth the fires of the soul; opportunities nobler than those of heroism are unimproved; the temple of justice but rarely yields inspiration; the public councils are tedious; and the pulpit,—that new and nobler field of eloquence,—even the pulpit, where man should put forth a more awful power, than when Demosthenes 'fulmin'd over Greece,' is proverbially dull!

But what can be done? This is the question which we shall now attempt to answer. We shall speak with earnestness and confidence; and if there shall seem to be anything positive and dictatorial in our suggestions, we must be excused, on the ground, that, to our minds, the case is as clear as it is cogent.

We observe, then, in general, that this great aim—to speak well—must pervade the whole course of education; we mean the education of those who are designed to be public speakers. We would not fall a whit behind the demands of the ancient rhetoricians in this respect. We would have it said to our youth, 'You must study, learn, acquire, comprehend, compass everything, with reference to that end. Your acquisitions are all to be put to that use. Your learning may indeed be valuable to yourselves on its own account; but of what value can it be to others, unless you learn to communicate it? Without this aim, you are acting as absurdly as the merchant's clerk, who should always be poring over 'Anderson's Commerce,' or treatises on commercial law, and never gaining any acquaintance with trade; or as the apprentice, who should busy himself with studying the principles of mechanics, and never make himself acquainted with tools. If you were destined for the anchorite's cell, it would be enough for you *to know;* but

if you are coming forth upon the theatre of life, for what are you to come? Is it to fold your arms, or worse, to have them pinioned to your sides? and to have every power that you are cultivating, disenabled and rendered useless? No; it is for action, that you are to come forth; and the action, if you are to be public speakers, is to be emphatically that, under which the old orators comprehended the whole body and soul of eloquence.' There never was a collection of youth that more needed to have this said to them, and urged upon them, than the youth of our colleges. There is talent enough, and hard study enough, perhaps; but there is no sufficient feeling of the great relation to active life; nothing like that which must have been awakened in the schools of ancient eloquence; nothing like that which must have animated the ardent youth that waited on the steps of Cicero, as he bent his way to the Roman forum. For want of this, the secluded and silent cells of our colleges are often the graves of genius, rather than its nurseries. We might almost apply, without parody, the words of Gray to them;

'Some village Hampden, with his dauntless breast,
* * * * * *
Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some Cromwell, guiltless of his country's blood.

'Th' applause of listening senates to command,
The threats of pain and ruin to despise,
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read their history in a nation's eyes,'

does 'their lot' forbid it? No; but their minds do not grasp it. We speak with feelings at the farthest possible remove from disrespect or scorn. We speak, it is true, more from recollection than from actual observation. But we remember how it was, and we suspect it is too much so still. We remember in what insensibility we passed that period of our lives, of all that was to be done and dared in the world. And there is another trait in our learned institutions, which many among us may probably be able to call to vivid remembrance, if they do not still observe it. There was, and there is, we believe, something, shall we call it, of a stoic or of a monastic spirit, in our colleges, with regard to learning. There was among us, we well remember, a feeling, that it was enough *to know;* that knowledge was to be valued singly and solely for itself; that the only worthy ambition was to be thorough scholars;

there was, in some of the best and noblest minds, an almost stern and scornful feeling towards all exhibition, or desire of exhibition. In this feeling, it was very naturally forgotten, that the ultimate object, after all, is exhibition; and that all learning and genius, but to their possessor, are useless without it. We have often thought that it would have been of great service to us, if we had, at that period, read the Letters of Lord Chesterfield to his Son. We recommend not their spirit; their worldliness, we mean,—for the taint of licentiousness is a thing that only appears here and there, and does by no means infect the volumes as deeply as is commonly supposed. But the uselessness of all talents and acquisitions, without the power of exhibition, is set forth, with a variety, pith, wit, and earnestness, to say nothing of an almost unequalled style, that would make them a valuable lesson to our young men.

From this general observation on the place which eloquence should hold among the objects of education, let us descend to particulars.

The business of training our youth to this accomplishment must be commenced in childhood. The first school is the nursery. There, at least, may be formed a distinct articulation, which is the first requisite for good speaking. How rarely is it found in perfection among our orators! Words, says one, referring to articulation, should 'be delivered out from the lips, as beautiful coins, newly issued from the mint; deeply and accurately impressed, perfectly finished, neatly struck by the proper organs, distinct, in due succession and of due weight.'* How rarely do we hear a speaker whose tongue, teeth, and lips, do their office so perfectly as in any wise to answer to this beautiful description. And the common faults in articulation, it should be remembered, take their rise from the very nursery. But let us refer to other particulars.

Grace in eloquence,—in the pulpit, at the bar,—cannot be separated from grace in the ordinary manners, in private life, in the social circle, in the family. It cannot be put on with the *toga civilis*. It cannot well be superinduced upon all the other acquisitions of youth, any more than that nameless, but invaluable quality, called good breeding. You may, therefore, begin the work of forming the orator with your child; not merely by teaching him to declaim, but, what is of much more conse-

* Chironomia.

quence, by observing and correcting his daily manners, motions, and attitudes. You can say, when he comes into your apartment, or presents you with something, a book or letter, in an awkward and blundering manner, 'Just return, and enter this room again,' or, 'Present me that book in a different manner,' or, 'Put yourself into a different attitude.' You can explain to him the difference between thrusting or pushing out his hand and arm in straight lines and at acute angles, and moving it in flowing, circular lines, and easy, graceful action. He will readily understand you. Nothing is more true than that 'the motions of children are originally graceful;' and it is by suffering them to be perverted, that we lay the foundation for invincible awkwardness in later life.

We go next to the schools for children. It ought to be a leading object in these schools to teach the art of reading. It ought to occupy three-fold more time than it does. The teachers of these schools should labor to improve *themselves*. They should feel, that to them, for a time, are committed the future orators of the land. We had rather have a child, even of the other sex, return to us from school, a first-rate reader, than a first-rate performer on the piano-forte. We should feel that we had a far better pledge for the intelligence and talent of our child. The accomplishment, in its perfection, would give more pleasure. The voice of song is not sweeter than the voice of eloquence. And there may be eloquent readers, as well as eloquent speakers. We speak of perfection in this art; and it is something, we must say in defence of our preference, which we have never yet seen. Let the same pains be devoted to reading, as are required to form an accomplished performer on an instrument; let us have our *phonasci*, as the ancients had,—the formers of the voice, the music-masters of the reading voice; let us see years devoted to this accomplishment, and then we should be prepared to stand the comparison. It is, indeed, a most intellectual accomplishment. So is music, too, in its perfection. We do, by no means, undervalue this noble and most delightful art; to which Socrates applied himself even in his old age. But one recommendation of the art of reading is, that it requires a constant exercise of mind. It demands continual and close reflection and thought, and the finest discrimination of thought. It involves, in its perfection, the whole art of criticism on language. A man may possess a fine genius without being a perfect reader; but he cannot be a perfect reader without genius.

Let us now advance some steps higher, to our colleges. We mean no disrespect to their guardians, and certainly not to their officers (whose duties are appointed to them), in what we are about to say. But we do entertain a full and entire conviction, and experience, observation, the actual result, warrant us in a full conviction, of the absolute futility of the attempts hitherto made, for training up the youth of our colleges to be accomplished advocates, debaters, and preachers. We remember to have asked an intelligent rhetorical professor in one of our colleges, what he was doing to make his pupils good speakers; and his answer was, that he was beginning to think, nothing could be done. And we are persuaded that nothing can be done, till a great deal more is done. The case craves more thorough dealing than it has yet had, or it may as well be given up as hopeless. We are inclined to believe, that we had rather take our chance with a speaker, who had never declaimed in his life, who had never heard of a gesture, than with the body of those who have had the training of our colleges. It seems to us as true of eloquence, as of philosophy, that 'a little learning is a dangerous thing.' There is a homely proverb, that 'men should beware how they handle edged tools.' We think that tones, inflections, gestures, are such things. There are three states of the manners; a native and crude simplicity; next, the awkwardness and constraint of a man, introduced, but not accustomed to a public situation or a polished society, and trying to put on manners for the occasion; and, finally, the ease, grace, and self-possession of the finished gentleman. And there are the same states in the manners of the public speaker. Now what we say, is, that if we cannot have the last of these, we should prefer the first.

It may be thought that we are saying bold things, and that we shall have few to agree with us. Let, then, these suggestions pass for the opinions of a few, or of less than a few. We are certain at least that we should have the old orators to agree with us. If Cicero were to rise among us, what would he think of the means and methods we use to form the orator? If Quinctilian were to write again, he would find occasion to put with a new and satirical meaning, the apparently simple question, 'whether rhetoric be an art." Another of his questions, he might think it almost indecorous to discuss among us; namely, 'whether rhetoric be a virtue.' It, certainly, is both; and yet we treat it, as if it were neither; or, at least, as if it were a

virtue, an art, so very low, as to be worthy only of a casual, intermitted, and inefficient cultivation.

For, what, we pray, is done, and under what circumstances? Possessed with innumerable bad habits of speaking, laden with blunders that have been accumulating through fifteen years, the boy is sent to college. What is done for him there? He is required to declaim five or ten minutes, once in a month, or once in two months. One, two, or three weeks pass over him (this is ordinarily the fact) without his thinking of the matter but to dread it; without his once opening his lips, in private, to declaim, or to do anything for his improvement in this most important branch of his education,—anything to prepare himself for the principal use of his powers as an educated and professional man. This, we think, we might take for granted, if we did not know it to be, generally, the fact. This, the corporations of our colleges are bound to take for granted, because they have no reason to suppose that anything is regularly and effectually done, which is not required to be done. Take the most interesting study pursued at college; and if a recitation were required only once in a fortnight, or a month, we know that, generally, nothing more would be done than to prepare for it.

Once in a month, then, (this is probably a fair average) the pupil is called upon to declaim, before his teacher and his fellow-students. As the time approaches, he casts about him for a passage for declamation; he commits it imperfectly to memory, rather than studies it; he repeats it to himself, silently or aloud, a few times, and then goes forward to the trial. From beginning to end, it is an irksome business. It is a thing by the by; it is a hasty preparation; it is a feverish effort; and in the trial, the whole power of the individual is often taken up, with recollecting, or with striving to keep down his embarrassment, or with trying to appear not awkward, in which he but ill succeeds. Then come the terrors of criticism; he stands like a criminal before his judges; he quits the stage, as an accused man does the bar of trial, and feels only more comfortably than the culprit, inasmuch as he is not going to jail. For he is condemned, or let off as not worth criticism; he is condemned, or feels that he ought to be; condemned by himself, if not by his tutor; he feels that he has done no justice to his own conceptions, and he retires, mortified and ashamed. We know, that we are describing many and many a case, if

not every one. And the exemption, where it exists, is seldom fairly earned. There are those who are more confident, and more satisfied with themselves, but seldom with good reason. It is impossible, with the time and pains and means commonly used for accomplishment in this art, that the ingenuous learner, the noble aspirant, should do anything that ought to satisfy him.

We have spoken of the terrors of criticism. This *fear* is the pest and bane of good speaking in all our colleges. To our youthful orators, everything is wanting if they have not freedom. But they are made the slaves of criticism. And what, we ask, is to do away this fear, so long as the highest and most difficult of all arts, the most varied, exquisite, and comprehensive of all the exercises of talent, receives so little attention? What but familiarity with a task like this, can beget freedom in it? We do not know of a more comprehensive sentence with which the author of 'Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching,' could have closed his little work, than that of Goldsmith, in which these two requisites and pledges of success are stated; namely, to '*feel the subject thoroughly, and to speak without fear.*' Let us, while these pages are in mind, make an extract from them in connexion with our present remarks.

'If any one would sing, he attends a master, and is drilled in the very elementary principles; and only after the most laborious process, dares to exercise his voice in public. This he does, though he has scarce anything to learn but the mechanical execution of what lies in sensible forms before his eye.' 'If he were learning to play on the flute for public exhibition, what hours and days would he spend in giving facility to his fingers, and attaining the power of the sweetest and most impressive execution. If he were devoting himself to the organ, what months and years would he labor, that he might know its compass, and be master of its keys, and be able to draw out, at will, all its various combinations of harmonious sound, and its full richness and delicacy of expression. And yet he will fancy that the grandest, the most various, the most expressive of all instruments, which the Creator has fashioned by the union of an intellectual soul with the powers of speech, may be played upon without study or practice; he comes to it, a mere uninstructed tyro, and thinks to manage all its stops, and command the whole compass of its varied and comprehensive power! He finds himself a bungler in the attempt, is mortified at his failure, and settles it in his mind for ever, that the attempt is vain.' pp. 59–61.

We cannot resist adding to this, the following extract from Dr Rush, a line or two of which we hope our college instructers will pardon, in consideration of the general truth and pith of the paragraph.

'Go to some, may I say all, of our colleges and universities, and observe how the art of speaking is not taught there. See a boy of but fifteen years, sent upon the stage, pale and choking with apprehension, in an attempt to do that, without instruction, which he came purposely to learn, and to furnish amusement to his class-mates, by a pardonable awkwardness, which should be punished in the person of his pretending and neglectful preceptors, with little less than scourging. Then visit a *conservatorio* of music; see the orderly tasks, the masterly discipline, the unwearied superintendence, and the incessant toil to produce accomplishment of voice;—and afterwards do not be surprised that the pulpit, the senate, the bar, and the chair of medical professorship are filled with such abominable drawlers, mouthers, mumblers, clutterers, squeakers, chanters, and mongers in monotony; nor that the schools of singing are constantly sending abroad those great instances of vocal wonder, who sound along the high places of the world; who are bidden to the halls of fashion and wealth; who sometimes quell the pride of rank by its momentary sensation of envy; and who draw forth the intelligent curiosity, and produce the crowning delight and approbation of the prince and the sage.' pp. 489, 490.

But, to return; how unavoidable is it, that this 'uninstructed tyro,' should be 'mortified,' and disheartened. How can it be otherwise than that agitation and fear should take possession of his mind? How could the pupil in music, after a number of imperfect lessons, taken at 'odd times,' and irregular intervals, bear to come before a great audience, with his crude performance? He would be more than a mortal man, or, certainly, more than a modest one, not to fear. The situation of a public speaker is as trying, as his task is great. He who has scarcely acquired ease and freedom in private society, with no other responsibility than to behave with propriety, or to make himself agreeable, is to rise up in the presence of a great assembly; the only object of attention; the only voice listened to, his;—himself, environed with the eyes of hundreds. It must require laborious, assiduous, long continued preparation to meet a situation like this, with an unfaltering tongue, a calm eye, and an unshaken nerve. Without such a preparation, it is a species of cruelty to force upon a man duties like these. We

say to the speaker, or should say, if we dealt frankly with him, 'You did not seem at ease; you did not give us your eye steadily; you used no action, or you made gestures that meant nothing; you were cold and dull; you ought to have electrified your audience, in such a part of your discourse; you should let out your feelings; you should give up your whole soul to what you are saying; it should hang upon your lips, it should beam from your eye, it should thrill your whole frame;'—all which is about as wise, as if we said it to the slave. How can a man, and be a man, discharge the highest and noblest function in the world, with less training than is required for the most common occupation in life? how can he do this, and do it without distrust, embarrassment, and awkwardness? The spell that binds and paralyzes all the faculties, is *fear*, and nothing can shake it off but studious practice. Even familiarity will not do it. For the speaker, without study, without an intelligent and persevering aim, may become familiarized but to constraint, and apathy, and despair; familiarized to that palsy, which will never more permit him to put forth the vigor of his faculties.

We have already ventured in part upon the implication, that our college exercises in declamation do more hurt, than good. The truth is, they leave the pupil, just in that position between rudeness and accomplishment, that constitutes awkwardness; that makes him feeble without grace, and stiff without vigor. They do just enough to discourage him; just enough to make him feel his deficiencies; just enough to create the feeling, so natural to lingering but unsuccessful efforts, that he never can exert his powers in this way. Any observer may often see a plain man, earnestly talking in the streets, or speaking in a town-meeting with a glow of countenance and a propriety of gesture, which he might well wish to see transferred to the pulpit or the bar. And better, than to require these occasional and inefficient declamations, better were it, perhaps, to leave the mind to its natural impulses, to leave it, to the great occasions of life, to draw forth a just and powerful oratory.

If there be any force in what we have said, we would most earnestly solicit a hearing for it, from the trustees and guardians of our academies and colleges, and of those higher institutions which are designed to prepare our youth for the pulpit and bar. We humbly suggest to them, whether oratory, as a science and an art, should not be more distinctly recognised in

the plan of a public education; whether it should not have hours of study and practice appropriated to it; whether, in fact, it should not occupy as large a space as any other branch in the course of public instruction. We had it in mind before closing our observations, to suggest a project and plan for a School of Oratory in this country. But in truth all our colleges ought to be such schools. There is a great deal to be done. It is one of the miseries of our college exercises in rhetoric, that a great deal of time must be taken up, merely with correcting faults and removing bad habits, before the student can enter, free and disembarrassed, the career of great excellence. It is notorious, that but few of our educated young men, when they leave college, are so far advanced even as to be good readers. We see and lament this defect continually in our pulpits; and we lament it the more, when occasionally in the hands of a skilful reader, the Bible is unfolded to us, almost as a new book. But we leave our suggestions on this point, again earnestly commending them to those, with whom it remains to decide whether we are to go on for years to come, without any essential improvement.

But we cannot leave our public institutions, without taking notice further, of what seems to us the prodigious waste of study and talent, which the present system involves. Here and there a man, from some fortunate direction of his mind, or strong natural propensity, or favorable situation, breaks through the difficulties that keep down other men, and rises to a considerable measure of eloquence, and becomes conspicuous in his neighborhood or in the country at large. But do we not know that there are hundreds of others, whose powers and acquisitions are equal,—who think as clearly, and feel as deeply, but whose talents are buried in comparative obscurity? who *think* eloquently, who feel that '*it is within*' them to address eloquent thoughts to their fellow men, but who can never say, with Sheridan, '*it shall come out*'! It is not for the want of study, that these men, the majority, fail. What years have they spent, and spent all their substance too; what days of toil, and evenings of patient thought, have they pursued to the midnight hour. The waning lamp has been no romance to them, the fixed brow and the feverish pulse no poetry; they have toiled, reckless of health and comfort, they have kindled, and rekindled the fire within them, that has wasted away the strength and prime of their youth; and when they come to the crisis of

their fate, when they stand before the great public, and are put to the trial in which they are to rise or fall, for this world,—they find, alas, that the very office they have there to discharge, is the office which they are least of all prepared for. With all the sciences and arts they have labored to understand, they have never learnt the grand art of communication, the science of speech; with all the languages they have mastered, they have never learnt the language of eloquence; and their acquisitions, their reasonings, the collected wisdom of sages, the gathered lore of centuries, sink to nothing before the pretensions of some flippant declaimer. It is from this cause, no doubt, it is from want of the power of communication, that preachers are often unreasonably charged with dulness. It is not, always, that the *man* is dull; but it is, that being placed in a situation for which he is not properly trained, he sinks into a mechanical habit, from the very inability to give just and natural expression to his emotions. Many and many a sermon has been written (it is not too much to say) with burning tears, and when it came to the delivery, has been struck, as if by magic, with the coldness of death; and he, whose breast glowed with sacred fervor in the closet, has appeared in the pulpit, as a marble statue. May we be permitted, in passing, to suggest to our preachers and public speakers, the propriety, nay, the duty of paying some attention to this subject? We allow that the effort to improve, at this later period, is attended with considerable danger. Some, no doubt, have injured their style of delivery by such an effort. Their manner has become artificial; and they have lost in power, what they have gained in correctness. We venture to point out what we think is the only remedy; and that is, to forget all definitions, rules, and *praxes*, when entering the pulpit or the bar, to have no gestures or tones provided beforehand, but to give ourselves up wholly to the impulse of the occasion, letting whatever improvement there may be in manner, tone, &c. be, at the moment, altogether unpremeditated and insensible. With this precaution, we have no doubt that reading or declamation an hour every day, would be of the most essential service, and would in a single year, if the practice were universal, put almost a new face upon our pulpit and bar.

The labors requisite to form the public speaker are by no means duly appreciated among us; and this is the first great difficulty that lies in the way of our argument. There is

nothing like the ancient estimation of this work. An absurd idea prevails among our scholars, that the finest productions of the mind are the fruits of hasty impulse, the unfoldings of a sudden thought, the brief visitations of a fortunate hour or evening, the flashings of intuition, or the gleamings of fancy. Genius is often compared to lightning from the cloud, or the sudden bursting out of a secret fountain. And eloquence is regarded as if it were a kind of inspiration. When a man has made a happy effort, he is next possessed with an absurd ambition, to have it thought that it cost him nothing. He will say, perhaps, that it was a three hours' work. Now it is not enough to maintain that nothing could be more injurious to our youth, than this way of thinking; for the truth is, that nothing can be more false. The mistake lies, in confounding with the mere arrangement of thoughts, or the manual labor of putting them on paper, the long previous preparation of mind, the settled habits of thought. It has taken but three hours, perhaps, to compose an admirable piece of poetry, or a fine speech; but the reflections of three years, or of thirty, may have been tending to that result. It is a good rule, no doubt, 'to write with fury, and correct with phlegm;' but a man cannot write with fury, and write with sense too, without much previous thought. He may write with folly, and that is often done. He may imagine that he is writing finely, because he is writing fast, and that his sounding pen flies over an inspired page; and that is likely to result from the absurd application of the maxim, that happy efforts are hasty ones. Genius is thought, is study, is application. The two simple, but magic words, which contain the secret of Newton's greatness, according to his own explanation, are 'patient thought.' There is not a more indispensable characteristic of genius than good sense. It is this that has given to the true works of genius, universal reception and immortal fame. And here, too, is indicated the rock, on which thousands have split. Many men have a powerful imagination, but they have not the 'patient thought,' the good sense, requisite to control it. They have not learnt, in 'the very torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of passion, to acquire and beget the *temperance*, that may give it smoothness.' We wish that we could see an analysis of genius on these principles; that we could see unfolded all the previous thought, the patient study, the thorough reflection, the fine discrimination, that are necessary to produce even a page of really fine wri-

ting. It would be a useful lesson. It would teach our aspiring youth, that they never can succeed without labor; that it never will do to trust to irregular hasty efforts; that they might as well expect literally to command the lightnings of the tempest without philosophy, as without philosophy to wield the lightnings of eloquence. They ought not to have this power without laboring for it, without waiting patiently at the shrine of that divinity,—the Industry, which alone can give it. The gift is too great, too high, to cost them little.

But this is a point, which deserves to be considered by itself,—the greatness of the art. To give the noblest thoughts the noblest expression; to stand up in the pure light of reason, or to create a new atmosphere, as it were, for intellectual vision; to put on all the glories of imagination, as a garment; to penetrate the soul, and to make men feel as if they were themselves new creatures, to make them conscious of new powers and a new being; to exercise, in the loftiest measure, the only glorious and godlike sway, that over willing minds; to fill the ear, the eye, the inmost soul, with sounds, and images, and holy visions of beauty and grandeur; to make truth and justice, to make wisdom and virtue and religion, more lovely and majestic things, than men had ever thought them before; to delight, as well as to convince; to charm, to fascinate, to win, to arouse, to calm, to terrify, to overwhelm,—this is the work of eloquence; and it is a glorious work.

The great object of all the liberal arts is to exhibit the mind; to exhibit character, thought, feeling, in their various aspects. In this consists all their power and sublimity. For this, the painter spreads upon the dull canvass the breathing forms of life; the sculptor causes the marble to speak; the architect models the fair and majectic structure, with sublimity enthroned in its dome, with beauty shaped in its columns, and glory written upon its walls; and the poet builds his lofty rhyme; and the eloquent in music, orders his movement and combination of sweet sounds. But, of this mind, the human frame is the appointed instrument. It was designed for this end. For it could have answered all the purposes of physical existence, without any of its present grace and beauty. It was made with no more obvious intent, than to be the expression of mind, the organ of the soul, the vehicle of thought. And when all its powers are put in requisition for this purpose,—the voice with all its thrilling tones; the eye, 'through which, as a window,

the soul darts forth its light'; the lips, on which 'grace is poured'; the whole glowing countenance, the whole breathing frame, which, in their ordinary forms, can express more than the majesty of an Apollo, more than the agony of a Laocoon;—when every motion speaks, every lineament is more than the written line of genius, every muscle swells with the inspiration of high thoughts, every nerve is swayed to the movings of some mighty theme;—what instrument of music, what glories of the canvass, can equal it? Eloquence is the combination of all arts, and it excels them all in their separate powers. Nor is it confined to the mere gratification of taste. The great and ultimate object of social existence, is for man to act on man; and eloquence is the grandest medium of this action. It is not only the highest perfection of a human being (for 'the orator must be a *good* man') but it is that perfection in act. It is sublimity, beauty, genius, power, in their most glorious exercise.

Eloquence, it is often said, is the peculiar attribute of man. But more than this is true. It belongs to humanity. The human soul is eloquent, whenever and wherever it has a full devolopement. Its signatures are divine; and where they are seen, they cannot fail to leave their impression. It is one of the maxims with which we have no patience, that the English character is not fitted for an earnest delivery; that eloquence will not flourish on this stock; that there is something in our temperament or taste that forbids it. The English mind not eloquent! We might as well say, that it is possessed of no strong feelings or noble thoughts. For if it has these, and has them, in fact, in uncommon strength, has it not a language, a voice, a countenance, a free and unfettered arm, 'the weapon of the orator,' to express them? It is true, that our taste may not be altogether so favorable as it ought to be; a dull, prudish, perverse taste. It is true that our ordinary manners in this country have not the desirable ease and freedom; there is newness, embarrassment, awkwardness, constraint, in them; they are not so free and forcible, and not so indicative of the free workings of the mind, as they ought to be. But these, after all, are rather the manners of ceremony, and of formal society. Go to the exchange, the market, the public street, the municipal meeting, and you shall see, that the men, in whose veins English blood is flowing, can be ardent and earnest, and can use action, though they do not know it; and that is the right action. Go up to the greater

occasions of life, to the crowded and grave assembly, and our Burke, and Sheridan, and Chatham, and our own Ames, and Hamilton, and Emmet, and the names of the living among us, that rise to our thoughts, are sufficient to wipe away the stigma, that we are so willing to fasten upon ourselves; sufficient to show that our court-room and our debating-hall are not always tedious, and that our pulpit is not always dull.

It is another maxim, as little to be endured, that oratory must decline with the progress of knowledge and refinement; that the age of eloquence is, in fact, passing away from us. We believe it not, any more than we believe that the age of thought and feeling is passing away. It is a shallow maxim, arising from an imperfect developement of mind, which is too often mistaken for refinement and decided improvement, when it is only the crude, fermenting process, that is leading to improvement. Is the mind to grow feeble, as it advances? Is feeling to lose its intensity in true refinement? Is truth to be less interesting, because error is detected? or simplicity to be less divine or mighty, because exaggeration has ceased to move us? Is the soul to be bereft of its energy, or shorn of its brightness, as it emerges to light, and rises to sublimity? Some of the awakening themes of eloquence may pass away with those occasions of tyranny, oppression, and danger, that create them. Enough of these, however, are likely to remain. But others will open, more glorious and majestic than these. These, too, will arise in new forms, so long as wickedness and misery prevail in the earth. We have as yet broken down only some of the outward barriers, in the way to social and individual happiness. There are other and more formidable enemies to be met in the great struggle for human welfare. The single evil of intemperance is as powerful a call for eloquence, as the most oppressive tyranny that ever cursed the earth. Heaven grant that there never may be occasion for 'Philippics' in this free land. But there will be occasion for arguments, invectives, warnings, and all the arousing and pleading voices of eloquence, for many and many long years, before the united energies of this nation shall have wrought out that happy state, to which the patriot and the philanthropist are looking. It is, indeed, an immense and glorious field; and we trust that it is to be cultivated, with labors such as have not yet been seen among us. We look for future orators in this land, whose words of might shall shake its wide and utmost

borders, shall resound from the Atlantic to the 'Pacific seas'; and whose renown shall be the heritage of distant generations. We trust that a voice is to arise in this Western world, which shall echo to the glorious eloquence of ancient times.

Art. III.—1. *Œuvres de Platon.* Traduites par Victor Cousin. Vol. i—v. 8vo. Paris. 1822–8.
2. *Fragmens Philosophiques.* Par le même. 8vo. Paris. 1826.
3. *Cours de Philosophie.* Par M. V. Cousin, Professeur de Philosophie à la Faculté de Lettres de Paris. 8vo. Paris. 1828.
4. *Nouveaux Fragmens Philosophiques.* Par le même. 8vo. 1828.

A faithful and elegant translation of the works of Plato would be one of the most acceptable presents of a literary kind, that could be made to the English public. That of Taylor, the only one we have, though complete, is written in so barbarous a style as to be wholly illegible; and those celebrated Dialogues, which, independently of their beauty as literary works, are immeasurably curious and valuable as the authentic contemporary reports of the lessons of Socrates, the Gospel, as it were, of the first pure and powerful proclamation of natural religion, are still inaccessible to the mere English reader. Until very recently the other modern languages were equally deficient in this respect with ours. The German version of Schleiermacher has been published within a few years, and the French one by Professor Cousin, of which we have now the satisfaction to announce the first volumes, is still unfinished. Should this be completed (as there is every reason to suppose it will be in the course of a year or two), it will in a great measure supply the defect of which we complain, though in a manner less honorable than we could have wished, to our own contemporary literature. An acquaintance with the French language is, however, so general, that most persons who would be capable of enjoying Plato in an English dress, will not probably find him much less familiar in the elegant Pa-

risian costume in which he is now presented to us. Mr Cousin unites, in a superior degree, most of the qualifications necessary for complete success in this undertaking; and whatever may be the fortune of his own philosophy (concerning which we are not very sanguine), he will, we think, at all events secure a high and durable reputation by thus connecting his name and labors with those of the eloquent disciple of Socrates. He combines, in fact, the vivacity and fine taste that are in some degree natural to his countrymen, with the indefatigable industry, the wide research, and the patient meditation, which, in these degenerate days, have been considered as almost peculiar to the Germans. The particular direction that he has given to his studies, which, it seems, have been very much turned to the writers of the Alexandrian or new Platonic school, though unfortunate, perhaps, in some respects, for his own fame, has at least served to increase his familiarity with the language and opinions of his author, and to supply him with the most complete apparatus of critical learning that could possibly be brought to bear upon his text. Being thus possessed of every facility and advantage for obtaining a correct understanding of the sense of Plato, and having at command a most flowing, beautiful, and spirited French style, he has given us a translation, which will be read with delight as a literary work by all who have a taste for intellectual enjoyment of a high order, and may at the same time be depended on as an exact representation of the celebrated original. The only defect which we have noticed in the execution of this noble enterprise is, that the translator has occasionally introduced his peculiar philosophical theories into the introductory remarks which he has prefixed to the several Dialogues. Were these theories less questionable than they often are, it would have been, perhaps, in better taste to have reserved them for his own original writings, and to have permitted his translation to remain an unsophisticated monument of the highest result in wisdom and eloquence, that unassisted human powers have yet attained. The infusion of doubtful matter is, however, very moderate, both as respects the quantity, and the tone in which it is pressed; and the work will be read, on the whole, with nearly unmingled pleasure. It will serve, we think, to extricate this elegant philosopher, whose poetical graces were the charm of all antiquity, from the dust and lumber of learned libraries, and fairly

introduce him into the circle of polite literature in which he is properly fitted to move. He will now be read wherever the French language is known, that is, throughout the civilized world, by those who read nothing which does not address itself to the taste as well as to the understanding; and we should not be surprised, if some of the fair devotees at the shrine of learning should occasionally employ a part of the awkward interval, between the finishing of the last new novel and the appearance of its forthcoming successor, in comparing the profession and proofs of Platonic attachment with which they are constantly besieged, with the theory of the subject as developed in the works of the master. The last volume will contain a life of Plato, and a full exposition of his philosophy, by Mr Cousin. When the publication shall be completed, we shall take an opportunity of returning to it, and of noticing it in greater detail.

The other works whose titles are placed at the head of this article, contain original speculations of Professor Cousin upon several points in intellectual and moral science, together with a course of public lectures on the History of Philosophy, which he delivered at Paris during the last summer. We have already taken the liberty to express our doubts of the correctness of the peculiar theories of this writer; but we would not be understood to speak with confidence on the subject, because we have not yet the means of ascertaining with precision what his views really are. Two of the volumes now before us are avowedly collections of fragments, in which the author does not profess to give a clear and connected view of his system. He has also employed in these essays a technical phraseology apparently imitated from that of the German metaphysicians, which is often nearly or quite unintelligible, and which forms a singular contrast with the simple and perspicuous style, which he has at command whenever it suits his purpose. The Lectures on Philosophy are prepared in a more popular form, but they take up successively so large a variety of subjects, that each is necessarily treated in a very summary manner; and although they profess to give a succinct sketch of the author's opinions, we are still unable to assure ourselves that we quite understand him, or, as we should rather perhaps say, we are unwilling, upon so imperfect a statement, to form a definitive judgment upon principles which, as they are here set forth, do certainly appear to us extremely hazardous, but which are

evidently the conclusions of a very able, industrious, and apparently upright and conscientious inquirer, deduced from an arduous and long continued course of reading and reflection. The author proposes to continue the explanation of his views in successive annual courses of lectures, on the various branches of intellectual and moral science; and when these shall have brought into clearer light the real character of his system, we may, perhaps, take another occasion to examine its merits.

Mr Cousin, who is still in the prime of life, appears to have had his first philosophical education under the instructions of Mr Royer Collard, now the distinguished President of the French House of Deputies. This statesman resided at Paris during the reign of Napoleon, ostensibly in a wholly private condition, though in fact employed, as is now understood, in the capacity of a private agent of the absent king. However this may be, he certainly busied himself in giving lectures on intellectual and moral philosophy at one of the public institutions, and was the person who first brought into notice in France the writers of the modern Scotch school, particularly Reid. Mr Cousin speaks in high terms of the value of his lectures, some fragments of which have lately been published as an appendix to a French translation of Reid, which has not yet reached us. It is evident, indeed, from the profound and original notions on the theory of government, constantly thrown out in the speeches of Mr Royer Collard, that his mind is of a decidedly philosophic cast; although other more absorbing, though perhaps not more important pursuits, have since withdrawn him entirely from the schools. His disciple does not seem to have been long contented within the somewhat narrow circle which the Edinburgh doctors have marked out as the impassable limit of the Philosophy of Mind. His studies took a wider range through the whole field of metaphysical science, from its first splendid developements in ancient Greece, down to its last multifarious and somewhat mystical exhibitions in modern Germany. After this large survey of all the various systems and theories that have successively obtained the public favor, he appears to have selected, as the object of his peculiar preference, the one which had hitherto been regarded as the least inviting and probable among them; we mean that of the *New Platonism*, a doctrine which, as our readers are aware, prevailed in the Greek schools at the last period of their existence, and was still flourishing when they were closed by order of the Empe-

ror Justinian. This system had been generally viewed as a wholly worthless and, as it were, monstrous product of an age in which the worst kind of barbarism, that which follows a period of civilization, was gaining very fast upon the abodes of art and science. It was considered as a strange amalgamation of all the superstitious notions and practices of the time, with abstract theories which seemed to border very nearly on absolute atheism. The professors of this doctrine dealt in magical incantations, evocations of departed spirits, and various other sorts of mysteries. They publicly and zealously patronized the worship of the fantastic deities of the Greek mythology, which had been long before dethroned by the riper judgment of the people, and consigned to endless ridicule by the pen of Lucian. At the same time their bold speculations on the nature of the Supreme Mind tended to identify this sublime principle with the material universe, and thus deny its personal and separate existence. Such was the singular and repulsive character of this system, which had been rejected, almost without examination, by all preceding inquirers, and which Professor Cousin appears to have taken under his peculiar patronage. He seems to think, if we understand him rightly, that he can discern through the apparent contradictions and absurdities of the creed in question, a profound philosophy, which reconciles inconsistent theories, and explains those that are apparently absurd, by ascertaining their origin and real sense, which have commonly little or no connexion with their form, and are, for the most part, wholly unknown to the mass of the people. *The sage*, says Proclus, the great authority in this school, *is the hierophant of all the mysteries.* He views with equal respect all the various philosophical and religious systems that divide the world, and uses their forms and language with equal readiness and sincerity, because he considers them all as only different expressions, more or less appropriate and intelligible, of the grand elementary truths of religion and philosophy. He, and he only, has a key to the wild and monstrous fictions, the absurd and self-contradictory principles, which the vulgar receive without examination, and often make a merit of believing against their understanding, but which are, in fact, only parables, whose meaning and moral are for them lost. Such, according to our author, is the real secret of the new Platonic philosophy; and he seems to have adopted the idea as a fundamental tenet in his own. An *Eclectic* spirit, which inter-

prets instead of rejecting; seeks and consequently finds points of analogy between the various doctrines, instead of madly insisting on merely external differences,—is the true philosophical temper, and the only one that will guide the inquirer safely through the labyrinth of history.

This principle is no doubt excellent as a rule of conduct and inquiry; but when toleration and liberality have done their best in accounting for apparent contradictions, the question still remains, What are the great elementary truths of religion and philosophy, into which our sage is to resolve all the mysteries? and upon this question there would perhaps be more difference of opinion than our author appears to anticipate. The new Platonic theory, of which he seems to have adopted the principles as well as the method, borders, as we have remarked above, on absolute atheism; and might not be so completely satisfactory to all inquirers as it has been to himself. However this may be, the view which he has taken of this particular system, determined, as we have already remarked, to a certain extent, the direction of his studies, and the character of his publications. The first of these was an edition of some of the unpublished works of Proclus, consisting of commentaries on Plato, which were preserved in manuscript in the royal library at Paris. His next enterprise was the translation of Plato himself, which is still in progress. While engaged in these labors, he was also much occupied with instruction. His master, Mr Royer Collard, had been appointed, after the return of the Bourbons, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of France, and Mr Cousin had been designated as adjunct professor in the same branch. They were both, however, obnoxious to the more violent royalists, as persons suspected of political liberality, and during the ascendancy of Mr de Villèle were prohibited from delivering lectures. During this period our author was employed in solitary studies and private instruction, and appeared but little before the world. His only publication was the first of the volumes of 'Philosophical Fragments' now before us, consisting in part of detached articles, mostly critical, which he had contributed to the scientific journals, and in part of extracts from his lectures, which, however, from the concise and almost enigmatical style in which they are written, afford slender means of ascertaining his opinions. A second volume under the same title has lately appeared, but has not yet reached us. At this time Mr Cousin travelled into

Germany, in company with the young Duke of Montebello. Here his reputation for literature seems to have gone before him and to have alarmed the jealousy of the Prussian police, then very much on the alert in regard to what they called 'revolutionary movements' (*demagogische Umtriebe*), a phrase which was hardly supposed before to mean the publication of editions of Proclus and translations of Plato. Our professor was politely invited to take up his lodgings in a fortress, where, in the absence of all materials for study, he had full leisure to reflect upon the difference between the habits of the tyrants of our day, and of that of his great master. Dionysius of Sicily, one of the most remarkable among the latter, had, as is well known, assiduously courted the society of Plato, and entertained him at his court, with the highest distinction. The French ministry, more inclined at heart to the modern fashion of dealing with philosophers than to the ancient one, though embarrassed in their practice by the prejudices of the weaker brethren among their countrymen, did not probably exert themselves with any great excess of zeal in his favor. After a while, however, he obtained his release, and returned to Paris. In the mean time the public opinion of the country had been rapidly changing, and liberalism was now lord of the ascendant. One of the first results of this political revolution, was the elevation of Mr Royer Collard to the Presidency of the House of Deputies; and another very natural consequence of it was the restoration of Mr Cousin to his professorial chair, and the renewal of his public lectures. He accordingly resumed his labors during the last summer, and under the encouragement afforded by these auspicious changes in the feeling of the people, he seems to have been animated with fresh alacrity, and has laid out a wide and arduous field for future exertion. His first course of lectures, which is one of the works before us, professes to give a very summary sketch of the history of philosophy, through all its various branches, sects, and divisions; the most important of which are again to be taken up separately and made the subject of distinct courses. That of the present year will be occupied with the philosophy of ancient Greece.* The one now before

* Since writing this article we learn from the French newspapers that Mr Cousin has commenced his second course of lectures, and that the subject of them is not, as he had intimated that it would be, the

us is not liable, in point of style, to the objections which we have taken the liberty to make to the 'Fragments.' It is, on the contrary, remarkably well written throughout, and rises occasionally into high flights of eloquence. The attractions of our author's manner, both as a writer and as an orator, are indeed sufficiently attested by the largeness of the audience which attended the delivery of the lectures, and by the evident signs of satisfaction with which they were constantly received. Their principal defect results from the vast extent of the subject, which renders it impossible to treat it in any of its parts with much fulness; and as the speculations in which the author indulges, are often of a novel character, it is not always easy to follow his meaning. We must also add, that although the language is generally perspicuous, the thoughts are not uniformly brought out with the precision which is so necessary in all philosophical discussions. For these reasons, and looking upon the present works as an imperfect, and, as it were, preliminary developement of our author's views, we deem it expedient, as we have remarked above, not to examine them in great detail, although many passages might be selected from them, which would furnish matter of interesting reflection. Reserving the discussion of Mr Cousin's peculiar theories for a more fitting moment, we shall rather avail ourselves of this occasion to complete the very rapid survey of the most important epochs in the history of intellectual philosophy, which we commenced in a former number.* In our review on the first part of the Baron de Gerando on this subject, we pursued the progress of the science, from its origin in Greece, down to the period of utter depression and decay that preceded the revival of letters in modern Europe. The second part of the same work, which completes the survey, by bringing it down to the present time, has not yet appeared, or at least has not yet reached us; but the publication of the works before us, in which Professor Cousin treats in his usual summary way the philosophy of the last three centuries, seems to offer a not unfavorable occasion for resuming the discussion.

The view taken by our author of the history of the period

philosophy of ancient Greece; but that of the eighteenth century. From the manner in which these lectures are mentioned in the newspapers, it appears that they have excited a strong sensation, and have even been made a matter of controversy between the different political parties.

* See North American Review, No. 43, for April, 1824.

which formed the subject of the article above alluded to, is succinctly exposed in the following remarks, which form the whole of one of the 'Philosophical Fragments,' and will give the reader a rather advantageous notion of his manner. The train of thought accords, in general, with the common opinion.

'The problem of the origin of knowledge may be solved in two different ways, by tracing it respectively to the senses or to the understanding. We meet with these different solutions at the very birth of philosophy, in the doctrines of the two Greek schools, called the Ionian and the Italian. The science advances, but the problem still remains; and the different modes of solving it continue to characterize the different sects. Pythagoras revives in Plato, who looks at everything *à priori*. Aristotle restores the Ionian system, with great improvements; deduces all his principles from a scrupulous observation of particular facts, and in establishing his theories constantly reasons *à posteriori*. The Academy and the Lyceum are the two schools into which almost all others may be resolved. They divided the ancient world, and the middle ages; and the history of the manner in which their doctrines have been modified by the state of civilization at different times, and by the character of individuals, forms, in fact, the history of philosophy. What higher praise can be given to two men than to say, that for two thousand years in succession the minds of their fellow-men have followed in their track, and can claim at best no higher honor than that of entering fully into their ideas? The encomium is immense, but must be considered as fully merited, by all who have studied the philosophy of the middle ages. Plato is a father of the church. He reigned a long time at Alexandria. Until the ascendancy of the Arabs, he was the favorite philosopher throughout Europe. All who were not skeptics, and who had endeavored to account for the origin of knowledge, adopted his theory. After the arrival of the Arabs, Aristotle took his turn, but was so ill understood, that the only result of his influence was the logic of the schools, which was little else than the art of unmeaning disputation. Important questions were no longer the objects of study, and nothing was heard but a confused jargon of controversy about absurdities invented in the leisure of the cloisters, which had no relation whatever to any real facts or interests. At the first dawn of the revival of learning, the problem of the origin of knowledge reappears, and two modes of solving it form respectively the bases of the great rival schools of *Nominalists* and *Realists*, which divided the last period of the middle ages. As antiquity was better understood, Plato and Aristotle still shared between them the empire of opinion. The former is explained by George of Trebisond, the latter by Bessarion, and others of less celebrity. Such was the state of philosophy, before the appearance of Bacon.

'Bacon was the first man of genius who had applied himself to the science since the time of Plato and Aristotle. The philosophers of the long intervening period are at best men of letters, and generally only monks. Bacon merits the title of the father of modern philosophy, inasmuch as he invented the method which has produced the great discoveries of modern times. He is the father of modern philosophy, not because he created, but because he pointed out the means of creating it. If I were asked what is the philosophy of Bacon, I should hold my peace, from respect for the memory of that great man, or I should say that he had none at all. His object was not to introduce particular systems, but a general method for ascertaining truth. A philosophical writer has compared Bacon to one of the guide-posts erected on the public roads, which show the way to passengers, but never move themselves. Bacon himself declared that he was not laboring to remove the obscurity from particular parts of the temple of science, but to light a torch which should illuminate the whole building. We cannot, therefore, say, *the school of Bacon*, as we say, *the school of Plato*, because Bacon had no positive doctrine; but it is his spirit which animates the whole modern philosophy, and gives it a character of precision and severity unknown to the ancients. We may, however, say, that Bacon, though he teaches no peculiar doctrine, yet by constantly recommending the experimental method, engages, as it were, to explain everything in that way. It is in this sense that he is the founder of a school, and that he belongs himself to the school of Aristotle. But I rather love to consider Bacon as independent of all schools; above both teachers and disciples; mastering all the sects of philosophy without attaching himself to any one. Under his influence the zeal for science increases, and new advances are made; but the fatal problem is still present, and the ancient solutions are still resorted to, under some variations of form. Aristotle remained in possession of the schools, until Descartes deprived him of his influence. But what were the works of Descartes? I speak now of his positive philosophy, and not of his method, the originality of which is above all praise. What, I repeat, are the works of Descartes? In substance, a commentary on Plato. The *archetypes* of the latter reappear under the name of *innate ideas*. The Academy revives, and reckons among its numerous and illustrious disciples such men as Malebranche, Arnaud, Bossuet, Fénélon, almost the whole age of Louis the Fourteenth. On the other hand, Locke attacks Descartes, and while rejecting the authority of Aristotle, becomes the restorer of his principles. The comprehensive and conciliating genius of Leibnitz endeavors to unite Locke and Descartes, Aristotle and Plato; but with all his impartiality, he evidently inclines to the latter. All the subsequent systems resolve them-

selves ultimately into those of Locke and Leibnitz. The philosophy of France and England is the offspring of the former, that of Germany of the latter. These, as we have seen, are themselves the representatives of the rival philosophers of Greece. It is therefore with these two great men we must commence all serious inquiry into the history of intellectual science.'

The first great names which we meet with in the history of modern philosophy, are those of Descartes and Bacon; but these illustrious men, as is justly remarked in the above extract, were the inventors of methods rather than of systems. Descartes asserted the right of inquiry and private judgment against the despotism of the name of Aristotle, which still remained unshaken. He affirmed that nothing must be taken on trust, and would not even admit his own existence, until he had proved it to his full satisfaction by a syllogism. This was the first step in the progress of truth, for without inquiry there could of course be no discovery. Bacon made another important advance, but still of a preparatory kind, by recommending the practice of reasoning from experiment and observation, instead of the syllogistic system, then generally in use. In doing this, he appears to have supposed himself to be substituting a new method for that of Aristotle, and accordingly gave to the work in which he announced his plan, the title of '*Novum Organon*,' a *new Machine*, or *Method*, as if in opposition to that of '*Organon*,' which the 'mighty Stagyrite' has affixed to his Logic. In reality, as we remarked on a former occasion, Bacon only restored the method of Aristotle himself, which had been kept out of view by the schoolmen, in consequence of the exaggerated importance which they had attached to some of his other ideas. Aristotle never recommended the syllogistic system as a mode of discovering new facts. He was aware that this could only be done by observation or experiment; and accordingly recommended this method, in opposition to that of his master, Plato, who believed that general ideas were an original or innate possession of the mind, and that they were the basis of all our knowledge. But in the experimental method of acquiring knowledge, the generalization of facts is hardly less important than the discovery of them, both operations being indeed indispensable; and it was to facilitate the former, that the Stagyrite laid down the rules of correct reasoning in his Logic,—a work which exhibits in a remarkable degree the power and acuteness of his extraordina-

ry mind, and which, if he had written nothing else, would have procured him a reputation of the highest order. The monks of the middle ages were so much delighted with the precision and justness of these rules, that they played at logic as a sort of interesting game, without caring or knowing whether the facts supposed in their arguments were true or false; just as a real amateur plays at whist for counters, with as much eagerness as he would for the highest stake. Their error did not consist in employing the syllogistic method, which was excellent when applied to its proper use, but in employing it exclusively, to the neglect of observation; and the service rendered to science by Bacon did not lie in rejecting the syllogistic method, and overthrowing the authority of Aristotle, but in completing the apparatus for discovering truth, by bringing into view another Aristotelian method, of which the schoolmen had in a manner lost sight. The glory of Aristotle was or should have been increased, instead of being diminished, by the suggestions of Bacon; but as the monks are justly blamable for having neglected the experimental method of *the philosopher* (as they called him, *par excellence*), in their admiration of his Logic, so the great Chancellor of England is liable, perhaps, to the reproach of having, whether by design or accident, overlooked the beauty and usefulness of Aristotle's rules for generalization, in his zeal for experiment, and of having appropriated to himself the credit of inventing this latter method, which properly belonged to the same great master of science. Bacon, instead of undermining, in fact restored the philosophy of Aristotle. Since his time it has reigned with undisputed authority throughout Europe; while by a singular sort of chance, the name of its author has labored under a sort of disgrace, from which, however, it is now fast recovering. It is probably destined to receive, through the long course of enlightened and civilized ages which, as we may hope, is now opening on the world, an intelligent homage, hardly less deep and general than the ignorant devotion of which it was formerly the object.

The necessity of inquiry being thus pointed out by Descartes, and the proper method of conducting it revived by Bacon, it it only remained to proceed in earnest to the work of actual discovery. It is the glory of Newton and Locke, to have directed their labors at once, and with all the necessary zeal and perseverance, to the most important subjects in physical and intellectual science; and the splendor of the results cor-

responded with, or even surpassed, all that might have been expected from the excellence of the new method, and the extraordinary talent of those who made the application of it. It does not belong to our subject to insist on the value of the astonishing discoveries of Newton. The efforts of Locke in an equally or still more interesting field, were hardly less successful, although the truths he has made known, from their entirely abstract character, are somewhat less fitted to attract the attention and excite the imagination of the world at large. The services which these illustrious philosophers respectively rendered to intellectual and physical science, were, indeed, of an exactly similar character. The great principles of the Newtonian system had been suspected even by the ancients, and were probably taught in the schools of Pythagoras; but resting on insufficient grounds, they never took deep hold on the public opinion, and were afterwards lost. In modern times they were again received, as it were on credit, by several distinguished inquirers, but still, as before, in the shape of probabilities, rather than ascertained truths, and would, perhaps, have been lost again, had not the genius and patience of Newton fixed them for ever upon the basis of rigorous demonstration. In the same way, the leading principles of intellectual science had floated loosely for centuries upon the chaos of public opinion, sometimes adopted, sometimes rejected, but in either case on insufficient grounds, and always mixed up with a large alloy of fiction and absurdity. The sagacious and powerful mind of Locke seized upon them as they lay in this unsettled and corrupted state, divested them of the extraneous matter with which they were connected, placed them on a solid foundation of clear and satisfactory argument, and arranged them into a regular and symmetrical system. In the 'Essay on the Human Understanding,' intellectual science appeared for the first time in a clear and intelligible shape, unmingled with the vain and visionary fancies which had previously disfigured it, and accessible to the plain good sense of every cultivated mind. This great work is, and will probably always remain, the text-book of the noblest branch of human learning. What higher honor could mortal ambition attain or aspire to, than that of achieving it? It is not, perhaps, free from errors; for what work of the same extent was ever faultless? But of the exceptions that have been taken to it, the most considerable have been or will be overruled by the great tribunal of

public opinion; and those that are better founded, are of too little consequence to affect its general value. The style is, on the whole, remarkably well adapted to the nature of the subject. Disdaining any effort at rhetorical elegance, which was foreign to the taste and talent of Locke, and which, could he have employed it, would have rather disguised than adorned the simple majesty of his matter, it affords, nevertheless, a fine specimen of pure, correct, perspicuous, manly, and expressive English. At a time like the present, when a fondness for meretricious ornament is often recommended by the example of powerful writers, and sanctioned by the temporary favor of the public, the works of Locke are, even in point of language, an excellent study, though they may not be a perfect model.

As the services rendered to science by Locke and Newton were in some degree similar, so their fortunes were to a certain extent parallel. The extraordinary merit of both was at once acknowledged and rewarded by their countrymen. At about the same, and that no very distant period from the one in which they flourished, their reputation spread to the continent, where they enjoyed, through the greater part of the last century, a sort of vogue, and general popularity, which is rarely accorded in any country to foreign writers, even of the highest class. Of late, however, a disposition has been manifested in certain quarters, to reverse this favorable judgment, as far as it applies to Locke. The political revolutions of the last thirty years have created a large and active party on the Continent, the adherents of which habitually denounce the 'Essay on the Human Understanding,' as the real fountain of all the mischief which more superficial professors of the same doctrine have attributed to Voltaire and Rousseau, and which sounder thinkers than those of either class, would perhaps account for by causes much more deeply seated than the publications of any contemporary or recent writers. Accustomed as we are to look up to Locke with reverence, as one of the great teachers of intellectual, moral, and religious truth; aware that he has not only established in his great work the doctrines of natural religion, but was also a firm believer in revelation, in defence of which he published a separate treatise; recollecting that he adorned the splendid elevation of his genius by a private life of remarkable disinterestedness and exemplary moral beauty; looking at his character, we say, under this point of view, which is common to the whole English public on both sides of

the water, it is not without some astonishment as well as pain, that we find him branded at the present day by a party on the Continent, as the great apostle of irreligion, immorality, impurity, and sedition. We still remember the surprise with which we some years ago saw him for the first time held up in this character, in connexion with Wickliff, Hobbes, Luther, Calvin, Hume, Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius, and Robespierre, (a singular assortment of names,) in an address from the municipality of Madrid to his Catholic Majesty. We have since ascertained that a similar opinion is held respecting him by other persons, who are perhaps more competent judges on a question of philosophy than the Corregidor and Alcaldes of that heroic city. In a late French work, entitled 'Evenings at St Petersburgh,' * by a writer of uncommon learning and talent, although of an eccentric cast of thought, the character and principles of Locke are attacked with a sort of fury. We subjoin a few specimens of the critical remarks of the Count de Maistre, which from their very extravagance are, we think, rather amusing than offensive.

'No serious work is less read than that of Locke. I very much doubt whether there be a single person in Paris who has perused from beginning to end the "Essay on the Human Understanding." It is much talked of and quoted, but always upon trust. I talked

* 'Les Soirées de St Pétersbourg, ou Entretiens sur le Gouvernement Temporal de la Providence, suivis d'un Traité sur les Sacrifices. Par Mr le Comte Joseph de Maistre. 1822.' This very curious, original, and entertaining production is a posthumous work of the learned author, who had previously distinguished himself by several political essays of great power. He writes under the influence of the most decided anti-revolutionary prejudices, and has besides a tincture of mysticism about him, but is always ingenious and elegant, even in his extravagances. The Count was a native of Piedmont, and occupied several important situations in the government of the kingdom of Sardinia. During the residence of his sovereign in the island of that name, he was employed as his minister plenipotentiary at the court of St Petersburgh, where the writer of this article had some slight personal acquaintance with him in the year 1810. Those who have a relish for the higner kinds of intellectual entertainment, will find the 'Evenings at St Petersburgh,' one of the most interesting productions of the present day. The author was an elder brother of Count Xavier de Maistre, a general officer in the Russian service, who is known to the public by several elegant works of a lighter cast, particularly the *Voyage autour de Ma Chambre*, and the *Lèpre d'Aoste*, both of which have lately been presented to us in an English dress, by a learned foreigner residing in this country.

about it myself for a long time, with as much intrepidity as the rest, without having read it. At length, for the greater freedom of my conscience, I went through it, pen in hand, from title-page to colophon; and I assure you that I never executed a more fatiguing task. In most other books, even of little value, there are some instructive or amusing passages, but in the Essay there is nothing to console you; it is as dreary as a vast Arabian desert. Not the smallest *oasis*, not a single inch of verdure, to afford the weary traveller a temporary refreshment. Name any one of the worst faults that can be found it a book, and I pledge myself to show you an example of it in Locke, wherever you choose to open him. How pitifully he reasons upon his boasted experimental system! The proper title of the work is not *An Essay on the Human Understanding*, but *An Essay on the Understanding of John Locke.* It is, in fact, a full length portrait of the author, executed to the life. We recognise at the first glance a man of natural good sense and honesty, but completely bewildered and led astray by party spirit, besides being absolutely deficient in power of thinking and in the most ordinary philosophical learning. It is really laughable to find him telling us, that he has taken up the pen in order to prescribe the rules by which a reasonable being ought to govern his conduct. His philosophy is throughout entirely superficial. There is no depth, no reach of mind, nothing thorough or profound about him. How I pity and despise the frivolous generation, that have made an oracle of him, and whose intellects are still fast *locked** in the chains of his authority. How I pity especially the French, who have neglected and insulted their own Christian Plato [Malebranche], a man for whom Locke was not fit to mend pens, and have yielded the sceptre of intellectual philosophy to this wooden idol of their own creation, this false god of the eighteenth century, who knows nothing, says nothing, does and can do nothing. Say what you will of it, the "Essay on the Human Understanding" is, beyond a doubt, the most mortally tiresome production, the one most completely destitute of all pretensions to taste and genius, that ever saw the light. But enough on this subject. The day will come, and is not now far distant, when Locke will be reckoned by general consent among the writers who have done the greatest amount of injury to mankind. After laying the foundations of his false and dangerous intellectual philosophy, his fatal activity was next directed to the subject of politics, and with an equally deplorable

* The pun upon the name of *Master John*, as this writer elsewhere calls our illustrious sage, is by Count de Maistre himself, who uses the French word *emprisonné*, and with much complacency explains it, in a note, by the phrase *locked fast in.*

success. He has treated the origin of laws as wretchedly as that of ideas; and here too has advanced principles of which we have seen the results. The icy dulness of his style would have destroyed, in a great measure, the effect of his detestable doctrines; but it was warmed into life in the hot-houses of Paris, and there brought forth the revolutionary monster that has devoured Europe. *Contempt of Locke is the beginning of wisdom.*'

We have selected these detached passages as specimens of a long article in the form of dialogue, containing a detailed criticism on some of Locke's principles which we have not room to quote. Extraordinary as this view of his philosophy will probably be thought by our readers, we have no hesitation in saying, that we believe it to be one which now prevails pretty extensively on the Continent of Europe. It is not confined to the *legitimate* or anti-revolutionary political party, of which the lively and peremptory Chancellor of Sardinia was a warm adherent, but is held by many adepts of the liberal school. Professor Cousin, for example, speaks of Locke in the following manner in the History of Philosophy now before us;

'Locke, gentlemen, is a disciple of Descartes as well as Leibnitz, that is, he follows the method of free inquiry, rejecting all authority but that of reason, and commencing by an endeavor to ascertain the ideas of which we are naturally conscious. But his review of these ideas is not complete; and although he does not wholly overlook the internal part of our nature, that is, liberty and intelligence, he nevertheless attaches himself principally to the external part, or sensation. The philosophy of Locke is a branch of that of Descartes, but it is a partial and exclusive system. It has been carried out into all its consequences, but not in the country of the author. England, gentlemen, is a powerful island, and in England everything wears an insular character; everything is bounded by fixed limits; nothing spreads itself out into a large expanded shape. England is not destitute of invention; but history proves that she does not possess that power of generalization and induction, which is necessary to the full developement of any great principle. Compare the English political revolution with ours, and remark the essential difference between the characters of the two. On one side everything is local,—the effect of secondary causes; on the other all is general and ideal. Before the principles of the English political reform could acquire influence and produce their proper fruits, it was essential that they should be transported to the other side of the Channel. In the same way it was necessary that the sensual philosophy should cross the Channel, and land among a people who, for a number of rea-

sons,—such as the universality of their language, their central situation in Europe, their character at once firm and supple, their power of thinking, their habit of fearless acquiescence in all the consequences of acknowledged principles, and their remarkable facility of generalization,—were best fitted to give it a full developement. It was necessary in short that the philosophy of Locke should be received in France. There only has it borne its fruits, and thence it is that it has spread itself through the whole of Europe.

'In the works of Locke, the sensual system is still incomplete. The English philosopher attaches great importance to sensation, but he leaves some room for reflection. It was a Frenchman who gave to this theory its true character and systematic unity, by suppressing the insignificant and equivocal functions which Locke has assigned to this latter faculty. Condillac demonstrated that since reflection, as understood by Locke, had no original notions proper to itself,—no laws derived from its own essence and which it might add to and *impose upon* the ideas received through the senses,—it was in fact nothing but a modified sensation. He demonstrated that the several modes of reflection, which according to Locke constitute our intellectual faculties, were only so many forms of sensation; and hence that sensation, either in its original shape of an impression on our material organs or in that of abstraction and generalization, is the only element of knowledge and the only instrument of acquiring it. On the system of Condillac, sensation, being once given by the material world, manages all the business of the mind without requiring any assistance. As circumstances change, this power becomes attention, comparison, judgment, reason, and even the will. It becomes the only object of consciousness. It becomes in fact the whole mind. What then is the mind, thus constituted? Evidently nothing more than a collection of all our sensations, whether generalized or not, destitute of any principle of unity, substance, or action. I here simply state the theory of Condillac, without pretending to criticize it; but I beg you to notice the boldness with which this writer reduces everything to sensation, and pushes the philosophy of Locke to its natural and necessary results. Considered under this point of view, the "Treatise on Sensation" is a real historical monument. In this way Condillac perfected the metaphysical part of the sensual system. The moral part, which had not yet been developed, was supplied by Helvetius. Our sensations not only inform us of the existence of external objects, but create in us emotions of pain and pleasure. Avoid then those sensations that give pain, seek those that give pleasure,—such is the sum and substance of all morality. Saint Lambert composed upon the basis of this principle a complete code of ethics, in which the gratification of the

senses is represented as the essence of virtue, and the pleasure of the individual its only object. The same system was carried into political science. It was declared, and even decreed, that nations, like individuals, are bound by no moral law but that of promoting their own interest, of which they are also the exclusive judges. The will of the people is therefore the only criterion of political justice; and the sovereignty of the people, the only legitimate principle of government.* The theory was applied to other sciences, as for example to medicine. As the mind was supposed to be only a bundle of sensible ideas, so life was considered as a collection of functions without any principle of unity. The harmony existing among these functions is, on this system, a very singular

* In representing the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people as implying a denial of the reality of moral distinctions, Mr Cousin has, we think, given an example of the summary method of proceeding from premises to conclusions by leaping *à pieds joints*, which he imputes below to the medical philosophers, and of which we shall have occasion to notice another instance in his own reasoning. Admitting (what we hold to be beyond dispute) that the law of nature, which expresses the will of its Divine Author, is an obligatory rule of conduct, it follows that in all cases, excepting the extraordinary one of an immediate revelation, there must be somewhere on earth a power competent to declare and enforce this law. Every individual possesses and exercises this power for himself as far as he has a right to regulate his own conduct, or in the words of St Paul is a *law unto himself*. But man naturally exists not merely as an individual, but as a member of society, and is bound to obey the law of nature which is applicable to him in the latter capacity, as declared by the competent authority in the society to which he belongs. Who then possesses this competent authority? The doctrine of the sovereignty of the people merely affirms, as we understand it at least, that the right of giving laws to a society belongs to the society itself, and not to any other society, or to any individual or family, as a natural privilege. It is obvious that this theory is perfectly consistent with the reality of moral distinctions, and that it does not imply the exclusive legitimacy of any particular form of government.—No form of government can be rationally defended in theory, excepting as the one in which the nation can best exercise its natural right of sovereignty. The doctrine does not even imply that the numerical majority of the members of a society have a natural right to declare the law. The right of sovereignty, which the people incontestibly possesses, belongs to it, not as a collection of individuals, but as a body, and can only be rightfully exercised in such forms as accord with the suggestions of reason and natural feelings. But whether the political power of a community be exercised by all its members in person as in pure democracies, by elected representatives as with us, or by hereditary representatives as in monarchical governments, it is equally exercised in all these cases, *n'en déplaise à M. Cousin*, under a strict moral responsibility.

fact; but its partisans leaped *à pieds joints* over all difficulties, and medicine also was provided with its experimental philosophy.'

Although the tone and temper of the two writers from whose works we have made these extracts be essentially different, it is obvious that their objections to the system of Locke are substantially the same. They both belong to a school of philosophy which may be looked upon as a reaction or indirect result of the French Revolution. The long train of disasters which accompanied that great political crisis, naturally excited a strong prejudice against the moral and political theories which prevailed about the time of its opening, and were supposed to be, to a certain extent, the causes of its occurrence and of the unfortunate direction which it pursued for so many years. These moral and political theories were also believed, whether correctly or not, to be essentially connected with the metaphysical systems of the day; and the latter again, having been published and generally received as deductions from the philosophy of Locke, were somewhat too hastily identified with his opinions. Under these circumstances it appeared necessary, in order to furnish a complete refutation of the political doctrines of the French revolutionists, to go back to the source of the evil, in the 'Essay on the Human Understanding.' The leading principle of this work, that all our ideas are either received through the senses or obtained by reflection upon such as are so received, was looked upon as the root of all the modern heresies; and was therefore to be set aside at all hazards. In order to contest this principle with success, it was necessary to show, that such of our notions as are not the immediate results of sensation are original possessions of the mind. This is the old theory of *innate ideas*, which has accordingly been revived with a sort of passion by most of the anti-revolutionary philosophers of the present day, and has even been adopted, as we have already remarked, by many of the adherents of the liberal political school; who while they approve the results of the Revolution, are anxious to shake off all responsibility for most of the acts and even opinions of its authors. Mr Cousin and Count de Maistre are both declared partisans of this theory. Mr de Maistre even goes the length of asserting that all our ideas are innate. We shall have occasion to offer a few remarks on this question in noticing the opinions of the modern German philosophers, who generally take their departure from the same principle. In the mean time we may

observe here, that in the course of reasoning which brings home to Locke the responsibility for the moral and political theories of the French Revolutionists, there is more than one example of the same summary mode of getting over the ground which Professor Cousin attributes to the medical philosophers of the last century. We doubt, in the first place, whether there be any such close and necessary connexion as the learned professor appears to suppose between the metaphysical theories of Condillac and the moral and political doctrines that prevailed in France at about the same time. It is certain at least that the two systems were not professed by the same persons. The 'Spirit of Laws,' the text-book of the liberal political school, was openly ridiculed by Helvetius, who thought himself, and was generally thought at the time by his countrymen, a much more thorough and profound reasoner than Montesquieu.*

* 'I know not what our friend the President means,' said Helvetius, in a letter to one of his correspondents written soon after the publication of the *Spirit of Laws*, 'I know not what our friend the President means by his three forms of government, each having its different principle. I am acquainted with only two sorts of governments; one the good, the object of which would be to promote the happiness of the people, but of which we have hitherto had no examples, and the other the bad, comprehending all the known instances, and of which the only principle is to squeeze as much money as possible out of the pockets of the subject.' This petulant sally was considered at the time as evincing much more depth and power of thought, than the definition of law by Montesquieu. It has been well observed that a person who accuses all men of being governed by corrupt motives, convicts at least one. Supposing this to be true, what opinion are we to form of the writer of the following passages in the work of Helvetius? '*Man hates dependence; hence perhaps arises the hatred he naturally feels for his father and mother.*' SA HAINE POUR SES PERE ET MERE!!! Had this miscreant then no parents? Was he, as the despairing Queen of Carthage in Virgil declares her false-hearted lover to have been, born out of the cleft of a rock and suckled by a she-tiger?

'Duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus, Hyrcanæque admôrunt ubera tigres.'

We are bound perhaps in charity to believe, that Helvetius was not quite so bad as he has here represented himself, and that he was so far deluded by his own wretched sophistry as to mistake and belie the feelings of his heart. Such however was the morality which the best informed part of society, the sons and daughters, the fathers and mothers, of France, received and applauded half a century ago with a kind of general enthusiasm. Can we wonder that such a society should have been visited by the judgments of that God who avenges with unheard-of tortures even a look that threatens a parent with in-

Rousseau, the most ardent and eloquent apostle of the new theory of government, was at open war with the philosophers, and a decided spiritualist in metaphysics and religion.* But without insisting on this point, which does not belong to our present subject, we may go farther, and assume with little danger of mistake that the metaphysical theories of Condillac are not either necessary or natural deductions from the principles of Locke; that the latter is of course not responsible for the errors contained in them; and that these errors, with their practical moral and political results, whatever they may have been, are justly imputable to no one but their actual and immediate author, that is, to Condillac himself. This observation naturally leads us to make a few remarks upon the philosophy of that writer, undoubtedly the most distinguished, with all his errors, of the disciples of Locke.

The object of Condillac, as is correctly observed by Mr Cousin in the above extract, was to simplify and complete the philosophy of his great master, which had just been made known on the Continent at the time when he wrote. Assuming the leading principle of Locke, that all our knowledge is the fruit of sensation or reflection, and not an original possession of the mind, he undertook to prove that the abstract notions which are referred by Locke to the latter source, being only generalizations of sensible ideas, are in fact sensible ideas under another form. But, as sensation is the appropriate name for the faculty by which we take cognizance of sensible ideas, if it be admitted that all our ideas are substantially of this description, it follows that all our intellectual faculties are in substance nothing more than modes of sensation. Imagination and memory are merely sensation representing to itself, under the same or different combinations, the ideas which it has already acquired. Reason is sensation comparing and developing two or more ideas. Thus far the language used, though in our opinion exceedingly objectionable, might perhaps admit of such explanations as would make it appear consistent with facts. But Condillac proceeds a great deal farther. Our affections as well as our perceptions are the results of the action of external

sult? 'The eye that mocketh at his father and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it.'

* Hume, it is well known, declared that Rousseau was little better than a Christian in his own way.

objects on our senses. These therefore in all their variety,—love, hatred, hope, fear, astonishment, anger, and the rest, are only so many modes of sensation; that is, loving, hating, hoping, fearing, and wondering, are only other names for seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and feeling. The will itself, which is only the affection or desire that predominates for the moment over all others, comes under the same general category, and is only another mode of sensation; which is thus made to comprehend our whole moral as well as intellectual being, or, in the language of Condillac himself, *the whole soul.* In support of his theory, this writer brought forward his celebrated illustration of the Statue, and explained at great length, in conformity with these principles, how, being once endowed with sensation, an inanimate figure would gradually acquire by the mere exercise and developement of this faculty a complete and perfect human intellect. Saint Lambert, in his 'Catechism of Moral Philosophy,' accordingly defines man as *an organized and sentient mass, which acquires understanding (l'esprit) from the objects around, of and from its own wants.**

It is, as we conceive, quite unnecessary to enter into a formal argument against the correctness of these extraordinary principles, which are sufficiently refuted by a reference to the Dictionary. To say that loving, hating, wondering, and willing, are only different names for seeing, hearing, smelling, and tasting, is an error that falls under the jurisdiction of Johnson, or the French Academy, rather than that of Locke and Aristotle. It is more important to our present purpose to remark, that the absurdity of these notions is imputable exclusively to Condillac and his followers, and in no degree to the great master whose theory they suppose themselves to be simplifying and bringing to perfection. As there are, by general acknowledgment, no traces of any such opinions in the works of Locke, so there is evidently no connexion between them and the principles which are in fact set forth in the 'Essay on the Human Understanding.' Locke no doubt affirms that we can only exercise our intellectual faculties upon ideas received through the senses; but does this proposition tend in the most remote degree to prove that

* Were the question merely of the power and beauty of different forms of expression, independently of any higher considerations, we confess that we should prefer the language of Scripture on the same subject;—*Surely there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty hath given him understanding.*

our intellectual and even moral faculties,—our whole soul,—resolves itself into the power of receiving ideas through the senses? Because a sculptor can only exercise his talent upon the block of marble which he receives into his workshop, does it follow that his talent resolves itself into the capacity of receiving a block of marble? nay, that the sculptor himself (for such seems to be the last conclusion) is the block of marble which he receives and works upon? It is obvious that there is not only no necessary connexion between the propositions, but that they are as remote from each other as Indus from the Pole. We cannot help feeling some surprise that so acute a writer as Mr Cousin, however prejudiced in favor of his own doctrine of innate ideas, should acquiesce in the reasoning by which Condillac deduces his conclusions from the premises of Locke; and we deem it necessary to take into view the political reaction by which he and most other contemporary philosophers of the Continent are to a greater or less extent influenced, in order to conceive the possibility of such an error.

Such however is the system of Condillac, which partly by the effect of the agreeable and perspicuous style in which it was explained, and partly from its tendency, real or supposed, to favor the moral and political theories of the day, was received with extraordinary favor, and obtained a pretty general currency through the whole Continent of Europe. While these conclusions were drawn from the philosophy of Locke in one quarter, others of a different but not more correct or agreeable character had been supposed to follow from it in another. Assuming the opinion, which appears to be countenanced by Locke, that the mind in the act of perception takes cognizance only of the organic change in the body which precedes this act, and not of the external object to which we refer the perception, Berkeley concluded that we have in fact no knowledge of anything but this organic change in ourselves; and that the existence of an external object, or in general of the material world around us, is a mere supposition, which may or may not be true, but of which at all events we can have no evidence. This was by no means a new theory, and is even characterized as a hoary doctrine by the Bishop of Cloyne himself. It prevailed occasionally in the Grecian schools, and was perhaps one of those which Cicero had in view when he remarked, that there was no absurdity, however glaring, which had not at one time or another been seriously asserted as a truth by some phi-

losopher. It has lately been ascertained that the same doctrine was anciently taught in India, where it is attributed to a 'saint or sage,' called Vyasa, who has been accordingly pronounced, by a modern English poet,

'The immortal BERKELEY of that elder age.'

The recurrence of this strange hypothesis in so many different and independent quarters, furnishes a remarkable example of the regularity with which the mind, in speculating on any subject, runs through and exhausts the whole circle of possible suppositions, including those that are apparently the most unnatural. While Berkeley was thus undermining the existence of matter, Hume was carrying an exterminating war into the realms of spirit. Admitting the theory of Locke, that all our ideas are the products either of sensation, or of reflection upon sensible ideas, he affirmed that reflection could do no more than combine or analyse anew the materials upon which it works, and that we cannot possibly possess any idea which is not originally conveyed to us through the senses. Now, our notion of the relation of cause and effect is not directly given to us by the senses. Causes and effects are things which we can neither hear, see, feel, taste, nor smell. Since then we cannot have obtained this notion in the regular and only possible way, it follows of course, according to Hume, that we do not possess it, and that the idea we mean to express when we speak of causes and effects is merely that of *antecedents* and *consequents in time*. This theory, which, like that of Berkeley, was only a new edition of an old absurdity, not only unsettled all the certainty of our ordinary knowledge, but struck a fatal blow at the very foundation of natural religion; while by another argument, directed against the evidence of miracles, the same ingenious philosopher conceived that he had effectually disposed of revelation. At this portentous wreck of matter, and crush of worlds, both spiritual and sensible, minds even of some steadiness might well be alarmed; and many intelligent persons forgetting the *tenax propositi* of the sage in Horace under similar circumstances, lost their confidence in their old principles, and cast about anxiously for some new ones which would serve to secure their faith and hope against the threatened ruin. The result of the researches made for this purpose was, the rise of two new schools in philosophy, commonly known as the *Scotch* and *German*, which, though differing essentially on many other points, agree in abandoning the theory of Locke

on the origin of knowledge, and reviving the ancient doctrine of *innate* or *original ideas*. Both these schools have exercised, and continue to exercise, a strong influence on public opinion. Their rise and progress up to the present time form the main subject of the history of philosophy during the last half century; and the hasty remarks which we have to offer respecting them, will occupy the few remaining pages which we are able to devote to this review.

It may be proper however to premise, as we have indeed already intimated, that in our opinion the attack upon received principles, which led to the formation of these two schools, was by no means so formidable as their founders appear to have supposed, and that the alarm, created by the sophistry of Berkeley and Hume, was in a great measure groundless. Metaphysical writers have generally acquiesced with too much readiness in the assertion, that the existence of the material world is not susceptible of rigorous demonstration. The ultimate facts at which we arrive in tracing our knowledge to its sources, are those of perception and consciousness; and if these were denied, they would of course admit of no proof. But the facts of perception and consciousness are not contested; and the question at issue turns upon the reality of the objects of these operations of the mind, and of the mind itself. Now, assuming the facts of consciousness and perception, it is clear that the existence of the mind and of the material world is a necessary consequence from them, because every act supposes, that is, proves the existence of an agent, and when the action is transitive, of an object acted on. *Cogito, ergo sum*, 'I think, therefore I am,' was the argument employed by Descartes to satisfy himself of his own existence; and notwithstanding the ridicule that has sometimes been thrown upon it, is evidently a perfectly logical and conclusive one. It has been objected that the act of thinking *supposes* the existence of a thinking being, which is the point to be proved, and that the argument therefore involves the sophism called *petitio principii*, or begging the question. But this pretended objection is no other than the argument itself stated in different words. That the act of thinking supposes the existence of a thinking being is the precise idea which Descartes has expressed under the form of the regular enthymem, '*I think, therefore I am.*' Hence a person who makes this objection, instead of refuting the argument of Descartes, only expresses his acquiescence in it, or rather re-

peats it under another form. The conclusion in favor of the existence of the object acted on, that is, in this case, of the material world, is obviously not less direct and incontrovertible. It is impossible, indeed, that we should feel the certainty which we do feel of our own existence, and of that of the material world, unless these facts were susceptible of rigorous demonstration. Facts that are objects of sensation or consciousness, possess the certainty which results from that sort of evidence. But all others,—and the existence of our minds and the material world is of the number,—can only be certain as far as they are correct deductions from the former. Now any fact which is a correct deduction from another, or several others, is of course demonstrable; since demonstration is nothing more than a repetition of the process of induction, by which the knowledge of the fact to be demonstrated was originally acquired. The assertion which we often hear made, that some abstract principles, which are yet certain, are of too elementary and simple a kind to be strictly proved, is clearly erroneous, and tends to introduce uncertainty and confusion into all our notions of the nature of evidence.

The reality of the material world is thus susceptible of a very easy, and at the same time perfectly rigorous demonstration; nor is the nature of the proof at all varied, whether we suppose the mind, in the act of perception, to take cognizance of the external object, or only of an organic change in our own bodies. In the one case, the act of perception proves the existence of the external object, and in the other, of our own bodies; and the existence of either, of course, carries with it that of the whole material world. The sophistry of Berkeley was therefore far from being so dangerous as it seems to have been considered; and that of Hume, concerning our idea of the relation of cause and effect, is even still less plausible. It is in the first place certain, that when we think or speak of this relation, we mean something entirely different from succession in the order of time, and that we have in our minds a distinct notion to which we give the name of *power*. If this notion, which, as Hume justly supposes, is not a direct result of sensation, were not correctly deduced by reflection from those that are, it would follow, not that we do not possess any such idea, but that we possess besides the faculties of sensation and reflection some other source of ideas through which we have obtained the one in question. Such accordingly has been the conclu-

sion of the German metaphysicians, who revived the doctrine of *innate ideas*, principally for the purpose of discovering a legitimate origin for our notion of the relation between causes and effects. But this on other accounts very improbable theory, is in our opinion wholly unnecessary for the purpose for which they have called it in; and we see nothing whatever to object to, in the reasoning by which Locke derives the notion of *power* from our observation of the acts of our own minds upon the objects around us, and of these upon each other. Indeed the objection of Hume, if it had any force, would not only deprive us of the notion of *power*, but of all our general and abstract ideas, none of them being, in the form in which we possess them, the direct results of sensation. Take for example the notion of *fame*. The poet Goldsmith having accidentally seen a copy of one of his works lying, elegantly bound, upon the table of some nobleman, related the circumstance with much satisfaction to his friend Dr Johnson, and concluded by remarking, 'This, Dr Johnson, is fame.' 'Nay, sir,' said the Doctor in reply, 'I should have deemed it a far more certain evidence of a just and enviable reputation, to have found the book in the cottage of a peasant and in tatters.' Here the direct objects of sensation are an elegantly bound volume, and a tattered one, upon the view of one or the other of which the observers are supposed to obtain their ideas of the author's fame. Can it be pretended that the speakers in this little dialogue had in their minds no meaning corresponding with the word *fame*, because there is in fact nothing in the sensible idea af an elegant or a tattered book that answers to it? The number of our ideas which have no direct prototype in sensible objects, is, beyond a doubt, much larger than that of those which have one. The celebrated author of the *Intellectual System*, being one day in conversation with a friend who affirmed that all our ideas were received through the senses, invited the latter to take up any book on the table, and offered to prove that the first word he should fix upon would express an idea that was not of this class, so confident was he that those of the other were much more numerous. His friend accepting the challenge, turned to the beginning of Cicero's Treatise on Duties, which opens with the word *quanquam*. 'There,' said Cudworth, 'let me know through which of your senses, you get the idea conveyed by *quanquam*.' This great philosopher, who was a partisan of the theory of innate ideas,

supposed that all notions, not received through the senses, were original possessions of the mind, forming, as it were, a part of its substance; but the illustration is equally conclusive in favor of the reality of our general notions, if we suppose, with Locke, that they are not innate, but obtained by reflection upon sensible ones. Few persons indeed would go the length of denying *en masse* the reality of all our general ideas; and the mere consideration that the argument of Hume is as fatal to all the rest, as it is to that of *power*, is sufficient to show that it is utterly destitute of force, and even plausibility. The easy acquiescence which was given to it (notwithstanding its dangerous consequences) by so many thinking men, and the favor which it continues to enjoy even in our own day, are striking proofs of the facility with which ingenious paradoxes are adopted, and of the tenacity with which they retain their hold upon public opinion.

For these reasons we are inclined to consider the alarm created by the skeptical philosophers of the last century, as in a great measure needless. It was however, at the time, perfectly sincere, since, as we have already remarked, it induced many judicious men, although they could not bring themselves to assent to the dangerous consequences in morals and religion which the skeptics had deduced from these doctrines, to abandon the principles upon which they had formerly relied in proof of the most important truths, and seek for others more substantial. Reid, the founder of the Scotch philosophy, first distinguished himself by an attempt to show that the mind in the act of perception takes a direct cognizance of the object perceived, and not (as, according to him, was generally supposed before) of an organic change in our bodies. A late writer has endeavored to show that Reid was mistaken in his view of the doctrine of preceding philosophers, and that his pretended improvement was in reality no other than the common opinion; but although the language both of Reid and of preceding writers, may not be always perfectly consistent with itself, there are evidently two opposite theories on the subject, one of which supposes that we naturally refer our perceptions to external objects, and the other, that we learn to make this reference by experience. The former opinion was that of Reid, the latter that of most preceding philosophers, including Locke. It also appears to be adopted by Brown (the writer to whom we just alluded), who thus differs from Reid himself, although he

affirms, for the purpose of contesting the claims of that philosopher to originality, that his theory is the same with the one previously received, and that there is no difference of opinion upon the subject. The improvement of Reid appears to us to be real, but belongs to physiology rather than philosophy, and had little or no connexion with the question of the existence of the material world; which, as we have remarked above, is equally demonstrated by the fact of perception, whether the immediate objects of that operation of the mind be external bodies, or the organic changes in our own. Not having observed, as it seems, that existence is implied in the facts of perception and consciousness, and of course proved by them, Reid laid the foundation of the certainty we feel in this respect, in a supposed instinctive and irresistible belief, of which all men are conscious without being able to give any reason for it. This is the leading principle in the Scotch school of philosophy, which has accordingly been sometimes called the philosophy of *common sense*. Mr Cousin summarily gives his opinion of the value of this idea in the following passage.

'It was in England that the philosophy of sensation made its first appearance, and the first attack upon the same philosophy proceeded from a province of that kingdom. I define the Scotch philosophy, gentlemen, an honorable protest made by common sense against the extravagances of the last consequences of the sensual system. Let this be its title to the esteem of the wise and good. But this doctrine was not less incomplete in its own way, than that of Locke in his. The Scotch philosophers contented themselves with bringing into notice some of the elements of our nature which had been overlooked,—with restoring, as it were, to their proper places, some of the ideas originally inherent in our minds, and which they describe under the character now generally attributed to them; but they did not even attempt to enumerate all the ideas of this class, to trace them to their origin, or to follow them out into their consequences. Their doctrine contains an introduction only to the philosophy of the mind, but has no regular logic or metaphysics, no theology or theory of the spiritual world, and a mere smattering of morals and politics. The merits and defects of the Scotch are the same with those of Locke. They have perspicuity and good sense, but they want power, reach of mind, precision and exactness;—not to mention an almost total deficiency of learning. The common sense to which they appeal, is no doubt the basis of science; the point from which it takes its departure, and to which it regularly returns. Common sense serves admirably to protect the uninstructed part of the

world from the inroads of materialism, but is after all an entirely different thing from science, which is the result of the complete developement of all our intellectual faculties. As the sensual philosophy never appeared in its full and perfect form in the hands of Locke, so the doctrine of idealism would never have acquired from the timid speculations of the worthy professors of Edinburgh, the brilliant and masculine character which it wanted in order to attract the attention of Europe, and struggle successfully on that vast theatre with the seduction and talent of the opposite school. The philosophy of Locke was obliged to cross the channel in order to make its fortune; and idealism required a more generous soil than that of Scotland, before it could flourish with much luxuriance, or produce its proper fruits.

'The common-sense school was represented in France by Turgot and J. J. Rousseau. The former was early withdrawn from science by political occupations, and had only time to make some passing attacks of little importance, upon the worst consequences of the theory of Condillac. The latter was rather a man of letters than a philosopher; and when he undertook to oppose the prevailing opinions, only exhausted his eccentric genius in sentimental protestations, which hardly deserve notice in the history of science.'

The correctness of the above remarks upon the leading principle of the Scotch philosophy, is, we think, quite obvious. Common sense and philosophy are different modes of stating the same facts. Their results naturally check and correct each other; but for that very reason it is clear, that, as processes, they can have nothing in common. To suppose that we can found philosophy on common sense, would be like supposing that we can take a lunar observation by throwing the log, because both these methods are employed to ascertain the longitude of a ship at sea. The skeptical writers, and particularly Hume, are the first to admit that their theories are in direct opposition to common sense; but they affirm that a rigorous examination and analysis of the phenomena that present themselves to the student of intellectual philosophy, lead to different conclusions from those which are naturally drawn upon a merely superficial view; just as the science of astronomy corrects, and even reverses, in many important particulars, the common opinion founded on the evidence of our senses respecting the appearance and motions of the heavenly bodies. To this we may answer with perfect propriety, for all practical purposes, that we would rather trust the common sense of the

world, including the skeptics themselves, than the philosophy of two or three individuals. This, we say, is a perfectly good answer for practical purposes, and is accordingly the one which the world habitually makes; but it is obviously not even in form the basis of an anti-skeptical system of philosophy. It amounts to saying,—We cannot believe your doctrine, although we do not know how to refute it; and instead of being a scientific theory, is, on the contrary, a confession that we are aware that a new one is necessary, but that we are unable to furnish it ourselves.

If then the writers of the Scotch school mean to represent their elementary principles as mere expressions of the common opinion of the world, and as being in that character the incontestable foundations for all our knowledge, it is evident that their propositions have not even the form of a philosophical system. It is probable, however, although their language on this head is not so precise as might be wished, that they mean to represent the common opinion of the world in favor of their elementary principles, as a kind of *instinctive conviction*, which forms, as it were, a part of the original substance of the mind of every individual. Thus explained, their views assume, no doubt, the form of a scientific theory; but they now become liable to other objections, some of which are correctly indicated by Professor Cousin in the above extract. Instinctive convictions of the truth of principles suppose, of course, the possession of the ideas of which the agreement or disagreement is indicated in these principles. An instinctive conviction, for example, of the existence of the material world, supposes the possession, anterior to or independent of perception, of the numerous ideas, intellectual and sensible, implied in this conviction. The Scotch philosophy, thus explained, amounts to the theory of *idealism* or *innate ideas*, and in order to be admitted, must be developed and proved as such. In its present shape it will be held in little esteem, either by the partisans or the opponents of idealism; since it must be viewed by the latter as essentially false, and by the former as a defective and unsatisfactory statement of what they believe to be the truth.

It would seem therefore that the Scotch philosophy, considered as an attempt to reform the theory of Locke respecting the origin of knowledge, and establish a new system upon that subject, is of little value. We are not however to conclude from this, that the labors of the various able and judicious

writers of this school, upon the different branches of intellectual and moral science have been wholly lost. Much in all their works, and many entire productions, possess a merit independent of the truth or falsehood of the theories alluded to above. Their analysis and description of the intellectual powers, though perhaps objectionable in some particulars, include a great deal of instructive and interesting discussion; and wear, especially in the hands of Dugald Stewart, the most agreeable and entertaining shape. In ethics, politics, and political economy, they have furnished important contributions to the stock of knowledge. Adam Smith has given a text-book to the last of these sciences, and thereby secured a higher and more durable reputation than any writer on moral science since the time of Locke, with the single exception of Montesquieu. The works of the illustrious author of the Wealth of Nations exhibit the delightful union of fine taste with power and comprehensiveness of thought; which is also exemplified in a remarkable degree in those of Dugald Stewart; and which forms the charm of the most celebrated productions of the same class that have been handed down to us from remote antiquity by the Platos, the Ciceros, and the Senecas. The extreme rarity of the combination of qualities necessary to produce such works, which demand the exercise of the different and, in some degree, inconsistent powers of thought and feeling, together with the deep and permanent importance of the subjects they treat, place them perhaps at the head of all the achievements of the human mind. Thought and feeling are the two great departments of our higher nature. To bring into action either of these faculties with remarkable success, is in general all that can be done by an understanding even of the first order, because the developement and habitual exercise of one of them, when it does not suppose the absence, commonly injures the vigor of the other; but when this result is avoided by the effect of an extraordinary natural constitution, or a particularly favorable culture, and the two are exhibited together in an equal, and that the highest degree of perfection, they indicate, of course, the complete man. We may add that Hume, notwithstanding the exceptionable character of some of his works, has displayed in others a power of observation and reflection, and in all an elegance of style, that render him one of the principal ornaments of the Scotch school of philosophy. Reid, whose merit depends more immediately and exclusively

on the correctness of his metaphysical notions, which, as we have seen, are somewhat questionable, has perhaps less chance, than the writers whom we have just named, of maintaining his reputation at a very high point, although he can never be viewed in any other light than as an honest, able, judicious, and in some instances, at least, not unsuccessful inquirer after truth.

The last writer of this school is the late Dr Brown, whose 'Lectures' have attracted a good deal of attention in this country. With every disposition to do him full justice, we are compelled to say, that we think he owes the estimation in which he is held among us (for in his own country and on the Continent of Europe he is little known or valued) more to the strong evidence of good feelings and intentions, that appears so plainly in his works, than to any great actual merit which they possess, either of substance or style. The principal peculiarity of his metaphysical system is an attempt to revive the most absurd and dangerous of the paradoxes of the skeptical school. His first work was a defence and explanation of the hypothesis of Hume respecting our idea of the Relation of Cause and Effect; and in his 'Lectures' he brings forward the same system with much complacency, raises it into extraordinary importance, and makes it, as it were, the foundation of his philosophy. So anxious was Brown to establish this theory, that rather than abandon it, he had persuaded himself to believe (in opposition to the well known and unanswerable objection of Dr Reid) that day is the cause of night, and night of day, because they succeed each other in the order of time; although he has not explained why the world had not hitherto connected with these antecedents and consequents the notion of *power*, which it regularly connects with so many others. In the same way the learned Doctor would doubtless have proved, if necessary, with equal pomp of language, that the snows of February are the cause of the blooming vegetation of May, and the effect of the warm suns of September; or that the twenty-four letters, which succeed each other both in place and time, as parts of the alphabet, are a chain of causes and effects which may be regularly traced from the last effect, *Omega*, to the first cause, *Alpha*. On this system, the world is governed by a principle resembling the *foreordained harmony* of Leibnitz; and the infinite varieties of action which are going on around us, are nicely calculated beforehand, so that, without there being any mutual connexion

between them, each takes place exactly at the right moment; as each of the various parts of a piece of clock-work performs its respective operations in a manner entirely independent of all the rest. If water rise to a certain height in a tube from which the air has been exhausted, it is not because the withdrawing of the air has a natural tendency to facilitate the rising of the water, but because it was foreordained that the water should rise at the moment immediately following that in which the air was withdrawn. But who foreordained this harmony? Who arranged this vast piece of clock-work? One of the results of the admirable theory in question is to deprive us of the leading argument in proof of the existence of God, who is only known to us in natural religion as the Great First Cause. Dr Brown, who seems to have been sincerely and deeply religious, has endeavored to escape from this consequence, by inventing one of the elementary principles of belief, which are always at hand in the Scotch school upon any emergency, to supply the place of the logical conviction resulting from the necessary connexion of causes and effects. Upon the value of these elementary principles, we have already made some remarks, and shall only add here, that the supposition of an instinctive and irresistible belief in the necessary connexion of antecedents and consequents in time as such, is too evidently false even to admit of an argument in its support. The same views which led Dr Brown to deny the reality of our idea of *power*, are followed out into various other consequences, and lead to assertions, which, even if susceptible, as we are willing to hope they may be, of satisfactory explanations, are, in our opinion, to say the least, very unfortunate modes of expression. As *power* is nothing, so all other qualities, physical and moral, are in themselves nothing. They are *states* of matter or of mind; and then again, they are mind or matter itself in certain states; 'All the feelings and thoughts of the mind are only the mind itself existing in certain states.'* Thus ill-humor is a wealthy

* To call our affections and thoughts *states* of the mind, is an incorrect use of terms, and of course an alteration for the worse, of the common phraseology. To say that our affections and thoughts are the mind itself existing in certain states, is an assertion not only wholly inadmissible in itself, but directly at variance with the former one. It is impossible therefore that both can be true; yet Dr Brown continually interchanges and employs them in succession throughout his work, as if he supposed them to mean one and the same thing. It would be difficult to produce a stronger instance of confusion in thought and language.

valetudinarian in a fit of the gout, and ambition a *Deliverer* at the head of his army; beauty, a pretty girl of sixteen, and learning, a doctor of divinity, law, or medicine. 'There is no virtue in nature,' and of course no vice. What then, we may pertinently ask, becomes of the difference between them which has sometimes been considered of importance? But substances as well as qualities vanish under the powerful analysis of our metaphysical magician. 'There is no *virtue* in nature more than there is *quadruped* or *substance*.' If then, neither substances nor qualities have any reality, we would gladly learn what sort of creatures compose the world in which we live, move, and have our being. These we say are unfortunate forms of expression (for in Dr Brown we are willing to consider them as nothing more), and could perhaps be satisfactorily explained; but then the same explanation would be fatal to the principles on which the Doctor denies the reality of our idea of *power*, and which form the leading feature in his work. We consider his 'Lectures' as belonging, in the main, to a class of books more dangerous and mischievous than any other, those in which false and vicious principles are maintained with honest conviction by persons of undoubted good intentions, and clothed in such a dress as not to shock the moral feeling of the public. Presented in this questionable shape, these principles are unsuspectingly adopted by minds that would not otherwise have come in contact with them; and being once adopted, they of course work out their necessary effects, which are in no way neutralized by the skin-deep gilding under which the poison was exhibited. The style of Dr Brown has, in our opinion, as little to recommend it as his matter. It is such a one as might be called good in a promising school-boy; easy and copious, but verbose, feeble, and overlaid with tasteless ornament and trivial learning. It forms a sorry contrast with the manly and significant simplicity of the 'Essay on the Human Understanding.' For these reasons we cannot but regret that the work has obtained so much currency among us; and venture to hope that it will not long be allowed to usurp, in our most respectable institutions for education, the place which was once occupied by the great master of intellectual science.

Such, however, are the general characteristics of the Scotch philosophy; entirely baseless when viewed as a mere expression of the common sense of the world; and when considered as a form of *idealism*, a defective and untenable exposition

of a theory essentially false. At about the same time when this doctrine was growing up in Scotland, another came into notice in the North of Germany, which engaged for many years a large share of the public attention, and indeed excited a stronger immediate sensation than any philosophical system which has ever been promulgated. We allude of course to the *Transcendental Philosophy*, founded by the celebrated Kant, a professor at the University of Königsberg in Prussia. This writer states in the introduction to his *Criticism on Pure Reason*, that having been convinced by the arguments of Hume that the idea of *power* is not obtained by sensation or reflection, instead of denying with the Scotch skeptic the reality of this idea (which we are conscious of possessing), he drew the conclusion that it must be an original or innate possession of the mind. Having come to this opinion respecting our notion of *power*, or the relation between causes and effects, he was naturally led to inquire whether there were not other ideas which were also independent of sensation and reflection, and which formed, as it were, a part of our intellectual substance. The result of his researches was, that there are a considerable number of ideas of this kind, which he arranges under the two heads of *sensible* and *intellectual* ideas. The first division includes only the two notions of *space* and *time;* the second, that of *power*, and some ten or twelve more, which we need not recapitulate. The rule adopted by Kant for discovering which of our ideas are innate, was the following.—On reviewing your ideas, whenever you come to one which strikes you as necessary, so that having once obtained it, you cannot possibly suppose it not to exist, you may be sure that it is not the product of sensation or reflection, but an original possession of the mind. Thus we can easily conceive the non-existence of all extended objects, but having once obtained the idea of *extension* or *space*, we cannot conceive its non-existence. The notion of *extension* or *space* is therefore transcendental and original, while those of the qualities of particular extended objects are the results of sensation. These two classes of ideas we naturally connect together in the habitual exercise of our intellectual powers, so that all our notions of individual objects are combinations of one or more ideas belonging to each class; just as the idea which a man, looking through a piece of colored glass, forms of the object before him, is a combined result of the sensible qualities of the object and of the color of the glass.

This is the illustration which has been employed by the disciples of Kant to explain their theory. Hence we know nothing of the real character of the external world, because we never see it except in combination with some ingredient furnished by our own minds; but we are certain of the reality of our transcendental notions, because they are immediate objects of consciousness, as they exist in their own nature, and unmingled with any other element. Kant therefore abandons the external world to the skeptics, and founds the certainty of our knowledge upon the supposed reality of the notions originally inherent in our own understanding. Such is the general outline of this system, which is traced with sufficient distinctness in the first chapters of the *Criticism on Pure Reason.* It is afterwards pursued by its author, in that and other works, into an immense variety of consequences. For the purpose of expressing himself with more precision, Kant invented a complete metaphysical nomenclature, so that the study of his writings is equivalent, even for those who are familiar with German, to the learning of a new language. This task will of course be regarded as unnecessary by those who reject the fundamental principle, from which all his consequences are deduced, and with which, if it be erroneous, they must necessarily fall. Professor Cousin admits the system so far as it affirms the reality of innate ideas, but rejects it where it calls in question that of the external world. His remarks upon it are as follows.

'It was reserved for Germany, for that serious and contemplative country which had already produced Leibnitz and Wolf, to give to idealism its proper representative, who was no other than the illustrious Kant. Kant is, like Locke, as respects his method, a disciple of Descartes, and pursues the same course of free inquiry and accurate observation of facts, which will for ever remain the distinguishing characteristic of modern philosophy. Kant carefully separates the provinces of faith and knowledge, and commences his inquiry with an examination of the operations of the mind; but he differs from Locke, in attaching himself to a different class of these operations, from that which was chiefly observed by the latter philosopher. The great object of Kant was to take a survey of the understanding as it exists independently of sensation, and to ascertain the laws which regulate its operations. It is his glory to have furnished, as it were, an exact account of these laws. Not content with indicating their existence, and classing them in a methodical way, he describes

their mode of action, and follows them into all their applications. *Apparet domus intus.* Kant is the real founder of the philosophy of the mind; but his genius was too bold and creative to stop at this point. After enumerating, classing, and describing the laws of thought, he inquires how, from a contemplation of these laws, we arrive at a knowledge of the material world,—of God, and of everything foreign to our own intelligence. He maintains that as these laws are merely qualities of the mind, we cannot logically deduce from our knowledge of their reality, that of anything else. We are no doubt conscious of believing in the existence of God, and of the external world, but we only believe it as it is known to ourselves; and we cannot apply the conviction we have of their reality, to the external object as it exists independently of our minds. Thus Kant, by dwelling continually in the depths of the understanding, mistook it in a manner for the only real world; and while he enriched the philosophy of the mind with new discoveries, made it much too exclusively the object of his inquiries. Fichte however goes still farther than his master in the same track. According to Kant, our notions of external objects are modified by the laws of our own mind, which regulate the perception of them. Fichte affirms that, as external objects are only known to us by our perceptions, they are in fact nothing more than inferences deduced by the understanding from its own operations, and only exist as ideas or affections of the understanding. The understanding is therefore the principle, not only of all perception, but of all existence. Thus Fichte absolutely denies the reality of the external world, which Kant merely considered as incapable of proof. Their views of the nature of God were equally at variance. Kant thought that we have an instinctive or intuitive belief in God, as a being entirely distinct from our own minds. According to Fichte, God is nothing more than *mind*, considered as existing absolutely, and not individualized in any particular being. Now although we are willing enough to regard the human mind as the only thing in nature that has a real existence, it is repugnant to our feelings, gentlemen, to regard it as identical with God. Fichte therefore distinguishes between the mind, as it is an object of our consciousness, and the mind as it really exists. The former is the mind, the *moi*, existing in each individual, as we commonly understand the term; the latter is the substance or essence of the mind, as it exists independently of any individual, and this is God himself. When we have reached this point, we have obviously arrived at the last extreme of idealism, just as the sensual system had attained its complete developement, when it represented the mind as a bundle of sensible notions, and God as only another name for the material world. The sys-

tem of Kant and Fichte reduces our intellectual faculties, with all the ideas upon which they are employed, to reflection, as that of Locke and Condillac reduced them all to sensation; and as sensualism, in its last and most degrading results, denies the existence of the mind by identifying it with matter, so idealism, in its sublime extravagance, arrives at the same conclusion in a different way, by identifying the mind with God.'

For those who are satisfied with the account given by Locke of the manner in which we acquire the idea of *power*, the vast and cumbrous machinery of the Transcendental Philosophy, which was originally resorted to for the purpose of supplying a better one, is of course, when considered in its origin, entirely superfluous. As respects the method by which Kant distinguishes between transcendental and sensible ideas, we may remark, that he seems to confound the idea and its object, the notion and the thing known. 'Whenever,' says he, 'in reviewing our ideas, we come to one, of which, having once acquired it, we cannot conceive the non-existence, that idea is transcendental.' But what idea is there of which we cannot conceive the non-existence? Ideas exist only in our minds, and while their objects are immediately under our contemplation. Not one can be named, which does not cease to exist a hundred times a day. That of *space*, for example, which is regarded by Kant as transcendental, ceases to exist whenever we cease to think of *space*. It is not our idea of space, but space itself, of which we cannot conceive the non-existence. The necessity belongs not to the notion, but to the thing known. But because the things which we mean by *space* and *time*, that is, extension and duration, considered in the abstract, cannot cease to exist, does it follow that we get our ideas of these things in a different way from that in which we obtain all others? Our ideas of space and time are obtained, like all the rest of our abstract notions, by generalizing our particular ideas of the extension and duration of particular objects and actions; and when we say that we can conceive the non-existence of *beauty*, *justice*, *substance*, *man*, and cannot conceive the non-existence of *space* and *time*, the reason of the difference evidently lies in the nature of the things intended by these terms, and not in the nature of our ideas of them, or the manner in which these ideas are respectively acquired.

These considerations apply rather to the form in which the theory of innate or original ideas is stated by Kant, than to the

theory itself. But, notwithstanding these and perhaps other objections that might be made to some of his particular views, notwithstanding the repulsive and fatiguing character of his style, his works are generally considered, by the partisans of idealism, as the most complete and satisfactory statement of that system, that has ever appeared, either in ancient or modern times. It seems proper, therefore, to make the few remarks which we propose to offer on the subject, with immediate reference to the Trancendental Philosophy, and we have accordingly reserved them for this part of the present article.

By those who are acquainted with the theory of innate or original ideas, only through the detailed, and in general to us very satisfactory refutation of it given by Locke, it may perhaps be deemed a mere chimera, long since exploded, and unworthy of the least notice at the present day. It is nevertheless a doctrine that has in all ages, including the present, been held by many philosophers of the highest rank; and is indeed represented, not without some appearance of correctness, by the writer now before us, as one of the two leading answers that have been given, alike in ancient and in modern times, to the problem of the origin of our knowledge. The great names of Plato, Descartes, and Leibnitz, must for ever secure it from contempt, whatever judgment we may form of its actual value. But while we feel every disposition to speak with respect of an opinion patronized by these illustrious ornaments of our race, we are bound to say that the doctrine of innate ideas, whether critically or historically considered, presents itself to our minds less as a real philosophical solution of the great question above alluded to, than as a bold attempt, by men of creative genius and brilliant imagination, two or three times repeated in the course of ages, to solve this problem before the knowledge and application of the true methods of scientific inquiry had rendered the solution of it possible. Plato appears to have invented it, if he did not borrow it from the Oriental schools; and at all events he embellished it with the sublime and beautiful poetical coloring which he knew how to throw over all the subjects he chose to treat. But no sooner did his great disciple discover the experimental method of inquiry, and direct it, with the natural energy of his sterner mind, to intellectual science, than the innate ideas or *archetypes* of his master vanish into air. Yet the system, as understood and presented by Plato, is perhaps more easily susceptible of an

explanation conformable to the truth, than in any of its other forms. In modern times again, the speculations of the French metaphysicians precede the restoration of the experimental philosophy, to the revival of which they contributed so much themselves, but which they failed so completely in turning to practical account, either in physical or moral science. No sooner does the firm hand of Locke, the worthy representative in modern times of the mighty Stagyrite, again put in use this masterly machine, than the theory of innate ideas is again recognised as a brilliant but visionary fabric, belonging to that region of 'Cloudland gorgeous land,' to which Aristotle had before consigned it when it was first descried in Greece. In both cases, the doctrine which attributes the origin of all our knowledge indirectly or directly to experience, having been once distinctly and powerfully stated, seems to have been pretty generally adopted by judicious men. The opposite theory, no doubt, had its partisans in ancient Greece, after the time of Aristotle, and in modern Europe since that of Locke; but they have been, for the most part, persons in whose minds imagination seemed to predominate over the other faculties, or whose judgments were biassed by interested motives. With this latter class we have ventured to identify the idealists of the present day, who, as we have already remarked, are evidently influenced by the political reaction resulting from the excesses in doctrine and practice of the French Revolutionists. Independently of this consideration, there seems to be a restlessness in our nature, which leads us, when in the progress of improvement we have attained the truth, not to be satisfied with it, but still to wander on in search of new discoveries, although every step we take necessarily carries us farther from the point at which we profess to aim. We see this disposition plainly exemplified in the department of the fine arts, where a period of good taste is uniformly followed by one, of which the predominant characteristic is extravagance, and a hankering after the exploded errors of a barbarous age. The principle no doubt exercises its influence with equal certainty in philosophy. It is to this cause that we may attribute the reappearance of idealism in the later schools of ancient Greece, and in part its present currency on the Continent of Europe. If there be any case which furnishes an exception to these remarks, it is doubtless that of Kant, in whose mind imagination seems to have had no place, and whose natural turn was exclusively for the

most severe and rigorous methods of inquiry. With him the immediate motive for embracing idealism was a strong desire to escape from the conclusions of the skeptical school, against which he saw no other resource; but we deem it a singular phenomenon, that a person in whose intellect judgment was so decidedly the leading power, should have acquiesced in the feeble and flimsy reasoning by which the skeptics deduced their conclusions from the principles of Locke, and should, under any circumstances, have rested with such complete conviction upon the intangible and fleeting, though beautiful visions of idealism.

But one exception, admitting it to be real, does not change the rule; and idealism, therefore, historically viewed, presents itself as an unsubstantial dream, which charms the infantile period of intellectual philosophy, rather than as one of two opinions, which have nearly divided the thinking men of all ages and nations. Critically viewed, the system has, we think, the same general characteristics. There is a wild and ethereal air about it, that catches the attention and delights the fancy. It fills the mind with lofty and glorious imaginations, transposts us from the cold and formal realities of the world around us, into empyreal regions, the perpetual abodes of light, truth, purity, and happiness. It gratifies our longing after a nobler and a loftier destiny than that which we can here aspire to, by bringing our minds into nearer contact,—identifying them, indeed, by some mysterious and inexplicable bond of union,—with the sublime spirit whose energy pervades and governs the Universe. It lends itself easily to all the beauties of rhetorical embellishment, and when it appears in its natural dress, always wears the seductive graces of an elegant style. Its professors are a sort of inspired prophets. Their course of thought is well described by Akenside, who had himself caught, in his favorite Greek studies, the spirit of these philosophers.

> 'The high-born soul
> Disdains to rest her heaven-aspiring wing
> Beneath its native quarry. Tired of earth
> And this diurnal scene, she springs aloft
> Through fields of air; pursues the flying storm;
> Rides on the vollied lightning through the heavens;
> Or, yoked with whirlwinds and the northern blast,
> Sweeps the long tract of day.'

The idealists are recognised indeed by Cicero as of nobler race than the partisans of opposite opinions. 'All other phi-

losophers,' says he, 'appear like *Plebeians* when compared with the followers of Plato.' This system partakes, in short, of the nature and essence of poetry, as it properly appertains to that period in the progress of the intellect when poetry is most cultivated and valued. And if we feel some regret at seeing the splendid and elegant constructions of idealism subside into narrower dimensions and simpler forms under the touch of a rigorous method, there is yet much consolation in reflecting, that the pleasure we receive from dwelling upon these imaginations of the poetical school of philosophy, as upon those of poetry itself, furnishes an indirect evidence of the elevated nature of our intellectual being. But when we come to a close survey of the doctrines of the idealists, we find that, as they are animated by the spirit of poetry, so they share the faults to which it naturally leads. They are too apt, like that 'sweet seducer of youth,' 'to accommodate the shows of things to the desires of the mind,' rather than to the reality of sober fact. Their doctrine is vague, undefined, and somewhat difficult to come at in strict detail. It presents itself under various shapes, in the works of different writers. In Plato, ideas are the archetypes or models of created things, which dwell eternally in the Divine Mind, and in order to perceive them, we must elevate ourselves to a nearer intimacy and mysterious community of thought with God. In Malebranche,—the French Plato, as Count de Maistre calls him,—the human mind is a ray of light emanating from the divine substance, but not entirely separated from it, and our general notions are still, as in Plato, conceived, as it were, in the bosom of the Deity. In Kant,—who has somewhat clipped the wings of idealism in his attempt to reduce it to a precise and logical expression,—our general notions exist only in our own minds, have no corresponding objects in nature, and are forms with which we dress up the unsubstantial images presented by the senses, in order to give them 'a local habitation and a name.' In the Edinburgh writers, the system appears in so reduced a shape, that we hardly recognise it, and only perceive some traces of its tone of dogmatism and inspiration in the confidence with which they assure us of the existence of certain elementary principles in the mind, without pretending to account for the manner in which they got there. With the followers of Kant, again, it takes a new flight. Our general ideas compose not only the forms but the substance of their supposed objects;

and the mind not only communes with God, and thinks and feels in God, but is itself God, man, and the universe. The mere variety of these views of the system, independently of the towering extravagance of most of them, would render it very doubtful whether they really represented any valuable leading principle; and the vague and figurative forms of expression which are generally employed by the idealists, would also naturally lead us to the same conclusion. Precise and correct thoughts commonly clothe themselves in simple, accurate, and intelligible language. Hence, when we find philosophical writers habitually indulging in a loose and indefinite phraseology, made up, as it were, of a succession of bold figures, we are tempted to suspect that they feel an instinctive consciousness that their opinions would not stand examination if presented in a simple dress. Such, however, is in general the character of the style of the idealists. They abstain almost wholly from strict definition, and often draw conclusions with the utmost apparent confidence, from premises with which a common reasoner cannot unite them by the slightest bond of connexion. 'Truth,' says Count de Maistre, 'is nothing more than an equation between our ideas and the objects they represent. Now if the former member of this equation be not innate, preëxistent, and unchangeable, the latter would also be variable, and there would be no truth. Therefore all our ideas are innate.' In the same way it would be easy to prove that the images which appear in a mirror must necessarily be innate, in order to resemble their originals. 'All our ideas,' says the same writer, 'are entirely foreign to the senses, by the intellectual act which affirms,' (*par l'acte intellectuel qui affirme.*) By this loose and inaccurate phrase, the Count seems to intend, that because the act of affirming or denying any proposition is wholly intellectual, the ideas contained in the proposition affirmed or denied must be necessarily foreign to the senses; as if these ideas, and the act of affirmation or denial, were one and the same thing. We purposely select these examples of loose expression and incoherent reasoning from the less extravagant passages in the works of a really able writer, to show the faults that prevail in the ordinary and better manner of this school. Kant and his followers, the only idealists who pretend to strict and logical forms of expression, have given their language the same indistinctness and obscurity which belongs to that of all the rest, by employing a new and almost unintelligible nomenclature.

Their terms not being settled by familiar usage or precise explanation, really convey, notwithstanding their exact and scientific air, no definite meaning to the mind of the reader, and serve, on the contrary, to shroud the author's opinions under a misty veil, equivalent in effect, though by no means in attraction, to the wild and vague poetical imagery of the preceding writers of the same class.

These general and superficial views of the ideal theory would naturally, we think, produce a strong impression against it, in the minds of judicious men. If, however, it were necessary to test its correctness by a more thorough examination, and if, leaving out of view the obviously extravagant imaginations of some of its partisans, we attempt to grasp the essential principle of the system, as professed by the highest authorities, particularly Kant and his followers, and compare it with that of Locke, there will appear, in our opinion, a very decided preponderance of probabilities in favor of the latter. The two theories, briefly stated in their simplest elements, seem to be nearly as follows.

On the system of Locke, our perceptions are expressions of external objects, and our abstract ideas are generalizations of these objects, their qualities, and the relations we observe between them. On the ideal system, our perceptions are composed of two distinct parts, one of which consists of sensible images, and the other of general notions. The former part only is the result of sensation, the latter being always supplied by the mind, out of a fund of original and innate ideas with which it is provided for this purpose. When I see, for example, a white globe, the perception I have of it is, according to Locke, a simple image or expression of the object; and by afterwards considering it under different points of view, I obtain the abstract notions of whiteness, roundness, and substance. On the ideal system, I perceive *whiteness* and *roundness*, to which the mind adds *substance*, from its own stock, and thus completes the perception. To this system there are, we think, several solid objections, some of which we shall very briefly indicate.

1. For those who are satisfied with the manner in which Locke describes the origin of our general notions (and we have repeatedly professed ourselves to be of that number), the ideal system is unphilosophical, because it resorts to a new principle, or rather to a vast apparatus of new metaphysical machinery, to find a cause for effects which are fully accounted for by those already known to be in operation.

2. The phrase *innate* or *original ideas*, involves a direct contradiction in terms. Ideas are expressions or representations of things, and suppose of course the previous presence to the mind of the things they represent, just as the image in a mirror supposes the presence of the object reflected; while the epithet *innate* or *original* supposes that the object is not, and never has been, present to the mind. An innate idea is, therefore, an image without an object, a copy without a model, a translation without an original, and belongs to the same category with a three-legged quadruped, or a triangle with two sides.

Innate or original ideas, if they in fact existed, would necessarily represent objects with which the mind had become acquainted in a previous state of existence; and such was the opinion entertained of them by Plato, who affirms that all our knowledge is only recollection. This explanation of the doctrine, if not plausible, is at least consistent in terms; but, even on this supposition, it would be difficult to conceive how the ideas which the mind brings with it from another world should happen to fit so exactly the objects we meet with in this, and why we should never recollect any of our ante-natal knowledge until the precise moment when a fact exactly similar comes within our observation upon this visible diurnal sphere.

3. If we refer our general notions, including that of substance, which is the most general of all, exclusively to the mind, it is not easy to see what we leave as the immediate objects of perception. I see, for example, a white globe, that is, a white round substance, something white and round, or let it be the 'something large and round,' which the little girl in Southey's ballad saw her brother rolling about upon the battle-field of Blenheim, and which afterwards proved to be the skull of some poor fellow who was killed in the great victory. According to the idealists, the substance of the skull, the *something* which we perceive to be large and round, exists only in the spectator's mind. One is tempted to think that a person must have but little brain in his own skull, who can find room within it for the skulls of other people. But admitting, for argument's sake, that the skull exists only in the brain of the spectator, what then remains without as the external object of perception? Apparently, the size, color, and figure of the skull. But size, color, and figure are merely qualities, and can have no real existence separately from the substance to

which they are attached. If, then, the substance of the skull be in the brain of the spectator, its qualities, if they exist at all, must be there also. But if neither the substance nor the qualities of the skull have any existence, excepting in the brain of the spectator, what, we ask again, remains without as the external object of perception? Evidently nothing; and such has been, in fact, in all ages, the conclusion of the consistent idealists, who have uniformly ended by denying the reality of the material world. This is of course a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole theory. But let us admit again, for argument's sake, that although the substance of the skull exist only in the brain of the spectator, its size, color, and figure remain without as the direct objects of perception, and see how far the supposition will be found to accord with the leading principles of the idealist. The direct objects of perception are then, we will suppose, the shape, color, and size of the skull, considered independently of its substance. But shape, color, and size, considered independently of the substance to which they are attached, are merely general notions, as, in the present case, *largeness*, *whiteness*, and *roundness*. On this system, therefore, the direct objects of perception are the general or abstract notions of sensible qualities. Remark now the strange inconsistency of this result of the ideal theory, with the notions that led to its adoption. The precise reason why the idealists deem it necessary to resort to the supposition of innate ideas is, that they cannot admit the possibility that general notions can be obtained, even indirectly, through the senses; and we now find them representing these same general notions as the direct and only objects of sensation. If general notions be not even indirectly furnished by the senses, how can they be the direct objects of perception? If they be the direct objects of perception, why invent an entirely new metaphysical system to account for their origin, independently of the senses? We profess ourselves unable to reconcile these contradictions, and, until better advised, shall adhere, in regard to these points, to the homely philosophy, *paupertina philosophia*, as Liebnitz calls it, of Locke. The object of little Wilhelmine's perception, in the case above alluded to, was the skull itself, composed of substance and qualities, the 'something large and round,' which she carried to her grandfather; and had old Caspar possessed as good a notion of metaphysics as he appears to have had of morals, instead of reading her a lecture upon the

battle of Blenheim, he would have explained this to her, and have added, that by reflecting upon the skull merely in reference to its color, size, and shape, she would obtain the abstract ideas of *whiteness*, *largeness*, and *roundness*, and by considering it as an object of perception and knowledge, independently of any of its qualities, that of *substance*.

'Observe,' says the Count de Maistre, 'a triangle, whether real or imaginary. You had certainly no idea of it before you saw it; but though you had no idea of this triangle, you had the idea of a triangle in general, or of *triangleness* (triangulité), and thus it is that we may know and not know the same thing at the same time, when considered under different points of view.'

The meaning of this seems to be, that when I see a triangle, my eye furnishes me the sensible ideas of *equilateralness*, *right-angledness*, and so forth, according to its particular form, and that my mind adds from its own stock and substance the idea of *triangleness*, which completes the perception. The inconsistency of the notions of the idealists is still more apparent in this example than in the last. At the same time that certain general notions, such as *equilateralness*, *right-angledness*, and the like, are represented as direct objects of perception (although the very essence of the theory consists in proving that we cannot possibly obtain our general notions, either directly or indirectly, though the senses), at the same time, we say, another general notion, *triangleness*, of precisely the same kind (they being all generalizations of the forms of sensible objects), is declared to be innate. We profess ourselves unable to comprehend the reasons of this distinction. If we can perceive *equilateralness* and *right-angledness*, why may not we perceive *triangleness*? and why must this last idea be declared *innate*, in order to account for its origin? If we cannot perceive *triangleness*, and it be in fact an innate idea, how do we manage to perceive *equilateralness* and *right-angledness*, and why are not these also innate, being general notions of the very same class? Why is it not as rational to suppose that we see *triangleness* and add to it, or, to use the language of the idealists, *impose upon* it, *equilateralness* or *right-angledness*, as to suppose that we perceive these latter ideas, and impose *triangleness* upon them? Or, in the other case of the poor fellow's skull at Blenheim, is it not as natural to suppose that we see *skullness*, and impose upon it *largeness*, *whiteness*, or

roundness, as that we see *largeness*, *whiteness*, and *roundness*, and impose upon them *skullness?* Is it not, in fact, rather more natural to impose the form upon the substance, than the substance upon the form? Would not a sculptor, who was in the habit of using correct language, be more likely, if he employed the expression at all, to say that he imposed the form of the Venus de Medicis upon a block of marble, than that he imposed a block of marble upon the form of that statue? We must leave it to the sagacity of the intelligent reader to answer these questions, and to decide whether the person who is credulous enough to believe in any of these suppositions, be not in fact the party really *imposed upon.*

4. By representing our notion of substance as innate, and our abstract ideas of the sensible qualities of bodies as the direct objects of perception, the idealists not only contradict flatly their own leading principles, but destroy the reality of the material world. This conclusion has accordingly, as we have just remarked, been drawn by all the consistent partisans of the theory in ancient and modern times. Professor Cousin attempts to escape from it, and has undertaken to neutralize the extremes of sensualism and idealism, by combining them in his own way in one system; but as he holds that there is only one substance in nature, and no substantial distinction between God, man, and the material world, his doctrine is equivalent to a denial of the real existence of two at least out of the three, and ends in Pantheism, that is, Atheism. Now, for those who admit the fact of perception (which is admitted by all the idealists), a denial of the reality of the external world involves, as we have already remarked, a logical absurdity, since every act supposes an agent, and every transitive act, like that of perception, an object acted on.

We need not enter any further into the nature of the objections to this theory, nor have we thought it necessary to treat the subject with much seriousness, since, notwithstanding the imposing appearance which idealism makes, under the formidable terminology of Kant, and the seductive graces which it wears in the charming style of Plato, we cannot upon the whole regard it, when reduced to its simple expression, and rigorously examined, as anything but a mass of palpable absurdities. Upon this view of the system, it may be thought difficult to account for the general favor with which it has been received by enlightened men in particular countries, at more

than one period in the history of philosophy. This difficulty is however by no means insoluble; and idealism is far from being the only example of an absurd theory that has obtained for a time a pretty extensive prevalence. In these cases the absurdity generally gains favor, not, according to the somewhat paradoxical form of expression of the African bishop, as such, *quia absurdum*, but because it is supposed to represent and be essentially connected with some important truth. Thus the different false religions that prevail in the world, maintain their hold upon the minds of their respective adherents, because their truth is supposed to be essentially connected with that of the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul, principles so dear to the heart of man, that he will swallow without struggling the most monstrous fictions and the most revolting absurdities, rather than relinquish his faith in them. It is in like manner easy enough, upon a general survey of the history of intellectual science, to perceive the great truth which is represented by the fable of *idealism*, and which appears to be no other than the independent and substantial existence of our thinking part, '*the God within the mind.*' * This principle, which, as we have repeatedly remarked, is logically proved by all our intellectual operations, as well as clearly revealed to us by our moral feelings, beams upon the understanding in the

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* 'This light and darkness in our chaos joined,
What shall divide? *The God within the mind.*'

Lord Bolingbroke, who supplied Pope with the materials of the 'Essay on Man,' probably borrowed this idea from Seneca. 'In unoquoque virorum bonorum (quis Deus incertum est) *habitat Deus.*' (Epist. 41.) In accommodating this sublime thought to the measure, the poet has somewhat impaired its correctness. We can hardly speak with propriety of *the God within the mind.* The mind is itself the God within us. In another passage of the Essay, Pope has been led in the same way into the expression of a thought directly opposite to the one he had in view.

'Count all the advantage prosperous vice attains,
'T is but what virtue flies from and disdains.
And grant the bad what happiness they would,
One they must want, which is, to *pass for good.*'

That bad men must of necessity want the happiness of passing for good, is an assertion contradicted by daily experience; nor is this supposed happiness the object of the virtuous, whose aim, on the contrary, is not to appear good, but to be so. Pope probably intended to say, that bad men must want the consciousness of good intentions, which belongs to virtue; and it is not a little singular how completely, in steering by the treacherous rudder, Rhyme, he has lost sight of his own meaning.

early periods of civilization, like a bright and glorious vision not yet realized in a complete and positive shape. Under these circumstances, various false or doubtful opinions are connected with it; amongst which is the not unnatural theory, that a thinking being, which has an existence independent of the body, must also possess thoughts which are entirely foreign to the senses. This system, which, as we have seen above, lends itself readily to the graces of poetical embellishment, circulates a while with general favor. This is the age of idealism, of Plato, and of the French metaphysicians. At length the invention of methods and the improvement of languages put another face upon the science. It is now perceived, that the mind is an independent being, extending its comprehensive grasp over the vast expanse of the universe, from the point where its flaming limits (to use the bold language of the Latin poet) are lost in the boundless ocean of infinity, to that where the energies that inform and move the grand machine centre beneath the clouded majesty of the throne of God,—but extending it by the exercise of the *faculties* with which it is endowed for this purpose; that all our knowledge, whether of God, our own minds, or the material world, must of course be the result of the exercise of these faculties; and that to possess ideas previously to or independent of their exercise, would be to have thought without thinking, *to know without knowing*, which is, in fact, the sum and substance of idealism. This simple, manly, intelligible, and at the same time generous, elevated, and inspiring philosophy, was substituted in ancient Greece by Aristotle, and in modern times by Locke, for the splendid dreams of Plato and Descartes. Intellectual science is now fixed; but the mind, ever restless, and ever dissatisfied with its own possessions, undervalues the truths it has acquired, and still pushing forward on its perpetual voyage of discovery, arrives at length at the region of materialism and sensuality, —of sophists and skeptics,—of Epicurus, Pyrrho, Condillac, Helvetius, and Hume. It is now affirmed, that because the mind can only communicate with external objects through the senses, it is in fact nothing more than a faculty attached to the body; and the system is pushed into its consequences until it ends in the denial of the immortality of the soul, and the existence of God. Alarmed for these sacred and cherished principles, which, as we have already remarked, man will make any sacrifice rather than relinquish, and casting about with

anxious impatience for the means of securing them, the mind, in the first moments of uncertainty, rejects *en masse* the whole improved doctrine which has apparently involved such fatal results, and oscillates back to the visions of its childhood, content to embrace the ideal theory, with all its absurdity, rather than abandon the glorious truths with which it is for the time supposed to be connected. Such appears to have been the origin of the second Platonism of antiquity, and of the revival of idealism in modern Europe by the Scotch philosophers, by Kant and his followers, and by the French writers of the present day. But this period of reaction is obviously in its nature a transitory one, and when the false alarm created by the sophists has subsided, the enlightened opinion of the public will quietly settle down again in the conclusions of Locke and Aristotle, which, in our view of them at least, as they exhaust the science and leave no room, on essential points, for the farther progress of real discovery, must form in all ages the creed of judicious men, and the standard to which those who may be led astray by the false lights of other theories, will be gradually rallied back from their different vagaries.

Notwithstanding the essential improbability of idealism, and the repulsive dress in which it was presented by Kant and his followers, it obtained, as our readers are aware, and, as we conceive, for the reasons just stated, an extraordinary vogue in Germany, which, however, has already in a great measure passed away. While it lasted, innumerable works were published in developement, defence, and explanation of the favorite system; but it is a remarkable fact, and one that may perhaps be regarded as an additional evidence of the essential worthlessness of the theory, that of all this multitude of books, written in many cases by able and learned men, not one, as far as we are informed, has acquired a classical character, has been translated into any foreign language, or is likely to be read with interest half a century hence. The 'Criticism on Pure Reason,' as it contained the first proclamation of a system that created so much temporary excitement, and is directly connected with the name of its author, will probably preserve a place in scientific libraries; be consulted occasionally by a learned curiosity, though very rarely, we suspect, perused from one end to the other, by the most intrepid student; and thus survive as an historical monument of one of the most remarkable aberrations of public opinion that has ever occurred.

The decline of the Transcendental Philosophy is the last in the series of the events which properly belong to the history of intellectual science, and which exclude of course those that are immediately contemporary; the nature of which, however, we have taken occasion to indicate in the course of our remarks. From the brief and very imperfect outline that we have ventured to offer of this vast field of inquiry, it results, that the progress of opinion on these momentous subjects in ancient and modern times has been exactly parallel; that the mind, starting from the same point of departure, has in both cases run through the same circle of theories, ascertained the same truths, and again partially lost sight of them under the influence of the same errors and delusions; and that the great names which adorn the successive stages in this progress are not so much expressions of individual opinions, as of the general intellectual character of successive generations. We have now reached, in the modern world, the point at which philosophy was left by the ancients, when Justinian closed the schools in the Eastern Empire, and the invasion of the barbarians demolished them in the Western. The disastrous political events of that period precluded any farther improvements in any branch of knowledge; the reaction in favor of sound and rational opinions that might have been expected in intellectual science, never occurred; and the prevalence of idealism was succeeded immediately by a period of complete barbarism. Under the more auspicious circumstances in which the civilized world is now placed, we may anticipate a different result, and have reason to expect that public opinion, after returning from its aërial excursion with Kant and Fichte, and recovering from the causeless terrors inspired by Berkeley and Hume, will repose again with renewed pleasure and confidence on the sober certainties of Locke.

On our view of the subject, therefore, this great philosopher has in a manner fixed the metaphysical department of moral philosophy in its leading features, and left little for successors, but to remove here and there an unimportant blemish, or complete an imperfect outline. We regret to add, that the state of the other great departments of moral philosophy is far from being equally satisfactory. Ethics and Politics in particular, offer an extensive field, which will long demand the labor of inquirers, and amply reward it, if judiciously conducted. In Ethics, the modern world has yet produced no single treatise of a standard and classical character; none, perhaps, that can

fairly be put in competition with the 'Offices' of Cicero, although that work, noble and elegant as it is, by no means posesses the correctness and precision which would be required in a text-book of the science. Kant's Treatise on Morals *(Kritik der practischen Vernunft)* is highly valued by the partisans of the author, and is largely commended by Professor Cousin, who pronounces it to be 'the most imposing and durable monument that philosophical genius has ever erected to real disinterested virtue.' Unfortunately, as it supposes the truth of the Transcendental Metaphysics, and must stand or fall with them, it can hardly be of use to those who have not adopted that system. In England the two theories that now divide the opinion of the public are, the *moral sense* of the Scotch philosophers,—a doctrine which probably gives us a glimpse of the truth, but has not yet been stated with sufficient power and precision,—and the *Utilitarian* scheme, which found favor as presented by Paley, in consequence of the general respect for natural and revealed religion with which he had arbitrarily connected it, but which appears at the present day in its naked deformity in the hands of the cynical disciples of Jeremy Bentham,—not as a system of morals, but rather as a complete denial of the reality of moral distinctions. Everything, therefore, is yet to be done; yet such is the universal indifference on the subject in the mother country, that in quarters where we have a right to look for opinions of some authority, the terms of the question are evidently not understood.* The low state of moral science in all its branches in Great Britain is curiously evinced by the difficulty that has been found in filling the chair of this department in the new London University, and by the fact that the presidencies of the two principal scientific corporations of the kingdom, which should regularly be filled by distinguished moral philosophers, if such were to be found, are occupied in one case by a poet, and in the other by a member of Parliament. In Politics, the deficiency of standard works in the literature of modern Europe is equally remarkable, and the science is evidently still unsettled. Locke's 'Treatise on Government' is far from possessing the same complete and satisfactory character with his 'Essay on the Human Understanding'; and the notion of a *social contract*, which he held in com-

* See the article on Paley's Life and Writings, in the London Quarterly Review, for October, 1828.

mon with all the English politicians of his time, and which forms the basis of his theory, seems to be essentially erroneous. The *Spirit of Laws* is justly celebrated for the depth of thought, extent of reading, and point and beauty of language which are exhibited in it, and will ever remain a most valuable literary monument; but, unfortunately for its utility as a classical and standard work, it excels chiefly in details, and the statement of leading principles is precisely the most questionable thing about it.* The later French politicians wrote under the influence of temporary passions and interests, and receded from instead of advancing beyond the point to which the science had been brought by Montesquieu. Rousseau did little more than present, under the attractions of his powerful style, but in other respects in a less advantageous form, the theories of the English writers; and Mably, whose name was at one time distinguished, with all his apparatus of positive historical knowledge, is substantially a mere declaimer. In England little or nothing has been done since the time of Locke, towards completing the enterprise which he unfortunately failed to accomplish; the attention of those who take an interest in the subject having been, and being still, totally absorbed by controversies upon passing events. Had Burke digested his notions into a complete and formal treatise, he would have been at once the Locke and Plato of politics; and it is in his writings, occasional, fugitive, passionate,—sometimes self-contradictory as they are,—that we are to look, if anywhere, for the scattered elements, the *membra disjecta*, of a true theory of government. The system now most popular in England, regarded only the number and not the character of its adherents, is that of *radicalism*, as understood and taught by the followers of Bentham. Little can of course be looked for in politics, from a school which denies the reality of moral distinctions; but their opinions evidently gain ground, in the absence of any

* We allude to the arrangement of governments into three classes, respectively informed and kept in action by the operation of the three moral principles, *fear*, *ambition*, and *virtue*. With all the respect we entertain for Montesquieu (who seems himself to have been completely satisfied with this theory), we cannot consider it a sufficient basis for the science of politics. Independently of the positive objections that may be made to it, the negative one, that it leaves entirely out of view the influence of *property*, would be, in our opinion, quite decisive.

powerful champion of an opposite one, and threaten to subjugate the mass of the people; an event, which, if it happen, must of course be followed by a bloody and disastrous revolution. Such at present seems to be the condition of these all-important branches of moral philosophy. We should feel ourselves highly gratified, if the cursory remarks we have now made on the subject, should induce any of the noble and gifted spirits of our own country, to turn their labors into this direction; and can assure them beforehand, that their vigorous and persevering efforts, if made in a right spirit, will be rewarded by the general approbation of the wise and good, and by the consciousness of having rendered a great and lasting service to the world. No better model can be found for the conduct of such inquiries, whether we look at the excellence of the method pursued, or the splendid success with which it was applied, than the 'Essay on the Human Understanding.' The writer, who shall do for Ethics and Politics, what Locke has done for Metaphysics, will deserve and obtain one of the highest places in the temple of true Glory.

ART. IV.—*Chansons de* P. J. DE BÉRANGER. 2 tomes. 12mo. Baudouin Frères Editeurs. Paris. 1826.

IT is but of late years that any knowledge of foreign literature has been diffused among us. Most of those now upon the scene, can remember the time when the acquisition of the French language was no common one, and when he who had read Don Quixote in the original, or could understand Schiller in his own tongue, was indeed *rara avis*. Thanks, however, to the rapid increase of wealth, and to the general advance of cultivation, the time has passed when these attainments, of themselves, conferred on their possessors considerable distinction in society,—attainments of little value, save as they facilitate the farther acquisition of knowledge.

Still, however, the old proverb, that he knows most, who is aware that he knows nothing, is fully verified in our case; for those alone, who are best acquainted with the stores of foreign languages, know with how small a part of them we are generally conversant.

The evil which we have stated to exist, it would however be idle to lament; it is an evil that time will correct, and which it is even now rapidly correcting. Indeed, when we reflect on the great progress we have made in the few past years, on the increase of means of information, and on the re-publication of good classical authors, we find no cause to fear that we shall not keep pace with the hopes and wishes of the most sanguine.

We now beg permission to contribute our mite of labor to the great work, by calling the attention of the reader to the volumes which form the subject of this article, and to their author, Béranger.

To some we believe this name will be new; and by them, perhaps, we shall not be credited, when we assure them, that he who bears it, is their contemporary, and is, or was by the latest accounts, enjoying the common blessings of heaven in the city of Paris. This obstacle overcome, we will endeavor to show that it is not owing to his being devoid of merit, that he has attracted no attention in this country; but because our minds run in a different channel, and that while we have the names of political leaders by heart, and watch with interest the changes in the cabinet, we are too apt to pass over literary men, unless occupying the first place, and to pay them but little attention until the lapse of half a century has given them a claim to our admiration.

As the life of Béranger is intimately connected with the character of his works, we will interweave with our remarks on his songs, a short sketch of his life, which is not, we think, devoid of interest. If the reader detect any errors of time or place, he will, we hope, excuse them, when he reflects on the difficulty of composing a biography before the obituary be written.

Pierre Jean de Béranger was born, as he himself informs us, at Paris, in the year 1780. His maternal grandfather was a tailor, and under his roof it appears that our author first saw the light. Of his plebeian birth, we indeed are elsewhere informed in his song, entitled *Le Vilain*, in which he proudly assures us that he owes to no latent germ of nobility the *de* prefixed to his name, and the burden of which is,

'Je suis vilain et très vilain,
Je suis vilain,
Vilain, vilain.'

Béranger, starting on the lowest round of the ladder, necessarily rose, if he moved at all; and accordingly, after being successively a waiter in an inn, and a reader in a printing-office, he received, in 1809, a clerkship in the University of Paris. This humble post,—for the salary was but twelve hundred francs per annum,—seems destined to be the apex of Béranger's fortune; for a life of rather more than the average length has given him nothing better.

It is not to be supposed that the gay and spirited versification of Béranger is the result of study, or the production of a mature age; but the earliest date of his songs is 1806, and the earliest in this collection goes back no farther than 1810.

The dawn of his poetical genius attracted the attention of Lucien Bonaparte, who was willing and able to assist the young poet; but with that seemingly nervous love of independence, which he has evinced throughout his life, Béranger wholly refused his patronage.

The earlier songs of Béranger are generally light and often trifling vehicles of severe satire upon the morals and manners of the age; but in the pursuit of their object, they too frequently overstep the bounds of modesty, and sometimes, those of common decency. But though we should be inclined to accept as an excuse for Béranger, that which has been generally offered and received for the abler satirists, whether of ancient or modern times, there still remain portions of his works, which the most lenient moralist must condemn as pernicious in their tendency, and which, the mildest critic must allow, owe their reputation to that of their author, founded on productions of a very different character. To this class belongs his *Bacchante*, a song which might have been hickuped forth at any drunken orgies in any age, and for which, in a city not famous for its morals, he was cited before the tribunal of Correctional Police; and we could point out many others which would have subjected him to similar mortification, had indecency been scanned as closely as the dissemination of free principles.

During the government of Bonaparte, Béranger rarely or never interfered with politics. True, he occasionally indulges in an involuntary smile at the *sénateurs muets de l'empire*, but he was undoubtedly satisfied with the imperial rule; and it is natural to presume that he, like many of his countrymen, while they saw the real and substantial benefit which they were surrendering for national glory, cheerfully acquiesced in the ex-

change, giving the public to understand, however, by many an innuendo, that they were perfectly aware of the terms of the barter.

Of his early songs, which, as a class, differ from those written at a later period, to which we shall hereafter have occasion to call the attention of the reader, we will give a specimen. *Le Roi d'Yvetot*, we think, is a fair sample of his productions during this time. And we give it the preference the more readily, that it seems to be a good-humored satire upon the Emperor himself.

'Il était un roi d'Yvetot,
Peu connu dans l'histoire,
Se levant tard, se couchant tôt,
Dormant fort bien sans gloire,
Et couronné par Jeanneton
D'un simple bonnet de coton,
Dit on.
Oh! oh! oh! oh! ah! ah! ah! ah!
Quel bon petit roi c'était là!
La, la.

'Il faisait ses quatres repas
Dans son palais de chaume,
Et sur un âne, pas à pas,
Parcourait son royaume.
Joyeux, simple et croyant le bien,
Pour toute garde, il n'avait rien
Qu'un chien.
Oh! oh! &c.

'Il n'avait de goût onéreux
Qu'une soif un peu vive;
Mais en rendant son peuple heureux,
Il faut bien qu'un roi vive.
Lui même à table, et sans suppôt,
Sur chaque muid levait un pot
D'impôt.
Oh! oh! &c.

'Il n'aggrandit point ses Etats,
Fut un voisin commode,
Et modèle des potentats,
Prit le plaisir pour code.
Ce n'est que lorsqu'il expira,
Que le peuple que l'enterra
Pleura.
Oh! oh! &c.

'On conserve encore le portrait
De ce digne et bon prince.
C'est l'enseigne d'un cabaret,
Fameux dans la province.
Les jours de fête, bien souvent,
La foule s'écrie en buvant
Devant,
Oh! oh!' &c.

We recognise in these verses, though in a greater degree in many others, that remarkable talent of versification, that perfect command of language, and that smooth flow of rhyme, which constitute no small part of the beauty of many of his early productions.

But though his songs were thus essentially French in their *character*, something more than this was necessary to distinguish them from the great mass of works of this class; something more than this was necessary to engrave them upon the heart of every Frenchman, and to render their author the most popular living poet of France. It was requisite that they should be French in *spirit*; that their subject should be France, '*la belle France*,' and that that subject should be treated with the devotion and exclusiveness of feeling, which it is almost the peculiar gift of that land, endeared by a thousand heart-stirring recollections, to inspire.—The opportunity was soon presented.

During the victorious course of the French arms, those who from Paris, the centre of the empire, looked out upon the unimpeded flight of their eagles, never failed in obtaining sympathy in their joy, nor did they need a poet to express in set terms, and in stanzas of a given length, those feelings which were poured forth without regularity or measure from their over-full hearts; a bulletin from their Emperor announcing a battle gained, was sweeter music than any song, and the number of standards and cannon taken, formed the gayest chorus that ever was trolled in the streets of Paris;—but it was when their eagles stooped from their victorious flight, and were driven cowering home towards their eyry; when the sceptre was torn from the grasp of him who had won it by his own energies, and placed in the hands of one whose only title was a legitimate descent from a family, humbled in the eyes of the whole French nation;—it was when France was reduced from an empire to a kingdom; when the trophies of her conquests were torn from her; when sympathy for the fallen was no safe,

and as far as the expression of it went, no common feeling;—then it was, that the want of sympathy was felt by the friends of the fallen; then the want was felt of one, who could express, in moving language, pity for the vanquished, contempt for the victorious,—one, by whom the frown of power would not for a moment be placed in competition with the smile of gratitude. Such an one was wanted, and at this crisis Béranger presented himself as the advocate of by far the greater part of the French nation. With rare powers of language, with an eminent talent for ridicule, he has embodied in his songs the spirit of the French people; and this is the cause of his popularity. It is not that he is a *great* writer, for he might be found unequal to a long continued effort; but that France is his idol, and that his whole soul is poured out in his descriptions of her former glory, and in his lamentations over her present state; that in these national songs every true child of France sees reflected, as in a mirror, the feelings which animate his own breast. This has created his reputation; this is the cause why his name is known, and his songs echoed, from Calais to Marseilles.

The first of the national songs in this collection, and among the most spirited of his productions, is entitled *Les Gaulois et les Francs.* It was written at the close of the disastrous campaign of 1813, when the French soldiers for the first time met with serious reverses; but before their spirit was broken, and their self-confidence impaired by the pollution of their capital by a foreign foe, an event which Béranger, like all his countrymen, in this song regards with abhorrence, but scarcely admits to be within the range of possibility. When we look back upon France in those days, with a vivid recollection of her recent losses, and prospective calamities, this powerful chorus, so often repeated, rings in our ears like the sound of the trumpet, bidding to battle. But our readers shall judge for themselves.

'Gai! gai! serrons nos rangs,
Espérance
De la France.
Gai! gai! serrons nos rangs;
En avant, Gaulois et Francs!

'D'Attila suivant la voix
Le barbare
Qu'elle égare

Vient une seconde fois
Périr dans les champs Gaulois.
Gai! gai! &c.

'Renonçant à ses marais,
Le Cosaque
Qui bivouaque,
Croit sur la foi des Anglais,
Se loger dans nos palais.
Gai! gai! &c.

'Le Russe, toujours tremblant,
Sous la neige,
Qui l'assiège,
Las de pain noir et de gland,
Veut manger notre pain blanc.
Gai! gai! &c.

'Ces vins que nous amassons
Pour les boire
A la victoire
Seraient bus par des Saxons!
Plus de vin, plus de chansons!
Gai! gai! &c.

'Pour des Calmouks durs et laids
Nos filles
Sont trop gentilles,
Nos femmes ont trop d'attraits.
Ah! que leur fils soient Français.
Gai! gai! &c.

'Quoi ces monumens chéris,
Histoire
De notre gloire,
S'écrouleraient en débris!
Quoi! les Prussiens à Paris!
Gai! gai! &c.

'Nobles Francs et bons Gaulois,
La paix si chère
A la terre
Dans peu viendra sous vos toits
Vous payer de tant d'exploits.

'Gai! gai! serrons nos rangs,
Espérance
De la France.
Gai! gai! serrons nos rangs;
En avant, Gaulois et Francs!

During the remainder of the contest, which terminated in the exile of Napoleon to Elba, and during the time of his abode there, Béranger's lyre was, as before, tuned to gaiety and mirth; and to this period we must ascribe some of the most beautiful of his productions. We would mention as among the best, *Les Adieux de Marie Stuart*, *La Bouteille Volée*, and *Ma Vocation;* to all which a delightful versification, a strain of sentiment, now gay and lovely, now tender and pathetic, but at all times with the utmost skill adapted to his subject, impart a grace which not many authors have given to the song. But with the exception of a few light Satires, Béranger does not as yet appear to have had his attention fixed and concentrated upon those subjects, on which his more permanent fame was to be founded. His apparent indifference on matters which afterwards, in so powerful a degree, engrossed his attention, we can solve only by conjectures, which we will not press upon the acceptance of the reader. We can, however, understand upon what terms he was with the Bonapartists, from the fact, that during the Hundred Days, he was offered the lucrative office of the Censorship, which he however refused; and his refusal we attribute, not unreasonably, to his disapprobation of the principle that gives rise to that office, which he attacks throughout these two volumes, with his keenest satire,—satire which receives great point from this disinterested action.

But the time was now fast approaching, when Béranger was to lay aside his indifference, and devote all his powers to the overcoming of those difficulties, which lay in the course upon which he had already entered, and from which he was to deviate but rarely, in the after course of his life.

It was when the terrible campaign of 1815 had not only extinguished for ever the hopes of Napoleon's partisans, and fixed the Bourbons upon the throne, but had given a coalition of foreign monarchs a power in France, sufficiently galling and humiliating in itself, but rendered doubly so by their indifference for the sensitive feelings of the French,—then it was that Béranger, striking his lyre with a freer and bolder hand, once more appeared upon the stage as the advocate of France, and France's glory, and the opponent of those, who, in his eyes, were pursuing a course tending only to suffering and humiliation.

In the *Marquis de Carabas*, he attacked with all his powers of satire, the pride and arrogance of the emigrant *noblesse*, on

their return to their seignorial possessions; in *Plus de Politique*, he bewails in moving strains the recent reverses of France, and recounts the glory acquired under a former dynasty; in the *Cocarde Blanche*, written in 1816, to celebrate the first entry of the Allies into Paris, with the most biting irony he boasts of the triumphs of foreigners, and of the humiliation of the French name; of his *Sainte Alliance Barbaresque*, the matter and manner may be easily divined;—but it were needless to repeat the titles of all the songs in which he inveighed against the dominant government, its tools, and its measures; the list would be no short one, and a catalogue is, of all things, the most unsatisfactory. Béranger, to be correctly appreciated, must be read and re-read, and examined minutely, for he is no easy author; perhaps it would be difficult to select any living writer, whose works present more real obstacles to the student.

Suffice it to say, that they were of sufficient number and severity, to point out their author as a mark for vengeance to the one party, and to make him the avowed champion of the other; dangerous honors, usually gained but by extraordinary exertion, and deserved by extraordinary suffering. Béranger was not to be an exception to the rule. The wrath of his enemies, however, long remained ungratified, probably because, his songs being published in the gazettes and other periodical works of the day, it would have been difficult to identify the author. Whatever may have been the cause, he certainly remained unharmed until, in 1821, he published his *Recueil*, in which, together with his satirical and amorous songs, were inserted all the most invidious of his national or political pieces, without retrenching or curtailing anything, even of their harshest features.

If we examine his condition at this, the most fortunate period of his life, we shall be better able to appreciate the boldness and independence, which prompted him to this hazardous act. His whole income amounted, as we have already stated, to a miserable pittance of twelve hundred francs per annum, received from his clerkship, which, with great truth, he repeatedly calls a *modique emploi;* but this office was held at the pleasure of the Council of the University, and this body, as it proved afterwards, (but what else could be expected?) was entirely under the control of those whom Béranger had most reason to consider his enemies.

That at this time his situation was far from being one, which,

even under a free government, would be esteemed independent, the reader may determine to his own satisfaction, by turning to but a few of those songs, in which he portrays himself. In *Ma Vocation*, he says,

'D'une vie incertaine
Ayant eu de l'effroi,
Je rampe sous la chaîne
Du plus modique emploi.'

And the following stanza, from his *Mon Habit*, is to the same effect.

'Je me souviens, car j'ai bonne mémoire,
Du premier jour où je te mis.
C'était ma fête, et pour comble de gloire,
Tu fus chanté par mes amis.
Ton indigence, qui m'honore,
Ne m'a point banni de leurs bras.
Tous ils sont prêts à nous fêter encore ;
Mon vieil ami, ne nous séparons pas.'

For any one, the open expression of compassion for the fallen dynasty was at this time no safe procedure ; but when the same person, and one by no means, from his rank in life, enabled to brave those in power, added contempt for the reigning family and its measures, his conduct seems either madness or a total forgetfulness of self ; which of these it was, we will not attempt to determine ; it has already been examined by severer judges, and their decision we shall report.

The publication of his *Recueil*, which contained the songs in the first and half of the second volume of the present edition, drew down upon the head of Béranger at once, as we have already stated, the long delayed vengeance of his enemies. They selected the surest and most direct means of annoyance. By the immediate interference of the minister, as he tells us in a note to his *Adieux à la Campagne*, he was removed from his clerkship, and in November of the same year, he was cited before the *Cour d'Assises*, to reply to the charges made against him on the part of the crown, by the attorney general. In a trial, in which we will not believe that his accusers were guilty of twisting laws, which already bore but too directly upon their object, he was convicted, and on the eighth of December condemned to imprisonment. The sentence was executed, and Béranger was confined in the prison of St Pélagie.

The restraints to which he was there subjected, were rendered much less galling by the kindness of his numerous friends; and most of his pieces written while there, are songs of acknowledgment for their attentions. The spirit of his muse, as shown to us in the remainder, does not seem at all impaired by the harsh treatment she had received; and his song *La Liberté*, in its gay yet keen irony, equals his best efforts in his best days. But if his muse did not lose her spirit, her fecundity was certainly much lessened, for we have scarcely a song per month during his abode at St Pélagie.

His confinement was of short duration, six months, we believe; and in the summer of 1822 he again made his appearance in Paris, with a reputation greatly enhanced in the eyes of his countrymen, but wholly destitute of the means of support.

In such a situation, it would be difficult to evince a more thorough love of personal freedom than he manifested in declining a proposal made to him by Mr Lafitte, offering him a place in his *bureau*. The offer was made, it would seem, in all friendship, for we cannot believe that the wary banker could have flattered himself with the hope of remodelling the poet into a scribe or accountant; but it was rejected after but little deliberation by Béranger, in those spirited lines entitled *Les Conseils de Lise*, which, as they present in a very striking light some prominent features of the author's character, we will give at full length. We should previously remark, that *Lisette*, or *Lise*, is the heroine of the greater number of his songs; many of his most spirited satires are addressed to her, and to her inspiration, perchance, it is that we are indebted for them. But far are we from attributing the virtue of constancy to Béranger; in this respect he has been, it must be confessed, guilty of great poetical license. The honor of his admiration is no peculiar one, shared as it is by Rose, 'ma Jeannette, ma Jeanneton,' Phyllis, and Cupid only knows how many more.

'Lise à l'oreille
Me conseille;
Cet oracle me dit tout bas;
"Chantez, monsieur, n'écrivez pas.

'"Un doux emploi pourrait vous plaire,"
Me dit Lise, "mais songez bien,
Songez bien au poids du salaire,
Même chez un vrai citoyen.

Rester pauvre vous est facile,
Quand l'Amour, afin de l'user,
Vient remonter ce luth fragile,
Que Thémis a voulu briser."
Lise, &c.

' " Dans l'emploi qu'un ami vous offre,
Vous n'oseriez plus, vieil enfant,
Célébrer au bruit de son coffre
Les droits que sa vertu défend.
Vous croiriez voir à chaque rime
Les sots doublement satisfaits,
De vos chansons lui faire un crime,
Vous en faire un de ses bienfaits."
Lise, &c.

' " Craignant alors la malveillance,
Vous ririez moins de ce baron,
Courtier de la Sainte-Alliance,
Qui des rois s'est fait le patron.
Dans les fonds de peur d'une crise,
Il veut que les Grecs soient déçus ;
Pour avoir l'*endos* de Moïse,
On fait banqueroute à Jésus."
Lise, &c.

' " Votre Muse en deviendrait folle,
Et croirait flatter en disant
Que sur la droite du Pactole
Intrigue et ruse vont puisant ;
Tandis qu'une noble industrie
Puise à *gauche*, et de toute part,
Reverse à flots sur la patrie
Un or dont le pauvre a sa part."
Lise, &c.

' Ainsi mon oracle m'inspire,
Puis ajoute ce dernier point ;
" Des distances l'amour peut rire ;
L'amitié n'en supporte point.
Riche de votre indépendance,
Chez Lafitte toujours fêté,
En trinquant avec l'opulence
Vous boirez à l'égalité."

' Lise à l'oreille
Me conseille,
Cet oracle me dit tout bas ;
" Chantez, monsieur, n'écrivez pas." '

We have said that a portion of the songs in the present edition, namely, those composed by the poet down to 1821, were in that year published by him under the title of his *Recueil.* The remainder of those in the second volume, bear the title of *Chansons Nouvelles*, being those which he has written from the commencement of the legal proceedings against him, down to the year 1825. Among the latest are *Lafayette en Amérique*, and *Le Chant de Victoire des Ottomans*, written soon after the horrible massacre at Psara or Ipsara. Its chorus,

> ' Exterminons une race invincible,
> Les rois Chrêtiens ne la vengeront pas,'

is the severest satire ever uttered upon the conduct of Europe during this contest.

One word as to the merit of these *Chansons Nouvelles*, for we feel ourselves bound to bestow upon them, in some respects, peculiar commendation. Age (for Béranger is somewhat past his prime), age and hard fortune have exerted their chilling influence upon the warmth of his temperament; and though they have been unable to repress his ardor, they have at least changed its direction, and have given it a moral instead of a physical character. In these later productions of his muse, he has in a great measure laid aside the trifling of his early days; and while *Le Malade*, *Les Esclaves Gaulois*, addressed to M. Manuel, on his expulsion from the Chamber of Deputies, and *Le Chant du Cosaque*, are a proud testimony that suffering has not rendered him less daring or more prudent, we could point out but very few pieces of that class, to which, in the earlier part of his poetical career, his muse largely contributed, and which were indebted for their circulation solely to the satire they contained.

The present edition, in which the *Recueil* is reprinted, and the *Chansons Nouvelles* for the first time published, obnoxious as it must have been, was followed by no injurious consequences to its author. To his fortune they had done their worst, and they had probably discovered that civil proceedings against Béranger but redounded to their own disadvantage; for in every such case notoriety is reputation to the accused (be he injured or not), and the odium recoils upon the accuser.*

* Since the above was written, and since the unfortunate termination of the process instituted against Béranger, for the publication of

What the present condition of Béranger is, we will not be so curious as to inquire; but we will hazard the conjecture, that, though certainly in a lamentable degree destitute of the goods of fortune, still, free from the embarrassments of wife and child, he is joyfully received at the tables, and the hardships of his condition greatly alleviated by the kindness, of those whose valets would not, on the score of property, change places with the poet.

Here concludes our short sketch of the life of this man, to whom our readers will not, we hope, refuse the epithet of remarkable. Born of humble parents, and cast upon the lowest spoke of the wheel of Fortune, in spite of her malicious efforts to throw him off, he has clung to it during its revolutions, until the goddess, mollified, as it were, by his perseverance, has bestowed upon him a boon which would be gladly grasped by most men, namely, a most extensive and popular reputation. As a party writer he has rendered himself obnoxious to one great political sect throughout the kingdom, and has made himself an equal favorite with the numerous faction that is arrayed on the other side. His poems have been already reviewed by Tissot, who, in a most commendatory essay has (a wonder for a French critic) openly avowed that he prefers Béranger's Lisette to the classical mistresses of Propertius and Tibullus. The man of letters must set a high value upon his works, for he is aware that the National Song, a portion of the French literature which may be said to have taken its rise in the *Chant Marseillais* and the *Chant du Départ*, owes the prolongation of its existence almost entirely to the talents of Béranger; and he is forced upon the attention of the *négociant*, who hears his songs far more frequently than any others, in the mouths of the common people.

We may be thought enthusiastic; and we confess that we find something to excite enthusiasm in the character of one, who, despising alike the favors of fortune and of power, has devoted himself and his talents to his country. Blind and selfish though his affection may be, still it is a noble selfishness, and one that excuses much that we should not otherwise so

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his *Chansons Inédites*, the name as well as the works of this author are far better known amongst us; so much so, indeed, as to render some of our previous remarks on his reputation apparently inapplicable.

lightly pass over. The levity, the voluptuousness, the vanity, nay, the coxcombry of talent, which abound in many of his songs,—all these blemishes we excuse, when we remember how often he throws off this veil which shrouds his more estimable qualities, and displays to us, in its true light, the feeling, or rather passion, which burns beneath them,—an ardent and unquenchable love of freedom.

Should any inquisitive readers, after the sketch of the mind of Béranger which we have attempted, request of us that of his person, we would comply with their demand in his own words, from his song entitled *Ma Vocation*, which we have already noticed as among his best, and tell them that he is

> 'Laid, chétif, et souffrant;
> Etouffé dans la foule
> Faute d'être assez grand.'

Thus nature has, in one of her not uncommon freaks, inclosed in a rough and unsightly casket, treasures which no adventitious circumstances have proved able to conceal. But we will not lavish any more commendatory epithets upon Béranger or his work; for on looking over our article, we are apprehensive lest we should be misunderstood, and lest the unquestioned beauty of some of his songs should have led us into somewhat too unqualified an expression of admiration of the *tout ensemble*. To our extracts, we trust no reader of good taste will refuse to award the same amount of praise that we have bestowed upon them; but, nevertheless, for the sake of our national character, and our claims to a superior degree of moral sense, we should be extremely sorry to see these two volumes in general circulation among us.

However then, for the time, we ourselves may have been misled, we would not that the injury should extend any farther. Our opinion is, in a word, that to the young and inexperienced, a *selection* from the songs of Béranger would be, both as very difficult poetry, and as models of beautiful writing, a most agreeable and useful acquisition; but it is only to the more mature and stable, those whose heads are not turned by the mere sound of a French rhyme, it is to those only that we should be willing to commit this collection, unexpurgated. To them no injury can be apprehended from the grossness, the licentiousness, and the frivolity, that pervade his

earlier works; and from this dross they will be able to extract much of precious metal, the smelting of which could with no propriety be confided to younger hands.

Art. V.—*An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution.* By Samuel G. Howe, M. D., late Surgeon in Chief to the Greek Fleet. 8vo. New York. 1828. pp. 452.

We believe that, after all that has been said and written in this country about the affairs of Greece, their importance is not yet justly appreciated. We believe that the contest, which was commenced about eight years and a half ago in that country, and is still going on in the East, is, both directly and in its consequences, much more momentous than is generally supposed, by those who have not carefully contemplated it. We have seen the name of a revolution sneeringly denied to the Grecian struggle; and attempts made, not only to stigmatize it as a mere insurrection, but to give it the character of a predatory and piratical movement, such as occasionally breaks out in strong governments, and, after some acts of violence and bloodshed, is happily crushed. Such is not the view we take of the subject. The revolution now in progress in Greece, differing certainly in some important respects from our own, is in others of equal importance. The numbers actively engaged in carrying it on, or whose political condition is to be decided by its result, are little if any beneath those of the British North American colonies in 1775. And although our population of that day was destined to an immediate increase, far greater and more rapid than any increase of numbers which, in any event, can be expected in revolutionary Greece; still the happy soil of that country, under institutions favorable to the progress of society, would easily support a population about ten times as large as the present, and would not then be more densely inhabited than Italy. The Grecian revolution has now been in progress more than eight years; a longer period than elapsed from the commencement to the termination of our war of Independence. It appears to us, that this duration of the struggle gives it a claim to be distinguished from a mere disorderly and

insurrectionary movement. In the number, variety, and extent of military and naval movements, and in the scale of warlike operations, we will not say that the war in Greece can be put on a level with the war of our revolution; but we certainly may say with truth, that it has been marked with incidents of a more decisive character, than most of those which occurred in the conflict between the British and American arms. The sieges and capture of Tripolizza and Napoli di Romania, by the unaided arms of the Greeks, are events to which our war affords no precise parallel. The annihilation of the army of Drama Ali, a well appointed force of thirty thousand men, which burst, full of presumption and hope, upon the Morea, in the campaign of 1822, and was wholly destroyed, may be fairly compared with the capture of Burgoyne. The defence of Missolonghi is not surpassed, in the display of active or passive courage, by any event in any war. The exploits of the Greeks, on their favorite element, the sea, rise into the regions of romance. Many times have the Turkish fleets, composed of ships of the line and frigates, fled in confusion, at the approach of their audacious little squadrons; and omitting the numberless gallant exploits less brilliantly successful, what glory would not have crowned the gallant and fortunate man, in our last war, who should twice have fitted out and commanded a fire-ship, hovered for days and weeks around a formidable hostile fleet, singled out her admiral, a three-decker, run in, grappled with and totally destroyed him, and made his own escape in a boat. If the sacrifices made, and the suffering endured, give a dignity to a contest,—as they certainly afford an index of the spirit and temper with which it is waged,—where can we turn for scenes like those of Scio, of Candia, of Ipsara, of Missolonghi. The war in Greece has been filled up with events, of which any one would have signalized a contest in any region of western Europe or America. We copy, as an illustration, the following single incident in the siege of Missolonghi, and would inquire, what single incident in the last war, with the exception of the battle of New Orleans, is of greater magnitude?

'The rainy season had also set in, and the Turkish army began to suffer from sickness, while their leaders now saw clearly that all the negotiations which they had been carrying on, tended only to give time to the Greeks to secure supplies. They resolved, then, upon a general attack, and selected for the moment of it,

Christmas eve, a time of great church ceremonies with the Greeks, and in which they expected the garrison would be engaged. A select body with scaling-ladders were to approach the walls silently on one side, while the attention of the garrison was to be drawn off by a feigned attack in the centre, and a real one upon the other wing.

'But the Greeks got notice of the plan, and made every preparation for a vigorous resistance; the men were kept at their posts all night, and Mavrocordato, Botzaris, and the other leaders, went about cheering them, and keeping a diligent watch. Nevertheless the scaling party approached unseen, to the very ditch, and awaited the signal. This was given at 5 A. M., and immediately the roar of cannon, and rattle of musketry, along the whole Turkish line, with the shouts of the soldiers, announced to the Greeks how many and how near their enemies were. But every man was sheltered behind his breastwork, and they escaped the Turkish shot; while their own, directed upon the flash, proved very destructive. The scaling party crossed the ditch, and began resolutely to climb the wall; but they were as bravely met by the Greeks, cut down, and thrust back; only two entered the town.* The Turks pressed on at the other parts, but were driven back by the musketry from the walls, and the grape from the guns.

'Daylight presented a striking scene; the plain was covered by the Turks, who in the greatest confusion were retiring, while next the walls "in a semicircle lay" the ridge of dead who had fallen in the onset, and the battlements were covered with the exulting Greeks, who pursued with shouts of derision their retiring enemy. The Turks lost one thousand men, while the Greeks had not fifty killed, wounded, and missing.' pp. 137, 138.

If we regard the character of the parties in this contest, we shall find them of singular interest. Without drawing at all on topics of classical enthusiasm,—from which we intend studiously to abstain,—and taking up the character of the Greeks, where modern history takes them up, we must allow that there is no other people standing in so interesting a position. In the great political history of mankind, the balance of the East and the West is one of the matters of chief interest. The rise, aggrandizement, and power of the Turkish empire are, in modern times, the principal things that have affected this balance; and

* '"They were two standard-bearers. One was instantly cut to pieces; the other was preserved, by order of the president. It is remarkable that the besieged lost but six men killed, and that one half of that number was by this brave Albanian, who killed three with the lance of his standard." Mémoires sur la Grèce, p. 457.'

the Greeks are the subjects on which this power has been and is (at least as far as Western Europe is a witness) most visibly exerted. It happened that the wave of Turkish invasion, which passed over Transylvania and Hungary, and beat against the walls of Vienna, was thrown back as far as Greece. To causes, as far as we can now read them, exceedingly slight and fortuitous, it was owing, that Buda and Trieste are not now governed by Pashaws, as well as Yanina or Sophia. But whether these causes were slight or grave, the event has been, that we behold in the Greeks a people, degenerate, indeed, but essentially civilized; superstitious, but belonging to the Christian church; ignorant, but acknowledging our standard of improvement; sprung from the European stock, notwithstanding a partial adoption of Oriental manners; and, with all this, held in abject political subjection, not to say personal servitude, to a barbarous, oriental, Mahometan tribe, which, after four hundred years' encampment in Europe, remains as alien as ever to our religion and our civilization. At present we say only, that a people so situated must be allowed to stand in a very interesting political situation. We have already touched on the points of interest and curiosity in the other party to this contest,—the Turkish government and people; an Oriental people, who, although the most exposed to European influences, seem most jealously to have clung to the peculiarities of the East; on whom the new principles of the modern social system have made as little impression, as the new arts of modern invention; who know as little of public opinion, as of the art of printing; but who possess (and not, as was till lately thought, in their ruins) the elements of that politico-religious organization, which formerly carried them and other tribes of the Mahometan stock, from the great wall of China to the western shores of Africa. Whether we contemplate this party to the contest in its own direct efforts, or as aided by its tributary powers, the Regencies of the Barbary coast, and by its formidable vassal, the Bey of Egypt, who comes to lay waste poor Greece, with forty thousand black savages, from the upper falls of the Nile, trained in the war with the fanatics of Arabia Felix, drilled by English and French colonels, and convoyed by frigates built at Marseilles, and steamboats built in London,—we must needs admit that there is an adventure and a romance of real life and modern times, beyond all the fictions of the poets.

Nor is it merely as matter of high-wrought interest, that the

revolution in Greece demands our attentive consideration. The question at issue in its result, the political condition of the Greeks, is one of incalculable importance to themselves, and the whole family of civilized man. Merely in its probable connexion with the general politics of Europe, and in the effect it may have upon the relations of the great powers with each other, it bids fair to become a subject scarcely less important than the revolution in France. The three great powers have been obliged *to act* upon the subject; the thing, unquestionably, which they dreaded quite as much as the responsibility of any particular measure; and if such was their reluctance to act at all, the event has justified it; for the first consequence of their united action is the battle of Navarino, and the destruction, by the allies of Turkey, in time of peace, of the Turkish marine,—a movement not fairly avowed by either party, and expressly disclaimed by the British. What must be the deliberate consequences of a policy, whose accidents are of such tremendous magnitude?

Our object, in these preliminary remarks, is to convince our readers, if they needed to be so convinced, that the subject of the work before us is of great importance and interest. Dr Howe relates the history of the Greek revolution for the first seven years of its duration. He takes it up at its commencement, and brings it down to the period of the battle of Navarino, an event which marks an entirely new era in its progress; and, whatever may be the future fate of Greece, closes up the narrative of her revolutionary struggle. We regard Dr Howe's work as one of great value. He has modestly denominated it a *Historical Sketch*, and has assigned the reasons, in his preface, which prevented him from rendering it more systematically perfect in all its parts. It possesses, however, all the essential merits of a work of the nature of a contemporary history. It is sufficiently comprehensive, without dealing too much in generals; and there is detail and incident enough, to bring the subject home to the imagination of the reader. The preparation of the work, as is frankly avowed in the preface, was effected in haste.* The execution is somewhat careless, and

* We have heard it said, but we do not vouch for the truth of the statement, that the appearance of Dr Howe's work was hastened, to prevent its being forestalled by a bookseller's job, got up under the name of a 'History of the Greek Revolution,' and which, before Dr Howe's was well through the press, was peddled through some portions of the United States as *Howe's History of the Greek Revolution.*

occasional inaccuracies may perhaps be detected; but, taking it together, we believe it presents a more perfect and complete sketch of the revolution in Greece, than can be found in any other of the numerous productions having the same object in view.

We think it a great recommendation of Dr Howe's work, that it evinces an unusual independence of judgment. Most of those, who have written on the struggle of the Greeks, have either vilified or panegyrized them. They have alternately been painted in the darkest and brightest colors. Dr Howe has done what became an honest man, who possessed ample opportunities of personal observation, who had seen both the bright and the dark side of the Grecian character. He has not scrupled to expose the intrigues and factions of the politicians, the selfishness of the military chieftains, and the ignorance and barbarism of the lowest class of the community. He, at the same time, has done justice to the patriotic efforts and sacrifices, both of the mass of the people on the one hand, and of many disinterested and heroic individuals on the other, and to the high character of many distinguished men. Dr Howe is plainly the slave neither of enthusiasm nor of spleen. Especially he does not find it necessary, like some of his predecessors, to give vent to a systematic aversion to free institutions, and a secret despair or scorn of all attempts to improve the political condition of men, by railing at the Greek cause. He is not one of those, who never see anything amiss in antiquated systems of government, nor anything hopeful in efforts to reform them. No one of those, who have written on Greece, whose works have fallen under our notice, has had better opportunities than were enjoyed by Dr Howe, in his three years' residence in Greece, and in his participation, by land and by sea, of the perils and labors of the war. No one has spoken with more manly feedom of the excesses, which have at times stained the Grecian arms, and of the selfish and narrow policy both of political and military leaders; and yet from no book on Greece that we have read, do we rise with better hopes of the Grecian cause. We feel that we can trust Dr Howe, in his favorable anticipations, because we see they are those of a fair and impartial man.

There is no defect in the style of this work, but that which arises from the haste of preparation, and which detracts little or nothing from its substantial value. There is an occasional harshness of judgment in estimating character and conduct,

which, in cases where the author does not speak from personal observation, may be thought unduly severe. We are inclined to quote, as the most conspicuous instance of this, the opinions expressed of Alexander Ypsilanti. Our own views of his character are considerably more favorable, than those expressed by Dr Howe. We are disposed to make great allowances for the difficulties of his position, and have strong doubts, whether any man could have effected more than he did, under the inauspicious and unforeseen circumstances in which he was placed. We might also extend our charity to some of the prominent political leaders, of whose characters Dr Howe speaks with great freedom.

We have very sincerely professed our reliance on his means of observation, and his disposition to use them fairly. But Greece, like every other free country, is rent by parties. Every man belongs to some one or other of the factions, and regards the members of every party but his own with an unfriendly eye. The foreigner cannot well avoid imbibing some of these prejudices. If his associates are exclusively of one side, he is apt to make common cause in their antipathies. If he mingles with all parties, he alternately hears them all vilified. We have only to reflect, what sort of an account a foreigner, who had passed the last four years in the United States, would be apt to write home of our most prominent public men, forming his opinion from the common sources of information, and we can better understand the danger there is of error, in forming an estimate of the characters of the political leaders in Greece.

But it is time to attempt a very hasty sketch of the leading incidents in the Grecian revolution, following the guidance of Dr Howe's work. In doing this, we shall occasionally describe occurrences in a manner differing from that, in which other writers have presented them, sometimes to the advantage, and sometimes to the disadvantage of the Greeks.

We have in a former number of this journal * related the history of the rebellion, and downfall of Ali Pacha,—circumstances which precipitated the movements of the Greek patriots. Our number for October last contained an account of these movements in Moldavia and Wallachia, with a more favorable estimate of the ability and conduct of Alexander Ypsilanti, than appears to have been formed by Dr Howe. The breaking out

* No. 22, for January, 1824.

of the revolution, if it found the Greeks at large unapprized of the contemplated design, took the Turks not less by surprise. Notwithstanding the large number of persons, who, as members of the *Hetaireia*, must have been in the secret of its plans, it does not appear, that an individual proved treacherous. The first certain intelligence, which the Turkish governors, in any quarter, received of the project of the revolution, was in the overt acts of the patriots, who rose to carry it into effect.

This was done in the Morea, by Germanos, the bishop of Patras, on the fourth of April, 1821. On this day he displayed the cross, and called on the people to rise, as one man, against their oppressors. This call was obeyed in every part of the Morea, which has remained, to the present day, the chief seat of the revolution. Confidence was given to the early movements in this quarter, by the adhesion of Petro Mavromichalis, the bey of Maina, the most independent district of continental Greece, who promptly repaired, with his hardy mountaineers, to the sacred standard. Colocotroni, who has since, with various reputation as commander in chief of the Greek army, figured in the revolution, crossed over from the Ionian Islands, with his gallant nephew Niketas, and assisted in organizing the revolt. By the seventeenth of April, Germanos had invested Patras with a tumultuary army, and driven the Turks, to the number of five thousand, from the lower town to the citadel. The flame, meantime, spread to the islands, and a small fleet of vessels from Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara was soon ready to annoy the Turkish power, on the favorite element of the Greeks.

On receiving the tidings of these events, Kurshid Pashaw, the governor of the Morea, who was then employed in Albania, in the reduction of Ali Pashaw, despatched a lieutenant, with five or six thousand men, across the gulf of Corinth, to suppress the revolt. Mohammed (this was the name of the officer detached by Kurshid) found no difficulty in traversing the Morea in all directions, and driving the ill-organized bands of the Greeks to the mountains. His rapid march, at this commencement of the revolution, was marked with blood. But it was not long before he received a check at Lalla, from a party of patriots, raised in the Ionian Islands, and debarked on the western coast of the Morea; which taught the Turks that their enemy was not to be despised, and served to the Greeks as an

omen of success. Their Guerilla parties began to concentrate in the highlands that encircle Tripolizza.

When the news of the revolutionary movements in the Morea reached Constantinople, the most horrid outrages ensued. Christians were everywhere insulted; the Greeks were hunted down, like wild beasts, in the streets, and the venerable and unoffending patriarch hung at the door of his church. These atrocities were but too faithfully imitated in Asia Minor, and the other parts of the Turkish Empire, where the Greeks formed but a small portion of the population. The tidings of these cruelties, however, as they were circulated throughout Greece, served but to arouse those who had hitherto remained undecided, and to convince all who bore the name and professed the religion of Greeks, that the hour was come, when they must shake off the yoke or be exterminated.

The leaders in the Morea were not slow in feeling the necessity of such a political organization, as should give stability to the revolution at home, and render it respectable in the eyes of the world. They accordingly convened the principal citizens at Calamata, and assuming the name of the Messenian Senate (from the province in ancient Greece, in which this region was included), they elected Petro Mavromichalis as their president. Decrees of this body were issued, tending to the organization and direction of the military force, and the general government of affairs. Navarino and Monembasia were already invested by large bodies of armed peasantry. The senate directed the siege of other Turkish fortresses; and the blockade of Tripolizza was entrusted to Colocotroni, at the head of the principal embodied force, amounting to six or seven thousand men. The attention of the assembly at Calamata was next turned to foreign countries. They issued a manifesto to the nations of Europe, and another addressed to the citizens of America, invoking the sympathy and aid of the friends of liberty throughout the world. The latter address was transmitted to America by the deputies sent to Paris, by the Senate of Calamata, and was published in the original, in this journal for October, 1823. It was read with strong interest throughout the United States, and had considerable effect, in awakening the feelings of our citizens to the condition of their brethren in Greece. Before closing its session, the Senate of Calamata vested the powers of government, which they had assumed, in a commission of seven persons, and then adjourned

to meet again at Tripolizza, the fall of which was confidently expected.

About this time, Demetrius Ypsilanti, a younger brother of Alexander, arrived at Hydra. He had left Russia at the beginning of the revolution, and traversed the Austrian dominions in the disguise of a servant. He presented himself as an authorized representative of his brother, empowered to lead the revolt in Lower Greece. Notwithstanding the indiscreet latitude of these pretensions, Ypsilanti was received with exultation by the people and *primates* of Hydra. By some apparent coldness in his manner toward the latter, and the cordiality of his deportment toward the military chiefs, Ypsilanti fell under the suspicion of having determined to attach himself to the party of the military leaders, rather than that of the primates, or wealthy citizens, who, in consequence of their property and union by family connexions with each other, constituted a kind of subaltern aristocracy, in the more prosperous parts of Greece. Dr Howe, though entertaining no high opinion of the talent or skill for managing affairs, possessed by Ypsilanti, gives him full credit for disinterestedness, patriotism, and courage. If to these qualities he had united the practical skill which the crisis required, he certainly stood in a position to perform a part, assigned to but few men in the lapse of ages. Justly regarding the reduction of Tripolizza as the most important object to be effected, Ypsilanti attached himself to the force which was stationed near that city. Cantacuzene, one of his suite, and of an ancient Byzantine family, was despatched by Ypsilanti, to superintend the siege of Monembasia or Napoli di Malvasia, a strong fortress on the eastern coast of the Morea. Navarino, at the same time, continued to be closely invested by a considerable force.

The first naval expedition had returned to port, after gaining some small advantages, which served to inspirit the adventurers. A second and larger squadron was fitted out in May, and boldly sailed towards the Dardanelles, in search of a division of the Turkish navy, consisting of a seventy-four, a fifty-gun ship, three frigates, three corvettes, and two brigs. The fifty-gun ship was, by dexterous manœuvring, cut out of the squadron, and driven on shore, upon the coast of Eubœa, and after one ineffectual attempt, was totally destroyed, with the exception of about twenty of her crew, by a fire-ship, under the direction of a Hydriote captain. This was the first experi-

ment made of the formidable efficacy of the *fire-ships* (or *brûlots*, as they are called by the Greeks and Turks, adopting the French name), which have since become so powerful an instrument of annoyance to the Turkish squadrons. The following description of the mode, in which these fire-ships are prepared, may be acceptable to our readers.

'An old vessel, but one which will sail well, is selected; every thing valuable is taken out of her; her inside is daubed with a composition of pitch and sulphur, and filled with furze, or light combustibles; several new hatches are cut along the deck on each side, under each of which is placed a small cask of powder; the rigging is well daubed with tar, and the ends of the yards armed with hooks, that they may catch and entangle in the enemy's rigging. When everything is ready, a train of powder is laid from the combustibles, communicating with each cask of powder, and leading to the stern of the brulot; then with all sail set, she is run directly for an enemy ship; the sailors (generally twenty in number) crouch behind the bulwarks, to hide themselves from the shot; and at the moment she strikes against the ship meant to be burned, every man leaps into the boat, which is kept ready, dragging astern; the captain fires the train, and follows them; and leaving the brulot, of which every spar, rope, and sail, is in an instant in one broad blaze, to grasp in its fiery embrace the enemy's vessel, they pull rapidly away, with from twenty to thirty oars, and try to gain the vessel appointed to pick them up.

'Nothing can be conceived more terrible than the situation of a large vessel thus attacked; for though, while at a little distance, it is easy to escape a brulot, yet once united, once that the train is fired, there is no hope for a soul on board;—the only refuge from a fiery grave is to plunge into a watery one.' p. 36.

This success at sea was received with great rejoicing, by the Greeks; and with rage and purposes of savage revenge by the Turks. Massacres of Christians were everywhere renewed; and not content with the sacrifice of individual victims, whole settlements were devoted by the Turks, to all the horrors of a vindictive and unrelenting warfare. The following account of the destruction of the most flourishing Grecian city in Asia Minor, will show the character of the foe, with whom the Greeks had henceforward to contend.

'But no place suffered like Aivali, or Cydonia. This flourishing and most interesting spot was inhabited solely by Greeks; who enjoyed the rare privilege of living under their own town rulers. There were thirty thousand inhabitants in the town, previous to the

revolution, many of whom however had fled. It had a college, and its population was one of the most enlightened of any Greek town. Situated as they were, in the heart of the Turkish empire, the thought of revolt could never have entered their minds; but the Pashaw of the province was determined that it should; he therefore, upon pretence of the discovery of a conspiracy, sent a thousand soldiers to be quartered among them. The next day a larger number arriving, began to commit every outrage upon the inhabitants, and wanted only an excuse to fall upon, and massacre them. The third day, the Greek fleet appeared off the harbor, but merely by accident, not having had any communication with it. This, however, was the signal for the Turks, who began to massacre all that fell in their way, and set fire to the houses. The inhabitants, in despair, rushed to arms; boats were sent off from the fleet; the sailors united with the inhabitants, and after a severe fight, the Turks were driven out of the town. But the inhabitants knew it was only a momentary respite; in the morning the Turks would return with immense forces, and the only refuge from death or slavery, was on board the vessels. That night was to them one of horror and confusion, more easily imagined than described; every one was anxious to get on board, with as many of his effects as he could save. About five thousand were received on board the fleet, and the next day as many more were butchered by the Turks. All the men, the young and aged, were murdered in cold blood; the women and boys, whose beauty made them valuable prizes, were carried off, to sell in the markets of Constantinople, and serve the brutal lusts of the rich. The buildings were all burnt, and of the flourishing Aivali, there remained but the ashes of its houses, and the bones of its inhabitants.' pp. 37, 38.

Meantime the siege of Tripolizza was pressed by Demetrius Ypsilanti. Mohammed, the Turkish commander, was repulsed in a vigorous sortie. News of the reduction of Monembasia reached the blockading army, and served to raise their spirits, and to depress those of the Turks. The Turkish garrison, who were made prisoners at Monembasia, were, in fulfilment of the terms of the capitulation, safely transported to Asia Minor, where they were received with contempt by their countrymen, for having consented to accept their lives of Christian dogs. The artillery, which fell into the hands of the Greeks, by the capture of this fortress, was dragged with difficulty over the mountains, and planted in battery against the walls of Tripolizza.

About this time, arrived in Greece Prince Alexander Mavrocordato, who, till the appearance of the present president,

Count Capo d'Istria, on the stage, exhibited more talent for a leader of the revolution, than any other individual. He appeared at a moment when Demetrius Ypsilanti, already an object of jealousy, not only to the primates, but also to the military leaders, was losing his hold upon the people generally, by the intelligence of the prostration of his brother Alexander in Wallachia, as whose representative Demetrius claimed to act. Some account of the family of Mavrocordato was given in our number for October last. Alexander had been employed in the service of the Hospodar of Wallachia, and fled with him from Bucharest in 1818. On the breaking out of the revolution, he immediately sailed from Leghorn to Greece, bringing with him arms, ammunitions, and supplies, which he procured by exhausting all his own means, and drawing on those of his countrymen in exile. The distinguished part, which this gentleman has taken in the conduct of the revolution, induces us to make the following extract.

'Alexander Mavrocordato is about thirty-eight years of age, rather below the middle height, but perfectly well made; his fine olive complexion looks darker than it really is, from the jetty blackness of his hair, which hangs in ringlets about his face, and from his large mustachios and sparkling black eyes. His manners are perfectly easy and gentlemanlike; and though the first impression would be from his extreme politeness, and continual smiles, that he was a good-natured, silly fop; yet one soon sees from the keen, inquisitive glances which involuntarily escape him, that he is concealing under an almost childish lightness of manner, a close and accurate study of his visiter. He speaks fluently seven languages; and having been an accurate observer of men and manners, *can* make his conversations extremely instructive; his political talents are of the very first order, and his mental resources great. He has a just confidence in his own powers; but unfortunately he has not that personal firmness and hardihood, necessary in the leader of a revolution. He cannot be called cowardly, for he will resolutely put himself in situations which he knows to be dangerous; yet, when the danger actually arrives, he, in spite of himself, loses his coolness and presence of mind. There is but one opinion in Greece about the talents of Mavrocordato, all allow them to be very great; but this is not the case in respect to his virtues. His friends ascribe every action to the most disinterested patriotism; but his enemies hesitate not to pronounce them all to have for their end, his party or private interest; and say, that he would sooner subject his country to the Turks, than have his political opponents get the credit of saving her. But here, as is often the

case, truth lies between the two extremes; let his enemies avow that he loves his country, and has labored hard to benefit her; and his friends confess that he is ambitious, and has always had a considerable regard to his own political interest; and a nearer approach to his true character will be had. As to his intriguing and crooked policy, it may be said that his excellence in it alone kept up his influence; he could not oppose the schemes of his enemies but by using the same arms he was attacked with; the only way to escape a mine, is by countermining.

'Without family influence, without a military reputation, and without money, he gained, and long kept the supremacy; and the true cause of his having a party against him, was that he endeavored to reform abuses, and to introduce order and discipline into the army. He has had large sums of public money at his disposal, almost without being under the necessity of rendering the least account; yet he is, and always has been, poor.' pp. 50, 51.

After an interview with Ypsilanti at Tripolizza, Mavrocordato, perceiving the importance of strengthening the revolution without the limits of the Morea, and of drawing some advantage from the position of Ali Pashaw, repaired to Western Greece, and entered into negotiation with the Suliotes.

In the month of August, Navarino capitulated to the Greek force besieging it. The transportation of the prisoners to Asia Minor was stipulated. In the pillage of the town, which followed, an affray arose, of which the provocation is differently related, and in violation of the capitulation, a large number of the Turks were massacred by the Greeks. At the same time an attempt was made, by the Turkish garrison of the neighboring fortress Modon, to relieve their brethren. They were, however, met by the besiegers of Navarino, under their brave chief Constantine, the son of Petro Mavromichalis, who routed the Turks, and drove them back to Modon, but fell himself in the moment of victory. A general attempt was made by the Turks in the more northern provinces of Greece,—the ancient Thessaly, Phocis, and Bœotia,—to come to the relief of their brethren in the Morea. Their army passed Thermopylæ with ease, this renowned defile having ceased to afford any obstacles to an advancing multitude, in consequence of the accretions produced by the overflow of the saline springs, and the gradual accumulations at the mouth of the Spercheius.* In attempt-

* Instead of the narrow path, which once constituted the pass of Thermopylæ, a level meadow of perhaps half a quarter of a mile in

ing to pass the mountains into Bœotia, the Turkish force was checked, and thrown back by Ulysses, a partisan leader, who had passed from the service of Ali Pashaw into that of the patriots, and who had raised the peasantry and mountaineers of this region.

The main body of the Turkish fleet issued from the Dardanelles in August, under the Capudan Pashaw. Samos was threatened by him; but so vigorous was the show of resistance, that no attack was made. The fleet then steered toward the besieged fortresses of the Morea, to afford them relief, which was successfully done at Coron and Modon, but ineffectually attempted at Calamata. Fearing a debarkation of troops from the fleet, with a view to the relief of Tripolizza, Ypsilanti was persuaded to quit his post before that city, and marched with a considerable force, to occupy the passes, through which alone Tripolizza could be approached. Dr Howe supposes that Ypsilanti was wrought upon to depart, by the intrigues of the military chiefs under him, who hoped to effect the reduction of the city in his absence, to impose their own terms on the garrison, and to monopolize the plunder. It may be observed, that Dr Howe's whole account of the siege of Tripolizza is less favorable to the Greeks, than the accounts given by many other writers of the same event.

After the departure of Ypsilanti from the Grecian camp, the Albanians, who formed a part of the Turkish garrison, made known to the Grecian commander their purpose of abandoning the defence of the city, and making a separate peace for themselves, to which the Greeks readily assented. Thus deserted by the larger portion of their armed forces, the remainder, and the Turkish population generally, saw the necessity of capitulating. They entered into negotiations for that purpose with Colocotroni, the mercenary chieftain, in command of the Grecian troops. At the breaking out of the revolution, the richest Turks had retreated to Tripolizza, as the place of the greatest safety. As the residence of the vizier, it was also that of a large portion of the wealthiest Turks, and nearly all the movable valuables of the Morea were collected at Tripolizza at this moment. The negotiations for surrender were accordingly protracted by Colocotroni, and the chieftains about him,

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width, runs for a considerable distance along the foot of the mountain. The warm springs only remain to identify the spot.

with a view of extorting for their personal emolument, rich presents from the wealthy Turks, who sought, in this way, to make terms, and purchase protection for themselves, and their friends. In the progress of this disgraceful affair, the Greek soldiery saw that they were to be defrauded of their share of the richest plunder. The capitulation meantime was not granted, and the negotiation was brought to an abrupt and cruel close in the following manner.

'These shameful transactions could not be concealed from the soldiery, who, mad with rage and disappointment, sought an opportunity of entering the town before all the plunder should be gone; on the third day, a party of them venturing near the wall, observed a part of it unguarded; they mounted, and displaying their flag, it was seen from every part of the camp. The effect was instantaneous; a wild rush was made from all sides, the walls were scaled almost without opposition; the gates were opened, and a confused mass of soldiers pouring in, shot, or hacked down all the Turks they met. Some streets, indeed, were fiercely disputed with the pistol and yataghan; musketry rattled from the windows, and grape was showered down from the cannon of the citadel. But the Albanians, upon the strength of the separate treaty they had made, shut themselves in the court of the Pashaw's palace, and made no resistance. The commander, Mohammed Bey, shut himself up with several followers in the little citadel; another body fled from the town, and attempted to escape, but forty of them only passed the defiles. Those who remained, resisted indeed most furiously, but without plan or union, and they were soon put down; resistance was over, but havoc ceased not. It is useless here to follow the sickening task of detailing the horrors of the scene; suffice it to say, that Tripolitza suffered all the miseries of a town taken by storm. The bodies of five thousand Turks choked up the streets, and those of several hundred Greeks showed that resistance had been desperate. The next day the Albanians marched off, their arms procuring them respect; and they regained their country unmolested. Mahommed Bey, and the Turks, who had taken refuge in the citadel, were without water, and surrendered unconditionally. Colocotroni and some chosen followers entered it, and kept themselves shut up for three days, making arrangements for the transportation of the treasure which they found there.

'During all this time the work of slaughter had not ceased; many Turks, shut up in their houses, defended themselves singly, and it was often necessary to burn them out; a few women, whose beauty made them valuable, some children, and the men of dis-

tinction, among whom was Kiamil Bey of Corinth, were all that were spared. Thus between famine and the sword, fifteen thousand Turks perished in Tripolitza.' pp. 62, 63.

These events served as a new lesson of the necessity of a more efficient civil organization; and a proclamation was issued by Ypsilanti, convoking a national assembly at Tripolizza. This proclamation is conceived in the worst taste, or rather shows the incapacity of Ypsilanti, for the place of a popular leader. It is in the milder manner of Napoleon addressing his subjects. Provincial governments had been organized, in the western part of continental Greece, by Mavrocordato, and in the eastern, by Theodore Negris; but all eyes were turned to the general assembly, which was to deliberate on the affairs of entire Greece. On his way to this assembly, Mavrocordato made an attempt to obtain possession of the fortress of Patras. Owing to the negligence of the Greeks, who were in possession of the lower town, a successful sally was made by the Turkish garrison, from the citadel at midnight, and Mavrocordato himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner. Among his papers, which were lost on this occasion, was a manuscript history of the origin and progress of the establishment of the Turks in Europe. The national assembly, consisting of sixty members, was convened at Argos, but removed to Epidaurus, to prevent its being overawed by the military force besieging Napoli di Romania. Its sessions were opened on the fifteenth of December, 1821, and Mavrocordato was chosen president. Regarding this event as a virtual deposition from his office of generalissimo, Ypsilanti did not appear at Epidaurus.

Such were the leading transactions of the *first* year of the revolution. On the first of January, 1822, a constitution of civil government, which had been prepared by a committee of five, was adopted by the convention. This committee consisted of Mavrocordato, the president of the assembly, Theodore Negris, Germanos, the first mover of the revolution in the Morea, Karadja, and Colletti. The chief agency in preparing the constitution was probably shared by Mavrocordato and Negris; and an edition of it published by authority in Greece, containing a lithographic likeness of the latter, with the title *ὁ νομοθέτης τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, seems to ascribe the honor of drafting it to him. A translation of this constitution, made from a French version, may be found in this journal for October, 1823. By this constitution, the government was vested in a senate,

and an executive body of five members, assisted by eight heads of department. Mavrocordato was elected president of the executive body, and the presidency of the senate was offer- to Ypsilanti, but declined by him. Theodore Negris was named secretary of state.

Ali Pashaw had now fallen, and the Turkish army, which had been kept in check by his obstinate resistance, was set at liberty. The plan of the Turkish campaign was devised with skill. The army just mentioned was to descend through Western Greece to Missolonghi, and thence cross to Patras; an army was to move through Eastern Greece on Corinth; and both were to be supplied by the fleet at these points, and march against Tripolizza.

Success, however, crowned the first movements of the Greeks. By the defection of the Albanians, Corinth and its naturally impregnable citadel fell into the hands of the patriots, and was made the seat of government. A squadron of the Turkish navy, consisting principally of Barbary vessels, was met off the western shores of the Morea, by the Greek fleet, and dispersed. Great loss would have accrued to the Turks, but for the interference of Sir Thomas Maitland, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, who announced that he considered the whole channel of Corfu, from one extremity to the other of the island, to be the port of Corfu, into which he would allow no vessel sailing under the Greek flag to enter. This wise decision of Sir Thomas Maitland would include several of the ports of Albania, within that of Corfu,—and is very much as if it should be pretended, that the whole of Long Island sound, from Hurl Gate to Point Judith, is included within the port of Huntington. This is but one instance of the fantastic tyranny exercised by Sir Thomas Maitland, which caused the accession of Sir Frederic Adam to the power abused by his predecessor, to be hailed as a blessing, both by the Ionian and the Independent Greeks.

To meet, and if possible avert, the danger which impended from Albania, the president Mavrocordato, in conjunction with the gallant Marco Botzaris, organized an expedition to act in that quarter, and prevent the descent of the Turks. This movement was, however, unsuccessful, and the patriotic army was obliged to retreat to Missolonghi. In this unfortunate expedition, a considerable portion of the European volunteers, under General Normann of Wurtemberg, nobly fell, in the front

ranks, before the overwhelming multitude of their foes. General Normann himself was wounded, but escaped. By this forced retreat of the Grecian army, the brave Suliotes were left to struggle alone in their mountain fastnesses. Here they sustained themselves during the residue of the season, till, compelled by the absolute failure of provisions, they capitulated to Omer Briones, the Turkish commander, on condition of being permitted to retire to the Ionian Islands. This capitulation was guarantied by Sir Frederic Adam, and faithfully kept.

At the commencement of the second year of the revolution, the bloodiest tragedy of this horrid war was enacted at Scio. That beautiful and fertile island had hitherto forborne to join the revolt. An appanage of the Sultana Validè, and as such, exempted from the severity of the ordinary government of the Turks, its inhabitants knew not the extent of the tyranny under which their countrymen in other parts of Greece were groaning. Near the Asiatic coast, they felt that a movement toward insurrection would involve them in instant ruin. But on the seventeenth of March, a body of Samiotes, about six hundred in number, under the command of two worthless adventurers, landed on the island, and called on the peasantry to revolt. Although they were listened to but by few, and those of the lowest class, the Pashaw of the island made it a pretence for seizing fifty of the principal inhabitants as hostages; and a detachment of cavalry was sent against the insurgents. The peasantry rose and joined the Samians, to resist their approach, the alarm spread, the Turks fled to the city for safety, and the citizens in general found themselves driven to measures of self-defence. Deputies were sent to the Morea, to acquaint the government with their situation, and the citadel was invested by the Greeks. On the eleventh of April, the Capudan Pashaw with seven ships of the line, and twenty-five frigates and corvettes, entered the harbor, and commenced the bombardment of the city. The Turks in the garrison made a sortie, at the same time, and the greater part of the Greeks immediately fled from Scio to the country. About five thousand, unable to escape, awaited the mercy of the Turk. The catastrophe must be told in the words of Dr Howe.

'Thus master of the town, and of several thousands of the inhabitants, the Capitan Pashaw commenced his measures, to put in execution the bloody scheme planned in the Divan at Constantinople; he landed about six thousand men from the fleet, and

employed three days in bringing over a swarm of Turks from the coast of Asia Minor. While he was thus collecting his myrmidons, and setting them in array, the Capitan Pashaw neglected no means to lull the inhabitants into a fatal security, by solemn promises of forgiveness of their faults, and mercy and protection, if they would return each one to his home and resume his occupation. Many did so, relying on the faith of the consuls of England and France, who came clad in their respective uniforms, and urged the Sciotes to throw themselves on the clemency of the Capitan Pashaw. Convinced by this, many returned to the town; and about a thousand of the peasantry, openly separating from the insurgents, retired to the monastery of St Minas.

'The fourth day the preparations of the Capitan Pashaw being completed, he ordered the Greeks who were in the monastery to be brought out, and butchered one by one. This was the signal for the commencement of that tragedy to which modern history affords no parallel; the Turkish troops gathered round the town, rushed in among the defenceless inhabitants, and began to butcher all they found. For hours every street resounded with the yells of the assailants, the shrieks of the women and children, and the groans of the wounded and dying; the shops were pillaged, the houses burst open and ransacked, the churches profaned and demolished. And a few hours were sufficient for all this; a few hours of rapine and murder had changed the beautiful town to a scene of utter devastation; to a slaughter-house still steaming with the blood of thousands of all ages, and of both sexes, whose mutilated and headless bodies, lay in every direction about the streets; but there was no human voice heard there; the whirlwind of destruction had swept over it, and left it desolate; the Turkish hordes had gone out from it, and scattered themselves over the island, to renew, in every village and in every hamlet, the work of murder and devastation.

'For three days this went on in the neighborhood of the town, and the Turks had only unarmed and unresisting victims to immolate. But at the foot of Mount Opus, and near the sea-shore, a resistance was made by about two thousand Greeks; they were driven from their position, but not till many families had embarked in boats and fled. At Thymiana also on the sea-shore, another body defended themselves with fury for some time; some ships were brought round to cannonade them from the sea-side. But one frigate getting on the rocks, the Greeks attacked her furiously, contrived to get on board of her before all her crew had left her, and put them to death, notwithstanding their cry for quarter. The resistance, however, was short here. The Greeks soon scattered; the Samiotes had all fled; and several thousand Sciotes also put off in boats and small vessels, and saved themselves at Ipsara.

There were now no armed men to offer resistance; the interior of the island was filled with the fugitive families from the sea-coast; and there was full scope for the exercise of the fury of the Turks, who thought the blood of a Christian an acceptable offering to God. They divided themselves, therefore, into small bands, and swept over every part of the island, plundering, burning, and murdering. The Greeks who ran away, were shot down, or pursued and stabbed; those who gave themselves up, were violated and murdered; the desperate man who resisted, shared the same fate as the timid wretch who clung to the knees of the barbarians, and screamed in vain for mercy. None were spared but the handsomest of the women and children, who were sent to town, and reserved for sale.

'Such was the state of the beautiful Scio for seven days. "My God!" says an eye-witness who escaped, "what a scene was then presented! On what side soever I cast my eyes, nothing but pillage, and conflagration, and murder appeared. While some were occupied in plundering the country-houses of the rich merchants, and others setting fire to the villages, the air was rent with the mingled groans of men, women, and children, who were falling under the yataghans and daggers of the infidels. The only exception made during the massacre, was in the favor of the women and boys, who were preserved to be sold as slaves. Many of the former were running to and fro half frantic, with torn garments, and dishevelled hair; pressing their trembling infants to their breasts, and seeking death as a preservation from the greater calamities that awaited them." The carnage then ceased for a time; and those wretches who had been reserved for sale, were driven to the town, where more than ten thousand women and children were collected. The boys were circumcised, in order to fit them to become Mussulmans, and the whole embarked on board the fleet, to be conveyed to Constantinople. The Capitan Pashaw, in order to renew the fury of his soldiery, then took the eighty hostages, the oldest and most respectable men of the island, and hung them up at the yard-arms of his vessel; and the signal was instantly answered from the shore, by the butchery of seven hundred peasants, who had been confined in the citadel.

An attempt was then made to induce those of the Greeks, who in great numbers had fled to the mountains, and the almost inaccessible parts of the island, to come down and give themselves into the hands of their masters, who promised them mercy; and, strange to say, many of them did do so, and were all butchered, except those whose beauty made them valuable.

'The Capitan Pashaw then sailed, his vessels laden with the beauty and booty of the once lovely Scio, but which was now a solitary waste, covered with the smouldering ruins of its villages,

and the putrifying carcases of its inhabitants.* And where were now the eighty thousand people whom he found there? Twenty thousand had been butchered; twenty thousand he was carrying into captivity; fifteen thousand had escaped to the neighboring islands; the rest were now hiding among the rocks and mountains, like the beasts who are hunted from the plain. Many of them were taken off by the vessels sent to them from the neighboring islands. But several thousand took refuge in the houses of the different European Consuls, whose flag they knew would protect them from the Turks.

'And how did these worthy representatives of the illustrious monarchs, who unite in "Alliance," yclept "Holy," for the peace and happiness of the world; how did these consuls treat the miserable fugitives, who had cast themselves upon their mercy, and the faith of their flags? Are the stories of their courageous defence of these wretches, their generosity and philanthropy in sending them off free, to be credited? No! just the contrary; they coldly speculated upon their miseries; they gave them their liberty, it is true, but it was only at the price of the last valuable they might have preserved from the destruction of their houses. The men were obliged to pay, or obligate themselves to pay, large sums to the consuls for their protection; and the women were obliged to strip off their jewels, or their rich garments, to satisfy these rapacious representatives of Christian tyrants.' pp. 99–102.

As far as the individual was concerned, who personally perpetrated these horrors, the Turkish Capudan Pashaw, a speedy and memorable retribution awaited him. The Greek fleet soon appeared off Scio, and after taking off thousands of wretched fugitives from the mountains, some of whom have since found a refuge in our own country, it went round to attack the Turkish navy, lying in the straits between Scio and the main. Unable, however, to effect anything in a general action, the heroic Canaris assumed to himself the office of the avenger. In company with a Hydriote vessel, he sailed in his

* 'There is no want of testimony, or good evidence of the catastrophe of Scio. The only difficulty is in ascertaining the numbers of the sufferers. Besides the numerous respectable Greeks who escaped from the horrible scene, it was visited a few days afterwards by several Europeans of respectability; by an English naval officer particularly, whose description is most touching. Colonel Voutier, among other striking passages, has the following words;—"He told me, that no sight gave him such sensations as that of the body of a woman just dead, and whose breasts were eagerly pressed by her moaning infant child."'

fire-ship to the straits of Scio. Deceiving the vessels stationed on the look-out, he sailed at nightfall directly into the straits, within which the Turkish fleet lay. When about to enter the gulf, the Hydriote captain hailed him, and begged him to desist, since, if the wind held in the same quarter, and he failed, they were certainly lost. Kanaris persuaded the prudent seaman, that the wind would change. His crew now began to hesitate; they were getting more and more embayed; the wind was aft, and a long row of Turkish line of battle ships and frigates was discerned by their lanterns stretched across the gulf. The sailors became refractory, and refused to proceed. Kanaris said to them, 'You came voluntarily, the ship shall go on, and you may go with her, or jump overboard.' The residue must be told still more exactly in the words of Dr Howe.

'The first they could distinguish were several Turkish frigates; but these were too ignoble prey. Kanaris had come to revenge the blood of Scio, and nothing but the blood of the leader of the barbarians could atone for it. The moon shone clear; he was in the middle of the Turkish fleet, which, securely anchored, dreamed not of danger; and he could see on the other side of the straits, the huge ship of the Capitan Pashaw. Altering then his course, Kanaris bore down for him, and was soon within hail. "Keep away! keep away!" cried the Turkish guard. Still the fireship came on;—when the wild cry of "Brulotta, brulotta," apprized Kanaris that he was known. That dreadful cry had aroused the sleeping Turks, and hundreds rushed to the deck in confusion. They began to fire; but still the strange sail rapidly approached them. All Kanaris's men were crouched behind the bulwarks and sheltered. He alone stood up, and, strong in his terrible resolution, steered his vessel full on the Pashaw's ship, regardless of the shot, which began to whistle around him. In a few minutes his bow struck her side with a terrible crash, and became entangled. Instantly the boat was lowered, every Greek sailor jumped into it, and Kanaris himself, after crying out "*Καναρις εἶναι*," * touched the train, and following his men, they pulled rapidly away. The train communicating with the combustibles, they burst forth in one broad blaze, which instantly began to envelope the Turkish ship; where a scene of horror and confusion ensued among the twelve hundred persons on board, more easily imagined than described. Nothing could be done on the crowded and choked up decks, to separate the vessels. Orders could not be heard, nor, if heard, obeyed; and the Greeks could only dis-

* It is Kanaris.

tinguish amidst the wild uproar of voices, the agonizing shrieks of those, who leaped overboard in despair. The sails and cordage were all in a blaze, and the fire dropping down, kindled everything on deck. The boats were lowered, but instantly staved or sunk, by the numbers who rushed into them. The Capitan Pashaw and his officers succeeded in getting into a pinnace; and by cutting away, with their scimetars, the hands of the swimmers who clung to her, he got a little way from the ship, when the mainmast falling, struck his boat, and crushed him to death with every one in her.

'The Hydriote fire-ship had struck a Turkish seventy-four, and was fired; but unfortunately she bounded off, and did no harm. The two boats, pulling each twenty oars, rowed rapidly down the straits, which were illuminated by the bright glare from the burning ships; at daylight they were off Cape Blanco, and at ten A. M. fell in with two Greek vessels which were cruising for them, and got safely on board without having lost a man.

'The successful accomplishment of this daring act completely established his fame; congratulations poured in upon him, and every Greek was proud of the name of Kanaris, except Kanaris himself. He is by birth an Ipsariote, and had hitherto been known only by those immediately about him, who loved him for his mildness, and goodness of heart, and respected him for his sterling integrity. No one would ever divine the character of Kanaris from his personal appearance. He is about thirty-four years of age, of low stature, slender but well made; and his mild, interesting countenance bespeaks rather feminine goodness of heart, than what he really possesses—a mind that knows no fear. He appears insensible to danger; and his resolutions, which might be easily altered by persuasion, are made stubborn by open opposition, and fresh obstacles are to him only inducements for fresh exertions. He loves his country with the sincere, unostentatious love of a patriot, and he calmly and steadily continues to make every exertion for her good, in the conviction that he is doing only his duty. He boasts not the performance of that, of which the neglect would be a crime, and seems to look for no other reward than the proud consciousness of having materially contributed to his country's emancipation.' pp. 105–107.

Such are the men who are pronounced *degenerate* even by intelligent persons in Western Europe and America!

On the twenty-first of June, the Acropolis of Athens, after a closely pressed siege, surrendered to the Greeks. The garrison, about eleven hundred in number, capitulated, on condition of being transported to Asia Minor. Under pretence of retaliation for former cruelties, committed by the Turks on the

Athenian hostages, whom they hung from the battlements of the Acropolis, some of the prisoners were the next day put to death.

In the month of June, Napoli di Romania, the most important fortress in Greece, strong by nature, and rendered nearly impregnable by the constructions of the Venetians, was reduced by the Greeks, after a long and strict siege, to agree to terms of capitulation. A delay of forty days was granted, for the purpose of effecting the evacuation and surrender of the place, and with the humane design of preventing, by gradual removal, the plunder of the property, and the massacre of the garrison. During this period of forty days, a formidable army of thirty thousand men,* collected in Thessaly and the neighboring region, and placed under the command of Mehemet Pashaw of Drama (commonly called Drami Ali Pashaw), advanced without opposition into Phocis and Bœotia, committing on their way ravages unheard of, even in the annals of Turkish warfare. Marking his track with desolation, and, through fear or treachery, allowed to pass without opposition through the numerous defiles on his march, Drami Ali reached the plain of Argos, and raised the siege of Napoli.

The impending ruin awakened the Greeks to a sense of their danger. The members of the government embarked on board the Hydriote vessels, which lay in the gulf. Ypsilanti, Colocotroni, and Mavromichalis were constituted a military commission, with plenary powers. The peasantry were roused; the Mainotes obeyed the voice of their aged chief, and came down from their mountains, and the crops on the plain of Argos were laid waste, to prevent their furnishing sustenance to the foe. The Turkish commander soon found himself embarrassed by his own numbers. He was harassed by partisan and nocturnal assaults. He was without supplies for his own army, or the garrison he had come to relieve. The unripe grapes and melons of the neighboring fields were devoured by the Turks, and the dysentary began to prevail among them. In a few weeks their position became desperate, and they commenced a retreat. The Greeks had now not merely recovered from their panic, but had gained confidence from the disasters of the foe. Niketas occupied the passes of Barbati

* So stated in Colonel Leake's 'Outline,' on the authority of a physician of Kurshid Pashaw, who stood, with the Pashaw and his officers, for three days, by the side of a bridge over the Spercheius, by which this army defiled.

and Dervenaki, at the outlet of the plain of Argos, while the flanks and rear of the retreating army were pressed by Colocotroni. From five to seven thousand of the Turks were destroyed in forcing the passage. At each defile the same destruction awaited them, and Drami Ali was able to collect a remnant of only eight thousand men, from the ruins of this disastrous expedition. With these he received renewed orders from Kurshid, the Seraskier, to penetrate again to the plain of Argos, and relieve Napoli. This attempt was made by him; but the passes were still occupied by the indomitable Niketas, and Drami Ali, with a new loss of one thousand men, fell back on Corinth. Three thousand men of his force, in endeavoring to cut their way from Corinth to Patras, were surprised in a defile, by Londos, and forced to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to march back into Thessaly.

The only hope of the Turkish garrison in Napoli was that of being relieved by the fleet. It actually appeared off the gulf, with the new Capudan Pashaw, in great force, on the twentieth of September. The Greek squadron hovered around it, and made several attempts, by sending in their brulots, to destroy some of the vessels of which it was composed. Although these attempts were unsuccessful in their immediate object, the Turkish admiral fled panic-struck from the infested waters, and took refuge behind Tenedos. The terrible Kanaris, with two fire-ships, pursued him. On the twenty-first, at midnight, he passed the Turkish guard-ships, unperceived at the moment, but soon found they had tacked, and were standing after him. Nothing daunted, he still bore down on the Turkish fleet, which lay at anchor in the channel, consisting of one ship of the line, sixteen frigates, sixteen corvettes, and thirty-four smaller vessels. Steering for the three largest ships, and passing the one to windward near enough to hear talking on board, but leaving her for his companion, who was astern, Kanaris made for the next, which proved to be the Capudan Pashaw. As he approached, two guns were fired, and the shot passed through his mainsail; still he bore on, and could see the poop crowded with men, who were confusedly crying out, 'Pirates! *brulotta!* fire upon her!' In a few minutes his bowsprit crashed against her side, and the two vessels came together with a shock that threw the men from their feet. Kanaris, as usual, touched the train, and was the last to leave his ship. In an instant the Turkish admiral was wrapped in

flames. The Capudan Pashaw, and those in the boat with him, alone escaped. No exertions were made to extinguish the flames, and the stupefied Turks perished on board the vessel, or leaped overboard and were drowned. The other fire-ship failed to do any execution, beyond that produced by the panic flight of the enemy. Kanaris and his companion escaped unhurt to the vessels left to cruise for them; and the Turkish fleet, after suffering severely from a storm, returned to Constantinople.

Deprived of the succors which they expected from the fleet, the garrison at Napoli were reduced to the near necessity of surrendering. The event was hastened by a surprise, gallantly executed by a Captain Staikos, who scaled the upper castle, called the Palamede, in the night. Thus exposed to the guns of the citadel, the garrison below found themselves obliged to capitulate, and on the sole condition of having their lives spared. This condition was faithfully observed, and they were transported, on board the Cambrian, Captain Maitland, and other vessels, to Asia Minor.

While this important event took place in the Morea, Mavrocordato and Botzaris sustained themselves, with great vigor and fortitude, at Missolonghi, and the campaign closed with the gallant exploit to which we alluded in our introductory remarks.*

Thus successful on the whole was the progress of the revolution, at the close of the second year. The *third* commenced with a change in the Greek government. Mavrocordato had suffered in the popular estimation, by the want of success in the military operations of Western Greece, and the party opposed to him (that of the military leaders) elected Petro Mavromichalis president of the executive in his place. Theodore Negris had attached himself to the successful party, and remained in the department of state.

The plan of the campaign, on the part of the Turks, was precisely that of the last year;—a descent from Eastern and Western Greece, and a concentration in the Morea. Mustapha Pashaw commanded the eastern, and Omer Briones the western division of the Ottoman army. Considerable delays ensued in the commencement of military operations, owing, among other causes, to the dissensions and open hostilities of Omer Briones, and Yusuf Pashaw of Patras, who had been

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* See page 139.

directed to coöperate with him, but with whom Omer refused to act. The campaign was opened by the celebrated battle fought by Marco Botzaris, at Karpenitza, in which the Turks were surprized and routed, but in which also, unfortunately, the heroic Botzaris, to the poignant regret of all Greece, was himself slain. A junction was afterwards effected between the remnants of the army of Mustapha and that of Omer, and their united forces laid siege to the small town of Anatolico, in the neighborhood of Missolonghi. This place was garrisoned only by about five hundred men; but after a protracted and inefficient siege, the Turkish army retired and dispersed itself, without having accomplished anything; and thus, as far as Western Greece is concerned, terminated the third campaign.

The Turkish operations in Eastern Greece were not much more successful. Their army penetrated at first, as far as Athens and Megara, wasting the country as they passed. They were, however, effectually harassed by the *guerilla* parties of Ulysses and Niketas, and finally forced to take refuge in the fortresses of Eubœa. Disappointed of being succored from Thessaly, the Turkish garrison, which had remained in possession of the citadel of Corinth since the invasion of Drami Ali the preceding year, was now forced to capitulate to the Greeks, and was transported to Asia Minor.

The Grecian fleet was sent this season to sea, under the command Andreas Miaulis. We cannot refrain from giving his character in the words of Dr Howe.

'It is delightful to contemplate such a character as that of Miaulis. As the eye, in a dry and barren landscape, delights to rest on some patch of verdure which may chance to appear, so the mind, wearied with contemplating the selfishness and vices of the leading Greeks, turns with pleasure to Miaulis, for a striking proof that all good has not departed from them. Miaulis was born at Hydra, and educated on the water. He is about sixty years of age. His frame, large and rather corpulent, is well made, and full of vigor. His countenance is one of those most difficult to describe, yet most strongly impressive; it inspires with affection and respect; and though there is no mark of greatness about it, yet you see there the kind heart, the firm mind; you know not why or wherefore, but you see in his face enough to convince you that it is the face of an *honest man*. His complexion is light, and rather florid; his features strongly marked; the nose particularly large; and his eyes of a mild hazel color. Strangers are always struck with his patriarchal appearance, and after ever

so short an interview, go away satisfied that there is at least one honest, pure patriot in Greece.

'Miaulis inherited some property from his father, and like all his fellow islanders, he followed the sea from his youth. For a great number of years he sailed in his own ship, and by commerce gained a very considerable fortune; and always stood high in character among the Hydriotes, who were *then* remarkable for their *integrity in mercantile transactions.** He had long sighed for the liberty of his country, though enjoying everything that wealth could command. Though his native island was never sullied by the foot of a Moslem, and escaped all direct oppression, by the payment of an annual tribute, and the supply of a quota of seamen to the Turkish fleet; still, in common with many around him, he felt bitterly the degradation of Greece, and was ready to risk fortune and life in any rational scheme for her redemption. He was averse to the struggle being commenced at the precise period it was commenced, because he did not consider the people sufficiently enlightened, to conduct it to a favorable issue; but when once the blow was struck, he embarked heartily in the cause, and has ever been foremost in exposing himself, in sacrificing his fortune, in giving an example of obedience to government, and perfect disinterestedness of action.

'Such is the man who commanded the Greek fleet; and so irreproachable is his character, that even in Greece, where the people are so jealous and suspicious of their leading men, that the least foible cannot escape them, no voice is ever raised against Miaulis; all parties unite in considering him perfectly pure and disinterested in his patriotism. And a doubt expressed of it, would sound as strange to a Greek, as it would to an American to hear the patriotism of Washington questioned.' pp. 155–157.

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* 'Conversing with Mavrocordatos a few days before I left Greece, I expressed to him my doubts about what I had often heard, of the honesty and good faith of the Hydriotes previous to the commencement of the revolution. He replied, "I do not wonder at it; it is hard to conceive how seven years should so completely change a body of men; yet so it is. War, and its attendants, anarchy and confusion, have altered the Hydriotes from an industrious, sober, and honest people, to what you now see them. Such a thing as a note or bond was almost unknown; a merchant would lend another money, and only request him to make a minute of it; he would ship goods on board a vessel, and take no bill of lading; vessels would come into port, and the captain and crew run to see their friends, leaving the vessel unlocked, and perhaps specie on board. Shops were left open by their owners without fear, and often the shutters only closed, and the door latched, during the night. This was the case, also, in Spetzia and Ipsara; the word of a merchant or a sea-captain was sacred."'

No very brilliant exploit was performed by the Grecian squadron this year; but the islands, particularly Samos, were protected, the Turkish navy watched and harassed, and several predatory descents made on the coasts of Macedonia and Asia Minor, which, while they served the purpose of preventing the Turkish local governors from despatching their contingent of troops to the remote centre of the war, furnished the Greeks with an ample store of needed supplies.

But the year 1823 was signalized in Greece by the appearance of a new and formidable actor on the scene. A contingent to the Turkish navy had been, from the commencement of the revolution, furnished by Mehemet Ali Pashaw, Bey of Egypt. A very interesting biographical sketch is given by Dr Howe of this distinguished individual, for which, however, our limits compel us to refer our readers to the work itself.* His agency in opposing the Grecian revolution during the present campaign, was limited to the assistance rendered by his vessels, under Ismael Gibraltar, in carrying on the defensive operations of the Turks in Candia, where, as in so many other parts of Greece, the revolution had resulted in the confinement of the Turks to the fortresses, and the possession of the open country by the Greeks. At the close of the ensuing year, we shall witness the interference of the Bey of Egypt in a more formidable character.

At the seat of government, in the Morea, the absence of a powerful hostile force had produced the usual result, of the prevalence of factions and dissensions of an alarming character. The executive and the senate were brought into open collision. The influence of Mavrocordato was for a moment restored in the latter body, and he was called to its head. He was soon, however, compelled to seek his safety by flight to Hydra. The military party leaders were, however, at last compelled to retire from the government, and a new executive body, with George Conduriotti at its head, was elected. The detail of these movements would prove unedifying, even if made intelligible to our readers; and we pass by them, as a portion of the narrative which truth does not permit us to suppress, but which the friends of Greece and of liberty cannot contemplate without pain. The state of Greece, at the close of the third campaign, is fairly described in the following manner by Dr Howe.

* Page 161 et seq.

'If the Greeks, during this campaign, had gained no very great advantages, their cause at least was strengthened by the mere continuance of the struggle; as every insurrection gains strength, each moment that it is left uncrushed. They had been occupied with internal dissensions, it is true; but then they had repulsed all the efforts of their enemy to regain possession of the country. They had driven him from Eastern and Western Greece.

'The insurrection had continued three years; the whole power of the vast Turkish empire had been turned upon one of its smallest provinces; it had been foiled, in three successive campaigns, in its attempts to put down this revolt. How was this? Had the Greeks suddenly become heroes? or were their means inexhaustible? Neither the one nor the other; the secret was, the weakness and imbecility of the Turkish government, which had neither money nor credit. The really vast resources of the empire were altogether beyond the control of the Porte. It could only command one of its Pashaws to invade a certain district; and the order was obeyed with fidelity or not, as the interest of the Pashaw might seem to dictate. Then his movements, perhaps, would be impeded, his resources cut off, his operations rendered useless, by the open or concealed opposition of other Pashaws, from jealousy or opposing interest.

'Then there was no system in any one department of the government; no general combination of measures; no confidence to be placed in any proposed arrangements, which depended at all upon union at any particular time and place; hence the results of all expeditions were doubtful. Then there was no discipline, no subordination among the soldiers.

'It was from all these causes, and not from the spirit and resolution of the Greeks alone, that the insurrection was gradually but surely gaining ground, and better deserving the name of a revolution.' pp. 171, 172.

With the *fourth* year of the revolution, a new and interesting adventurer repaired to the sacred soil of Greece. We mean Lord Byron. Missolonghi was chosen by him as his residence, and the centre of his operations; and he attached himself to the policy of Mavrocordato, the ablest, no doubt, of the leaders of the revolution. Lord Byron's name, fortune, disinterestedness, zeal, would unquestionably have enabled him to do more for the cause of Greece, than any of the foreigners who had flocked, mostly as needy adventurers, to her shores; possibly more than any of her own sons, entangled as they have been with their local factions. It is consoling, also, to reflect, that he did much, and might have done

much more, to retrieve his reputation from the shadows he had allowed to gather over it. But his premature fate removed him from the scene, before he was able, either by a long continued series of services, or any brilliant exploit, to produce a lasting impression on the condition of the country. His death was mourned throughout Greece, as a public calamity.

So stable was the cause of the revolution regarded abroad, that a loan of eight hundred thousand pounds was effected in London, on behalf of the Greek government. The history of this and a subsequent loan, both made at a most flagitious discount,—of the intrigues and frauds of agents, contractors, and stock-holders in London,—and of the struggle of rival factions to obtain possession of the loan, in Greece, has already formed the staple of several volumes. They contribute to give a character to this and the two succeeding years of the revolution, but it would not be possible to make them interesting in a summary sketch of its events.

This year was also signalized by the crisis to which the factions in the government were pushed. After a protracted warfare of intrigue between the military chieftains and the party of Mavrocordato, recourse was had to force, and some lives were lost. The struggle, however, ended in the confirmation of the authority of the rulers rightfully elected, and Colocotroni, with the chieftains combining with him, were banished to Hydra, and there kept in duress.

Great naval preparations were made by the Turks for the campaign of 1824. In the words of Dr Howe,

'Housref, the Capitan Pashaw, made the most active exertions at Constantinople, to get the fleet ready. Great rewards were promised to the motley race of men, who styled themselves sailors; while the troops to be taken on board were reminded of Scio;—"We will give you the spoil of a dozen Scios." Flat-bottomed gun-boats were prepared for the purpose of making debarkments; and at last, all being ready, the proud fleet left the Sultan's lair, and gliding down the Dardanelles, spread itself out upon the beautiful Ægean. Here they were met by two light Greek cruisers, appointed to watch them, and ascertain their numbers; these, after sailing up and down, before, around, and among the huge frigates, and with their sails half furled up, as if in mockery of their sluggishness, spread their white wings, and darted away like sea-gulls to their rocky homes, to give the alarm.' p. 199.

After some movements of minor importance, and having

received on board at Salonica a reinforcement of Albanian troops, the Turkish admiral ran down to Ipsara. This flourishing little settlement of twenty-five thousand inhabitants, one of the most enterprising and prosperous of the commercial islets of the Grecian seas, appears to have been taken by surprise. The defences constructed in the three former campaigns were out of repair; the inhabitants were not at their posts. The Albanians were debarked from the Turkish squadron in the night, and gained the summit of the hill that overhangs the town of Ipsara. A single glance convinced its citizens, that their only hope of escape was in their vessels. These were instantly and tumultuously crowded. All who could not reach them were doomed to the scimetar, or the horrors of Turkish slavery, and in a few hours Ipsara was a heap of bloody ashes. It remains to the present day, says Dr Howe, with no other inhabitant than a single monk. On sailing from the island, the Capudan Pashaw left upon it a considerable force, with a number of corvettes to bring them off. Before they had departed, a Hydriote squadron of forty ships, under the command of Miaulis, sailed against them. He gallantly landed a force of fifteen hundred men, and drove the Turks into the sea. Such as escaped to the corvettes were instantly pursued by the squadron of Miaulis; a Turkish brig of war was blown up, a *giolette* and a shallop taken, several gun-boats sunk, and the residue of the fleet driven ashore and lost upon the island of Scio.

The main portion of the Turkish fleet, after the destruction of Ipsara, and after a short cruise, in which they were pursued by Miaulis, was concentrated between Samos and the main. Their object was to transport an army, which was already collected on the continent, and effect the destruction of Samos. Miaulis, whose squadron had been fitted out on the spur of the moment, when Ipsara was invaded, was now compelled to return to Hydra. But the Greek vice-admiral, Sakturis, accompanied by Kanaris, was cruising with his squadron in front of Samos. Without venturing to close quarters with the Turkish three-deckers, they cut off their small vessels, and threw them in confusion upon each other, through their unmanly fear of fire-ships. Kanaris, watching his opportunity, bore down in his *brulot* upon a frigate under full sail, and succeeded in grappling to her. She was almost instantly blown up. Another Grecian fire-ship fastened successfully to a brig

of war, and a third to a corvette. Struck with terror, the Turkish fleet was dispersed in all directions, and Samos was saved.

It is not precisely known under what views of policy the Bey of Egypt engaged in the active prosecution of the war. The degree of independence which he enjoyed, negatives the supposition, that it was simply in obedience to the mandate of the Sultan. Such a mandate the Porte had no means of enforcing, against a vassal so powerful as the Bey of Egypt. A destructive fire at Cairo, and an insurrection in Upper Egypt, prevented for two years the fitting out of an expedition in Egypt against Greece; and when at length, in this year, a formidable armament sailed from Alexandria, it appeared, as its main object, to be directed against the island of Candia. Of this island, Ibrahim Pashaw, the son of the Bey of Egypt, was appointed governor, and it does not appear that, up to this period, the Porte had decided upon the dangerous measure of calling the troops of the Bey of Egypt into continental Greece.

Early in the season a most formidable expedition was fitted out from Alexandria. One hundred and fifty European vessels, principally under the Austrian flag, were employed as transports. Twenty thousand infantry, disciplined on the plan of European tactics, and two thousand cavalry, were put on board them. Vast supplies of provisions, ammunition, and artillery were collected, and every other preparation duly made. Large numbers of European officers, some of considerable rank, were engaged in the service; and the medical staff was filled up with young surgeons, principally from Italy. Thirty frigates, and many corvettes and small vessels of war, were prepared to convoy the transports. There were also three frigates, with a Turkish admiral, despatched from Constantinople (probably to act as spies), and two Tunisian frigates.

After many disasters, arising from want of skill in navigation, the expedition, creeping along the shore of Syria, and making stages of every island on the route, came to anchor at Stanchio, in the island of Cos, where the main body of the navy from Constantinople, under the Capudan Pashaw, joined them. Here they were alarmed at the appearance of the united Greek squadron of Miaulis and Sakturis, amounting to seventy vessels. Some skirmishing ensued for several days, but nothing of a decisive character. At length the Tunisian admiral's frigate and a brig of war were totally destroyed by fire-ships,

and the Turkish fleet dispersed in confusion. After an ineffectual attempt to concentrate at Samos, and destroy the settlements on that island, the united Egyptian and Ottoman navies rendezvoused in the straits of Scio. Here they were pursued by the Greeks; a frigate and two corvettes were destroyed by fire-ships, and the squadron again routed. In making their escape, another corvette and four brigs ran upon the coast of Asia Minor, and were lost.

Disheartened at these reverses, and at variance with the Egyptian commander, the Capudan Pashaw withdrew with his vessels, and returned to Constantinople. Ibrahim returned to Bodrom (the ancient Halicarnassus), on the coast of Asia, where he had debarked a portion of his troops, before sailing against Samos. Taking them again on board, he sailed for Candia; but on his arrival off the island, he was again met by the Greek squadron. Two fire-ships were sent in, but exploded without destroying any of the enemy's squadron. The panic, however, did what the *brulots*, which produced it, failed to do. The Turkish ships of war fled for their own safety, the transports were scattered in every direction, and several prizes fell into the hands of the Greeks. Eight transports escaped to Alexandria, where the captains of four of them were hung up by their ears. Ibrahim himself took refuge at Rhodes, and at this station collected the scattered fragments of his expedition. The Greek squadron, poorly provisioned, and not paid at all, was unable to keep the sea, and was disbanded; and at the close of the year there was nothing to prevent Ibrahim, with the reinforcements which he had received from Alexandria, from transporting his forces to the continent of Greece.

Ineffectual attempts were made by the Turks, in Eastern and Western Greece, without the Morea, to renew the military operations of the campaign. No achievement, however, presents itself, of importance enough to be introduced into this summary sketch; and the general condition of Greece at the close of the year, was highly flattering.

The year 1825, the *fifth* of the campaign, accordingly found the country in a hopeful condition. The enemy had been foiled at every point. The government was organized and in efficient action, from the centre to the extremities of Greece. Justice was faithfully administered; progress was made in disciplining the army, schools were established, industry began to revive, and the respectability of the government abroad was

evinced by the negotiation of a second loan, nominally of two millions of pounds sterling, in London.

The leading members of the administration, at this period, were George Conduriotti, president of the executive body, Botazi of Spezzia, vice-president, Mavrocordato, secretary of state, and Notaros, president of the senate. In this administration, Mavrocordato and Colletti (one of the members of the executive) were the most efficient counsellors. The rivalry between the two latter was the source of considerable embarrassment to the government, during the year on which we have entered. But far more serious calamities, than any arising merely from party collision, were impending over Greece.

Regarding Patras as the most important foot-hold of the Turks in the Morea, the principal attention of the government, in the spring of 1825, was turned to the reduction of this fortress. An expedition against it was planned, under the command of Conduriotti, as president, attended by Mavrocordato, as military adviser. As a part of this project, a Greek blockading squadron of twenty vessels was ordered to cruise off the gulf of Corinth. But this and all other offensive movements were brought to an effectual stop, by the intelligence that one division of the Egyptian army had actually been transported from Candia to Modon, and that the fleet of Ibrahim Pashaw had returned to Candia for the residue of his troops.

As soon as these reinforcements had arrived at Modon, Ibrahim marched, with his whole army, against Navarino, a distance of only ten miles. This place was strongly garrisoned by a Greek force, and the first assault of Ibrahim was vigorously repulsed. He immediately invested the place, in all the forms of European warfare. A considerable army of Greeks was soon collected on the heights overlooking the positions of the Egyptian army; but in consequence of the superior discipline of the latter, and their possession of artillery and cavalry, served and led by European officers, the Greeks were defeated in a severe action before the town. The island of Sphacteria, opposite the harbor of Navarino, and the castle of Palio Castro, successively fell, and at length the city of Navarino surrendered by capitulation to Ibrahim. As some small compensation for this disaster, a detachment from the Egyptian squadron of two frigates, eight corvettes, and twenty-five transports, was intercepted by Miaulis, on the way from Navarino to Modon, and both the frigates, with four of the corvettes, and nearly half the

transports, destroyed by his fire-ships. Among the defenders of the island of Sphacteria, Count Santa Rosa, who had been concerned in the revolution in Piedmont, gallantly fell. Our countryman Jarvis, with a corps of eighty men under his command, was among those who were embraced in the capitulation of the castle of Palio Castro. The command in chief of the military operations in this quarter, was exercised by Mavrocordato, who was repeatedly in imminent danger, and narrowly escaped from the island of Sphacteria, when it was carried by assault.

These reverses accordingly shook the credit of Mavrocordato, and strengthened the party of the military chieftains. It became necessary to recall them from their confinement in Hydra. Colocotroni was replaced in the chief command of the army; and this event was celebrated as an union auspicious to the country. Great efforts were made, and with some success, to embody a force to operate against Ibrahim. No effectual check was, however, offered to his progress. After marching without resistance in every direction, through the southwestern district of the Morea, and destroying the towns and villages on his route, particularly Calamata, perhaps the most beautiful in the Morea, he moved on Tripolizza. Encountering no resistance at the passes of Leondari, where he might, by a resolute force, have been held in check, he pushed for the capital. A few hours' notice gave the inhabitants time to escape, with a part of their effects, and the last of them left it at one gate, as the advanced guard of the Egyptians entered it on the opposite quarter. Before it was deserted by the Greeks, it was set on fire. Halting but a short time at Tripolizza, Ibrahim resolved to press onward to Napoli, and carry that place by assault.

The extremity to which affairs were now reduced, aroused Demetrius Ypsilanti from the retirement to which he had withdrawn. Opposite Napoli, and about twelve miles distant, is the important position of the Mills. On these mills, erected upon a fine stream issuing from the marsh of Lerna, Napoli depends for flour, and (should the aqueduct, by which the city is supplied, be cut off) for water. Into this place, commanding the route from Tripolizza to Napoli, Ypsilanti threw himself with two hundred men. He immediately despatched a boat to Napoli for reinforcements of men and a supply of ammunition. The Mills being upon the sea-shore, enclosed by walls and surrounded by a garden, which was also protected by a wall,

formed a position of considerable strength. Twenty men, however, alone were found willing to volunteer from Napoli, to reinforce Ypsilanti, among whom were three Swiss and two North Americans. The main body of the Turkish army had passed the Mills without perceiving the importance of the position. The Greeks stationed there having discharged their muskets at the Turkish column, two thousand men were detached to occupy the place. They were, however, vigorously repulsed, and fell back. A party of Turks, on the extreme right of the position, succeeded in breaking over the garden wall. The Greeks behind the inner enclosure finding their fire too weak to check this impetuous assault, eleven of them threw away their muskets, and leaping the wall sword in hand, drove the Turks from the enclosure. Disconcerted at their reception, the main party made no further attempt to gain the position. Our countryman, Mr J. P. Miller of Vermont (to whom Dr Howe pays a handsome and deserved compliment) was one of those who volunteered from Napoli to reinforce the body at the Mills, and was of the party of eleven engaged in driving a much superior force of Turks from the garden.

The army of Ibrahim entered Argos, a large town about eight miles from Napoli, but found it wholly deserted by the inhabitants. His advance was pushed up within cannon-shot of Napoli. This city was now crowded, not merely with fugitives from various parts of Greece, but with the whole population of Tripolizza and Argos, as well as of the intervening villages, which had fled before the approach of the Egyptian army. Such, however, was the strength of its position, so long as the Greeks commanded the gulf of Napoli, that Ibrahim, fearing, no doubt, the fate of the army of Drami Ali, fell back the next day to Tripolizza. The flames of Argos announced that he had passed through that city on his retreat.

While these events were taking place in the Morea, the command of the Turkish armies in Northern Greece had been assumed by Kiutachi Pashaw, a leader of more force, sagacity, and skill, than any other who has appeared in the Turkish service during the revolution. He succeeded in collecting a formidable army, and having forced his way to the walls of Missolonghi, closely invested that important fortress. At the commencement of the war, Missolonghi was but a fishing town of three thousand inhabitants. It was soon perceived to be the place of the greatest importance in Western Greece, as afford-

ing a refuge to those who might at the North be driven from their homes by the events of the war, and as forming the point of communication between the entire northwestern division of Greece and the Morea. Its fortifications were a wall of unbaked bricks ten feet high, and a ditch four deep; and its only armament, four pieces of cannon badly mounted. With these miserable defences, it had, both in 1822 and 1823, sustained a siege; and during the residence there of Lord Byron in 1824, its fortifications were put on a much more respectable footing. At the period now under consideration, it contained a population of twelve thousand souls, and had four thousand men capable of bearing arms. It was the metropolis of Western Greece; schools were established there, and a Greek newspaper was published.

The Turkish besieging army of fourteen thousand men, under Kiutachi Pashaw, invested the place, according to the rules of European warfare, and under the direction of European officers. The events of this siege form the most interesting portion of the narrative of the Greek revolution, but we are admonished by our limits, of our inability to enlarge upon the subject. The advances of the Turks were as gallantly resisted, as they were perseveringly made. Repeatedly was the place relieved by the heroic Miaulis, bravely venturing with his frail vessels, in face of the Turkish and Egyptian squadrons, to throw supplies into the town. Repeatedly were terms of capitulation rejected. The season wore away, and Kiutachi found it impossible to reduce the place; and it became necessary to receive a strong reinforcement from the Egyptian army, commanded by Ibrahim in person. Notwithstanding this alarming array against them, of two powerful armies, under the two most renowned commanders in the service of the enemy, beneath their feeble walls, the heroic garrison of Missolonghi held out with unwavering resolution.

Early in the season, this year, the relief afforded by the loan to the finances of the government, enabled them to fit out a respectable squadron of fifty brigs and ten fire-ships. One half of this force was placed under the command of the chief admiral Miaulis, of whose success at the commencement of the cruise, in the destruction of a detachment of the Turkish navy, we have already made mention. His ulterior object was, to watch the motions of the Egyptian fleet at Candia (the main *dépôt* of Ibrahim), and to obstruct the communications between

that place and the Morea. The other portion of the fleet, under the vice-admiral Sakturis, was employed in observing the squadron from Constantinople, under the Capudan Pashaw. Scarcely had this squadron issued from the Dardanelles, when it was overtaken and pursued by Sakturis to the southern point of Negropont. Here an indecisive engagement ensued, which ended in the destruction, by fire-ships, of a large Turkish frigate and a corvette. Terrified by this, the whole Turkish fleet fled before the wind, and a sloop of war and five Austrian transports, laden with ammunition, shells, and cannon, for the army besieging Missolonghi, were driven on shore at Syra, and immediately taken possession of by the Greeks of that island.

The two divisions of the Greek fleet then united, and sailed with the intention of acting against that of the Egyptians in the harbor of Suda in Candia. Intelligence, however, had reached the Egyptians of the design of the Greek admirals; and the latter found the hostile fleet moored in the inner harbor of Suda, in four divisions, and in such a manner as to make it impossible to arrange any plan of attack by which more than one division at a time could be endangered. A skirmish ensued, in which one Turkish vessel was destroyed by a fire-ship. The next day Miaulis was joined by Kanaris. Nothing further of moment appears to have been effected in this quarter, and the Grecian squadrons, retiring from Candia, were subsequently employed in attempting to throw supplies into Missolonghi, which was done with great effect, in the month of July. A plan was formed in the month of August, for destroying the Egyptian squadron in the harbor of Alexandria, about to sail with reinforcements to Greece. Two brigs and two fire-ships sailed on this adventurous service, and reached the harbor of Alexandria. Owing, it is said, to some want of concert between the commanders of the fire-ships, their movements became suspicious; they were fired upon, not merely by the Turks, but by a French man-of-war, and although they succeeded in setting fire to one Turkish frigate, they were obliged to retire, without having accomplished the object of their expedition.

After his retreat from Napoli, nothing of moment was effected by Ibrahim in the Morea. Wherever he chose to march in force he was able to penetrate. But his movements were watched by strong partisan bodies, under Ypsilanti, Colocotroni, and other Grecian chiefs; and some of the skirmishes which

arose between the parties, terminated to the decided advantage of the Greeks. Enraged at being thus assailed, at the gradual loss of his men, not merely in these harassing encounters, but by sickness and casualty, and at the continuance of the burdens of the war without any decisive result, Ibrahim wholly changed the policy which he had at first adopted,—that of protecting persons and sparing the country as far as the nature of military operations allowed; and began a war of extermination against everything animate and inanimate. Quarter was refused, women and children were subjected to the worst of brutality, villages burned, and the vineyards and olive-gardens wantonly destroyed.

In the month of September, a very large reinforcement from Alexandria was landed at Navarino. Ibrahim embarked his army of the Morea, now reduced to about ten thousand men, on board the transports, and sent them to reinforce Kiutachi, before Missolonghi. With a detachment of two thousand cavalry he marched on the same destination himself, along the level, open country, on the western side of the Morea. The troops were successfully landed, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Miaulis to intercept them. Ibrahim, on his land march, destroyed every village on his way, and although at Gastouni and Purgos he met with resistance, and some loss, he effected his passage to Lepanto in safety, and joined the besieging army, as we have already seen. No great cordiality appears to have existed between the two Ottoman commanders, each possessing a standing and reputation too distinguished to admit of a cheerful concert, without a common head, to which both should be subordinate. The situation of Missolonghi was, however, exceedingly critical, and gave room for the worst apprehensions.

In Eastern Greece, affairs had been more prosperous during the year 1825. We have not felt able to sketch the romantic adventures of Ulysses, and of the foreigners attached to him, who, from his cave in Parnassus bid defiance for a long time to his government, of which he had thrown off the allegiance. He was at last seized by his former lieutenant, Gourah, a brave and able soldier, and imprisoned in the Acropolis of Athens, where Gourah held his head-quarters. In attempting his escape, Ulysses was precipitated from a great height, and was killed.

The government of Greece, during the present year, was

seriously embarrassed by the discussions and intrigues of the foreigners, who had flocked, too often with selfish views, to this interesting country. Napoli was the great theatre of these adventurers; and as this was the seat of the government, and the principal point of communication with western Europe, a magnitude was ascribed to operations, at a distance, which on the spot were of inconsiderable importance. Such were the alleged projects of submission to the English government, on the one hand, and inviting the Duke of Orleans, on the other, to assume the sovereignty in the Greece; projects to which some notoriety was given in this country, by a ridiculous protest signed by General Roche, a Frenchman, and an unfortunate American adventurer, named Washington. It is not unlikely, indeed, that in the gloomy and desperate aspect of their affairs, the Greeks may have contemplated the acceptance, on any terms, of the protection of foreign civilized governments; but it is not known that proposals for such protection were ever officially made, by any competent authority.

The public mind in Greece was intensely agitated during this season, by the anxious expectation of the arrival of Lord Cochrane with a powerful flotilla of steam-boats from England, and of the reinforcement of their gallant little navy by two powerful frigates, constructed in America. These steam-boats and frigates had been provided for, out of the loans which had been negotiated in England, at a ruinous discount. But the season passed over, without the appearance of the frigates, the steam-boats, or Lord Cochrane. The painful affair of the frigates is too well known to our readers to be recapitulated here. Of Lord Cochrane's final intervention, we shall hereafter have occasion to speak.

The prospects of the Greeks, at the commencement of the *sixth* year of the revolution, were far less flattering than they appeared at the beginning of the fifth. The extremity of their position called for extreme efforts, and these were not withheld. The loan had been all expended; but voluntary contributions were made, to a sufficient extent to enable a squadron of twenty-four brigs to be fitted out, under Miaulis. He immediately sailed for the relief of Missolonghi, and notwithstanding the attempts to intercept him, on the part of the Turks, he effectually relieved the place. While employed in doing it, a corvette of twenty-four guns, and one of the best in the Turkish fleet, was burnt by one of the fire-ships of Miaulis. Exas-

perated at this relief of Missolonghi, the Turks assaulted it, with all their force, on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth of February, but without success. Their commander then turned his attention to the environs and approaches. Vasiladi and Noultama, small islets or rocks at the entrance of the harbor, were successively carried. Anatolico, a more important island, next fell. By these means the command of the western portion of the basin was secured to the Turks, and the Greeks were cut off from the resource of fishing, on which they had hitherto placed great dependance. Another attempt, thrice renewed, was made by Miaulis, to throw supplies into the place, but it was ineffectual; and the garrison came to the desperate resolution of cutting their way through the besieging army. The means were found of conveying a letter to the Grecian chiefs, without the Turkish lines, imploring them, by some feint at least, to effect a diversion in aid of the sortie, and nothing remained but to prepare for this last desperate attempt.

The number of soldiers was reduced to three thousand. There were a thousand men without arms, and five thousand women, children, and aged persons. The wounded, the sick, the old, and the feeble, with the women who would not attempt to escape by flight, repaired to a mill, where a quantity of powder was deposited. They were to make resistance enough to draw the enemy about them, and it was then to be blown up. In addition to this, an old, wounded soldier agreed to take his place in a mine, under the bastion Botzaris, which was filled with thirty barrels of powder, to be exploded when the Turks had entered the town. But we must continue this scene in the words of Dr Howe.

'The men then went round, destroying everything that was valuable; the women sat with their heads bowed upon their knees; they spoke not to one another,—they looked not to one another,—all feeling seemed lost, the stillness of desperation alone was there,—and they waited with dread, yet impatience, for the signal of sortie, which was to determine their fate.

'On the twenty-second, at sunset, a volley was heard from the mountains. The chiefs knew that their countrymen were at hand to help them; and they sent round to warn all who were determined to sally, to meet at the Orange battery, and start at eight o'clock. Then the long suppressed feelings of human nature burst forth, then the wailings of those who were to be left,—the

agonizing sobs of wives, mothers, and sisters, who were to part from husbands, children, and brothers, half changed the stern resolution; and many determined, that come what would come, they would stay and share the fate of their sick or feeble relatives; and others resolved to try to drag them with them, and lessen their own chance of escape, by sharing it with another. Many of the women assembled at the appointed place, clad in male attire, and armed, determined at least to die, if they could not escape. The last sacrament was administered, by the bishop and the priests, to the whole population, and each one prepared himself for death.

'By eight o'clock they had almost all assembled, and four light bridges, which had been prepared for the occasion, were thrown over the ditch. It had been agreed that they should go in two bodies; one composed of about three thousand five hundred persons, principally Greeks from other parts, with but few women; the other body, composed of about as many more, but principally Missolonghiotes, with their families, were to follow the first body. The enemy had become by some means advised of the sortie, and made preparations to destroy the garrison before they should reach the mountain. The Arab corps was posted on the left in intrenchments; the army of Kiutachi on the right; the cavalry was posted in the centre of the plain, ready to act wherever it might be necessary; and a body of Arabs was stationed at the foot of the mountain.

'Almost all the Greeks had now sallied out, and were waiting in darkness and silence, to hear the musketry of their countrymen, whom they expected to attack the enemy in the rear. An hour was passed in the most impatient expectation; not a sound was heard but the voices of the enemy's sentinels, and the low wailing of women and children behind. All were uneasy and restless, when a voice was heard among them, crying "*Forward—fall upon the Turks.*" It was repeated by every voice; and the whole of the front body, rising from the ground, where they had been crouched in order to be more screened, rushed eagerly forward, and forced their way past the first of the enemy's intrenchments with small loss; pushed across the plain, and rapidly approached the mountain. A body of cavalry here met them; but they dashed on with desperate speed, the pistol in one hand, and the yataghan in the other, and the cavalry gave way before them. Uniting, however, again, the Turks hung upon their rear, and killed a great many of those who lagged. The sick and feeble, and many women, sunk down and were left; and some husbands stabbed their wives and children, who could no longer drag after them, and who were thus saved from torture. Arrived at the foot of the mountains, they were met by the corps of Arabs who were stationed there, and who tried to oppose them. But it were as

easy to stop the mad bull, and they broke through every obstacle, heedless of the danger, and gained the mountains with the loss of only four hundred of their band.

'The fate of the other body was far different. This had a great proportion of women and children in it; they were not prepared to start, when the signal "Forward" was given by the first body; many of the men were still within the place, collecting their families; they started, however, almost immediately after. But the Turks were now aroused; the cannon began to roar, and the musketry to rattle, all along their line; and loud yells of the Albanian army on the right, were heard, as they rushed to assault the town on that side. At this moment of confusion, a cry was raised among the Greeks, "*Backward, backward; to the ramparts, to the ramparts*"; and the whole crowd, without knowing why, eagerly turned, and ran towards the town. At the same moment that they entered, the Turks entered upon the other side, and they were all instantly mingled. The Greeks fought with the fury of desperate men; and the women ran shrieking towards the sea, where many plunged in, with their children. The old soldier seated in the mine now touched the train; and the tremendous explosion, which threw down the whole bastion, and destroyed many of the Turks, added to the horror of the scene. For a few moments all was still; the Greeks began each to seek some place where he could longest defend himself, or where his friends were shut up; and the Turks were uniting to make a general attack. The mill, where so many women, and all the sick and wounded, were shut up, was, from the size of the building, supposed to contain something valuable; and the Turks, eager for plunder, collected around it, and attempted to burst in; when fire was put to the powder, and besiegers and defenders were blown together into the air.

At daylight the whole Turkish army came trooping in from every part, eager to take possession of a place which had cost them so much blood and toil. And what did they find? A wide extent of smouldering ruins. The walls were thrown down, or crumbling; the streets were choked up with the rubbish of fallen houses, and strewed with dead bodies; a few buildings only were left standing, and over three of those the flag of the cross was still flying, to tell that yet a desperate few were alive, to fight under it. These were immediately attacked, and, after an obstinate resistance, destroyed, with all their defenders. One of them, however, held out three days, and was then blown up;—and thus ended Missolonghi.' pp. 307—310.

About three thousand were slain in the place; as many more, principally women and children, were sold into slavery.

Of the first corps, about twenty-five hundred, in a state of the extremest exhaustion and misery, succeeded in reaching Corinth by land. We cannot but refer the reader to Dr Howe's work,* for a very touching account of the self-devotion of a Swiss surgeon, of the name of Meyer, who had attached himself to the Greek cause, and in the calm contemplation of certain death, refused to make the attempt to escape.

The fall of Missolonghi produced a general shock throughout Greece. The national assembly then in sesssion at Epidaurus was dissolved, and its powers conferred on a commission of thirteen, which was authorized to convoke the national assembly at the end of six months. Another commission of eleven persons, was charged with the executive administration of the government. Andreas Zaimis was at the head of the latter commission.

Ibrahim returned to the Morea, after the fall of Missolonghi, with a force reduced indeed, but still an overmatch for any resistance which the Greeks could make. His operations, however, were confined to the wasting of what remained undestroyed on the line of his march, and no attempt was made by him to reduce the all-important fortress of Napoli. In a repeated and persevering effort to enter and subdue the province of Maina, he was altogether baffled.

A pretty strong force of regular Greek troops had been organized under Colonel Favier, a French officer of some celebrity. This force, in its full complement, amounted to three thousand men. It was the wish of one portion of the Grecian authorities, that it should be sent to relieve Missolonghi. Colonel Favier, however, determined on a separate expedition, and moved against Eubœa. Notwithstanding the energy and skilful military conduct of their commander, and the bravery of the troops, this expedition wholly failed ; and it was owing only to the timely appearance on the coast of Eubœa of a division of the Greek squadron, that the whole party was not cut off.

After the disastrous close of the siege of Missolonghi, and the departure of Ibrahim for the Morea, Kiutachi Pashaw, the other Turkish commander, moved with his army toward Athens, by the way of Salona. He was harassed on his march by Karraiskaki, a Grecian chieftain, who had lately discovered extra-

* Page 310.

ordinary activity in the service. But he reached the plain of Athens, without serious opposition, and about the middle of July, formed the siege of the Acropolis, which was still held by Gourah. The lower town soon fell into the hands of the Turks. The garrison of the Acropolis, a lofty and almost perpendicular rock, consisted of about eight hundred men. An army composed of the regulars under Colonel Favier, and about three thousand men under Karraiskaki, was promptly assembled in the plain of Athens. They were vigorously attacked by the Pashaw, who was obliged, after a sharp contest of five hours, to retire. He was reinforced the next day by Omer Pashaw from Eubœa, with eighteen hundred cavalry, and renewing the attack, drove the Greeks from all their positions with considerable loss. In this affair, as in his descent on Eubœa, Colonel Favier suffered severely by the failure of the field-pieces, just from London, of which the axletrees were made of cast iron! He succeeded, however, in effecting an orderly retreat.

The Turkish navy, under Topal Pashaw, consisting of two seventy-fours, twenty-seven frigates and corvettes, and seven brigs, left the Dardanelles in the month of August, and on the twenty-eighth, was fallen in with, by the Greek squadron under Sakturis. Kanaris with his fire-ships formed a part of the Greek force. An engagement ensued between the two squadrons, in the midst of which Kanaris bore down upon the Turkish admiral. His vessel attracted universal observation; the fire of the Turkish squadron was poured upon her; and having received a couple of shot between wind and water, and finding his vessel sinking, he was obliged to desert her and take to his boat. He was pursued by the barges of the Turkish fleet, but cut his way through them, and made his escape, but not without seven wounds. The Turkish admiral contented himself with this specimen of the service, and returned with his fleet to Constantinople.

It ought not perhaps to be omitted here, that a pathetic appeal was, in the month of July of this year, made to the citizens of the United States, friendly to the cause of Greece, by direction of Colocotroni, the commander in chief of the Greek armies. A letter subscribed by him, and written by his direction at the suggestion of Mr Jarvis, setting forth in plain language, the miseries of his unfortunate countrymen, produced a strong effect on the benevolent feelings of the American peo-

ple. Although not received till several months after it was written, its effect was great; and it may, in a considerable degree, be ascribed to its circulation, that the benevolent zeal of the friends of Greece, in the country, was made manifest in the liberal succors despatched for the relief of their starving fellow Christians.*

The war in Eastern Greece and the siege of Athens were the principal objects of attention, during the rest of the season. A vigorous division under Colletti and afterwards under Karraiskaki was made, to draw off the forces of Kiutachi, from the siege, and not without effect. Adequate relief was twice afforded to the besieged Acropolis, the second time by the skill and boldness of Colonel Favier; and the arrival of one of the long expected steam-boats from England, under Captain Hastings, was hailed with ecstacy by the Greeks. But still greater enthusiasm was excited, at the close of the year, by the appearance in the Grecian waters of the frigate Hope, from America. Dr Howe has, in one of the chapters of his work, given a detailed account of the affair of her construction, and of the controversy connected with it in New York. It is two years since we took occasion to discharge our duty on this subject. Seeing nothing to correct of what we then stated, and indisposed to prolong the unavailing regrets excited by this topic, we shall dismiss it without further comment.

The situation of Greece in January, 1827, being the commencement of the *seventh* year of her struggle was distressful in the extreme. It was precisely at this period, that the appeals, which had been made to the sympathy of fellow Christians in Europe and America, began to take effect; and it is a pleasing subject of reflection, that the cargoes of provisions sent out from America, actually saved hundreds, not to say thousands of fellow beings, from starvation. The picture drawn by Dr Howe of the distress of the Greeks, from want of the necessaries of life, of food, clothing, and shelter, is of the most affecting character, and will satisfy all, who permitted their sympathy to be awakened, that it was not appealed to without cause.

Early in the year, the whole strength of the Greeks was exerted, to raise the siege of the Acropolis of Athens. A con-

* It is but justice to say, that the lead was taken by Matthew Carey Esq., of Philadelphia, in this benevolent work.

siderable force was organized under Colonel Gordon, a gallant Scotsman, who had devoted his services and fortune to the cause, and who was to act in concert with Karraiskaki and the other Greek chiefs. Their movements were made with skill and bravery, and present more of the regularity of scientific warfare, than almost anything we have noticed in the progress of the revolution. But the vast preponderance of means and power, on the part of the Turks, was eventually decisive, although the Greeks came off victorious from several partial engagements. So severely did Kiutachi, the Turkish commander, suffer, that he was obliged to send pressing orders to Thessaly for reinforcements. Ibrahim meantime, with his Egyptians, was tranquil in the Morea. The cessation of active hostilities, here led to the usual result of civil controversy; and violent disputes arose between the opposite political factions, where the next meeting of the national assembly should be held. While this controversy was at its height, Lord Cochrane, so long and anxiously expected, appeared in Greece, with a single armed vessel. His lordship's arrival was hailed with extravagant joy, and as he immediately announced, that unless the factions were reconciled, in a given number of days, he would renounce the service, an understanding was immediately brought about. The national assembly was convened at a place acceptable to both parties. By this assembly Lord Cochrane was created High Admiral of Greece, with plenary powers. But a step of still greater importance was the election of Count John Capo d'Istrias, as governor of Greece. The executive power was entrusted to him; he was to govern Greece, according to established laws, and for the term of seven years. In the event of his refusal to accept this proffer, the national assembly was to choose another governor. Sir Richard Church was, at the same time, appointed generalissimo of the land forces.

With this new organization of the civil government, highly auspicious in some respects, and believed to be so in all, the attention of the whole Greek nation was again turned to the relief of Athens. Volunteers flocked from all quarters to the camp. Lord Cochrane appeared in the Piræus, in the American frigate, and General Church was in command of the land forces. A partial engagement took place on the twenty-eighth of April, which terminated in favor of the Greeks.

This advantage, however, was overbalanced by the loss of

Karraiskaki, who was killed by a chance shot, in hastening to prevent his out-posts from an action on the fourth of May. In him, was lost to Greece one of her bravest and most skilful leaders. The two following days a vigorous, but unsuccessful attempt was made by the Greeks, to relieve the Acropolis. A general action ensued, in which both parties suffered severely, but which terminated in the defeat of the Greeks, who were obliged to abandon the attempt to raise the siege. At last, on the fifth of June, in obedience to an order from General Church, and in conformity with the opinion of Colonel Favier, who, it will be recollected, formed with his regulars a part of the garrison, that place capitulated to the Turks under the mediation of the French. As an unfailing spring of water (which we know from history has been flowing twenty-five centuries) had been discovered in the Acropolis during the siege, and as there was a provision of barley for eight months, the interference of General Church to command the surrender, and the willingness of Colonel Favier to capitulate, were matter of astonishment in Greece, and must be regarded as singularly unfortunate. A perseverance in standing the siege a few weeks longer, would have left the Greeks in possession of this sacred spot, at the period when a new and all-important aspect was assumed by the revolution, in consequence of the intervention of the European allies. It is unnecessary to pursue the remaining incidents of the war. No enterprise of importance, on either side, was undertaken by land. Lord Cochrane at sea effected little or nothing, and the attention of the government commission, which was acting in the interval to elapse before the arrival of Capo d'Istrias, was distracted by the contests of rival factions for the occupation of Napoli di Romania.

We have already alluded to the successful appeals made to the sympathy of the American people, in the beginning of the year. In the course of the summer, the supplies arrived in Greece, and the following extract from Dr Howe, will enable our readers to judge of the importance of the relief afforded.

'Seven cargoes were despatched under the charge of faithful agents, who were directed to apply them solely to the relief of the wants of the old men, women, and children; "to the suffering non-combatants of Greece."

'It is not our duty to enter into a detail of the proceedings, by which the agents of the committees succeeded in alleviating the miseries of thousands and tens of thousands of half-starving

Greeks; we have often alluded to the wretchedness which was prevalent in the country, and it will require but a moderate exertion of fancy, to conceive the joy communicated to the refugees, who were living in caverns, and swamps, or wretched wigwams, upon the sight of the food, sent to them without money and without price. Besides, those agents are about giving to the public a detailed account of their proceedings; and we shall here merely remark, that charities never were raised from motives more honorable to the human heart, their application never was more faithful and effectual, and their reception never caused more joy and gratitude, than did those sent to the starving population of Greece.

'The news of the arrival of those vessels, spread with astonishing rapidity through the country; it was heard in the hiding-places of the mountains, and their inhabitants came running to the sea-shore, with the eagerness which hunger alone could have given. They came from many leagues in the interior, they crowded round the vessels of our country; and those crowds presented pictures of human woe and wretchedness, which can never be exceeded.

'They were not mere Lazzaroni; there stood a crowd of old men, women, and children, with dirty, ragged garments, bare and lacerated feet, their skins sunburnt, their countenances pale and emaciated, their eyes sunken and hollow; but they were no beggars—they had seen better days, and they stood in speechless misery. There was many an old man whose goodly sons had been cut down, and who was now demanding the charity he once dispensed; and he received his portion in silence,—he was choking with emotion, and the tears that rolled down his cheeks, were the only sign of his thanks; the women sobbed out their gratitude, and the little children clapped their hands, and danced in the fulness of their joy.

'The wants of thousands were supplied, though the supply was only momentary; thousands put up their prayers to God for their benefactors, and their children learned first to lisp the name of America, with a blessing. The news of the distributions extending all over the country, produced a still greater effect, by the encouragement it gave to the people, who saw that they were considered worthy of having an helping hand stretched out to them from across the globe.

Permanent charity too, was administered from an Hospital, established solely by the generosity of the American public.'* pp. 447, 448.

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* The following letter, written at this time by General Colocotroni,

We have now reached a new and momentous era, in the Greek revolution. The situation of affairs was all but desperate. Without the Morea, resistance had ceased with the capitulation of Athens. The towns and villages from Prevesa

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from the Morea, acknowledging the arrival of the provision ships, may not be without interest to the friends of Greece.

Πρὸς τὸν γενναῖον Φιλέλληνα Κύριον Ἐδουάρδον Ἐξερίττον, καὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς Φιλέλληνας τῶν Ὁμοσπόνδων Πολιτειῶν τῆς Ἀμερικῆς.

Ἀπὸ τὸ γεν. Πειλ. στρατόπεδον κατὰ τὰς Πάτρας, τῇ ε'. Ἰουλίου, ᾳωκζ'.

Κύριε!

Ἔχω τὴν τιμὴν νὰ ἀποκριθῶ εἰς τὰς ἀπὸ γ'. καὶ λ'. τοῦ παρελθόντος Μαρτίου, ἔτος νέον, φιλικάς σου, τὰς ὁποίας ἔλαβον μ' εὐχαρίστησίν μου, κατὰ τὰς ἰ' Μαΐου, ἔτος παλαιόν.

Εἶδον εἰς τὴν πρώτην σας, Κύριε, ὅτι οἱ φιλάνθρωποι λαοὶ τῆς Ἀμερικῆς, λαβόντες συμπάθειαν εἰς τὰ δεινὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιζομένων ἀδελφῶν των Χριστιανῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔστειλαν μὲ τὸ κομίσαν αὐτὰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς σας πλοῖον, τροφὰς καὶ ἐνδύματα· καὶ ὅτι κατόπιν τούτων ἤθελον ἐκπλεύσει καὶ ἄλλα διὰ νὰ βοηθήσωσι τὰς χρείας μας· καὶ σπεύδω νὰ σᾶς ἀναγγείλω εὐχαρίστως, ὅτι τὸ πλοῖον αὐτὸ ἔφθασεν ἐγκαίρως, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ διενείματο ὁ συμπολίτης σας Δόκτωρ Χάου κατὰ προσταγὴν τῶν Φιλελλήνων τῆς Νέας Ὑόρκης εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς γέροντας, χήρας καὶ ὀρφανά. Καὶ ὠφέλησαν μὲν ὠφέλειαι οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν, διότι ἐπερόφθασαν εἰς περίστασιν, καθ' ἣν οἱ πτωχοὶ Ἕλληνες δι' ἔλλειψιν ἄρτου τοῦ ὁποίου ὑστεροῦ αὐτοὺς ἡ καθημερινὴ λεηλασία τοῦ ἐχθροῦ των, μὴ ἐπιτρέποντος εἰς αὐτοὺς, οὔτε γεωργίαν, οὔτ' ἐμπόριον, ζῶντες μὲ χόρτα καὶ μὲ τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν δένδρων, προϋμήθευον εἰς τὴν πεῖνάν των. Ἀλλ' ἤθελεν ὠφελήσωσι περισσότερον, ἂν διενείμοντο εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, οἵτινες πολεμοῦσι τὸν ἐχθρὸν, καὶ ὑπερασπίζονται τοὺς ἀδυνάτους, καὶ οἵτινες στερούμενοι αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀφοσιωμένοι εἰς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον, δὲν ἠδυνήθηκαν διὰ πολὺ διάστημα νὰ συνταχθῶσι κατὰ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ των. Διότι ὅλοι οἱ Ἕλληνες σήμερον εἶναι πτωχοὶ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα βοηθήματα ἤθελε σταλῶσιν ἀκολούθως εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἤθελεν εἶσθαι καλήτερον νὰ λάβωσι πρόνοιαν οἱ φιλάνθρωποι Ἀμερικανοὶ, νὰ διατάξωσι ῥητῶς τὰς εἰς παραλαβὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιτροπὰς, νὰ τὰ διανέμωσιν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα. Διότι τ' ἀδύνατα πλάσματα, ὡς γέροντες, χῆραι, καὶ ὀρφανὰ, οἰκονομοῦνται μὲν ἐφημέρως ἀπὸ αὐτὰς, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὄντος συγκεντρωμένου στρατοπέδου, ἔπεται, ἢ νὰ τοὺς ἀποθάνωσιν ἀπὸ τὴν πεῖναν, μὴ προφυλαττομένων ἀπὸ τὸν ἐχθρὸν, τῶν ὀλίγων σπαρτῶν, ἢ νὰ κατασφαγῶσιν ἀπὸ τοὺς Τούρκους· ὥστε χρησιμεύουσαι διὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα αἱ συνεισφοραὶ, φέρουσι πολλαπλασίαν τὴν ὠφέλειαν.

Εἰς δὲ τὴν δευτέραν σας εἶδον νὰ μοὶ συνιστᾶτε τὸν συμπολίτην σας Κύριον Μεριδίτην, τὸν ὁποῖον ἐνασχολούμενος εἰς τὰ πολεμικά μου χρέη, δὲν ἐμπορῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος νὰνταμώσω· ἀλλ' εἶμαι ἕτοιμος ἀνταμόνων νὰ προσφέρω πρὸς τὴν εὐγνιάν του τὰ φιλικά μου αἰσθήματα.

Ἤδη ἡ Ἑλλὰς, Κύριε, λογίζεται εὐδαίμων ἐρεισδομένη εἰς τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τῶν ὁμοπίστων της Χριστιανῶν, οἵτινες συλλυποῦνται αὐτὴν, καὶ ὑποστηρίζουσι διὰ τῶν συνδρομῶν των τὸν δίκαιον πόλεμόν της· καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰ φῶτα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ὁποίους ἐξελίξατο ἐπὶ τὴν κυβέρνησίν της, ἐπὶ τὴν στολαρχίαν της, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχιστρατηγίαν της· δηλαδὴ τοῦ ἐναρέτου Κυρίου Ἰωάννου Καποδίστρια, τοῦ περιφήμου Λόρδου Κοχρὰν, καὶ τοῦ ἀξιοτίμου Ῥικάρδου Τζῶρτζ· καὶ πέποιθεν ὅτι θέλει ἐκτηνάσουν εὐεργετικὰ καὶ σωτήρια ἀποτελέσματα δι' αὐτὴν, καὶ ὅτι θέλει φθάσει τέλος πάντων εἰς τὸν πρὸς ὃν ἔθεσιν ὅρον τὴν ἀνεξαρτησίαν της.

Ἡ ἱερὰ ἀκρόπολις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, μετὰ δέκα μηνῶν γενναίαν ἀντίστασιν εἰς τὸν πολιορκη-

to Corinth, had made their formal submission, to the vizier of Roumelia, and received through the Greek patriarch the pardon of the Porte. What that pardon would have availed them in the sequel, may be learned in the history of the revolt in 1774. In the Morea, the possessions of the Greeks were confined to Napoli di Romania, the fortress of Corinth, Napoli di Malvasia, and the mountain regions, particularly Maina; and Ibrahim waited only the arrival of reinforcements from Egypt, to attempt the further work of destruction. Had it been pos-

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τήν της Κιουταχὴν, μετὰ τόσα ἱερὰ Θύματα, τὰ ὁποῖα τὸ ἔθνος προσέφερεν ἐνώπιον αὐτῆς, καὶ μετὰ τόσας συνδρομὰς μὲ τὰς ὁποίας ἡ φιλανθρωπία τῆς Εὐρώπης ὑπεστήριξε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀγωνιζομένων, ἀτέρασεν αἰσχρῶς διὰ συνθήκης, εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ πολιορκητοῦ της· καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔνοπλοι καὶ ἄοπλοι Ἕλληνες, ἐπιδιδασθέντες εἰς πολεμικὰ πλοῖα τῆς Γαλλίας καὶ Αὐστρίας διεσώθησαν, διασώσαντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὴν σταθερὰν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ νὰ πολεμῶσιν ἐνόσῳ ζῶσι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῆς πίστεως καὶ πατρίδος των. Ὁ δὲ Ἰμπραΐμης ἂν, ὡς ἐκ ταύτης τῆς εὐκαιρίας, καθ' ἣν τὸ ἔθνος προσήλωσεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Μητρόπολιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅλας τὰς κατὰ ξηρὰν καὶ Θάλασσαν δυνάμεις του, καὶ καθ' ἣν ὅλα τὰ μέσα τοῦ πολέμου, διευθύνοντο εἰς μόνον ἐκεῖνο τὸ στρατόπεδον τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ ἄλλο δὲν ητον δυνατὸν ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἐλλείψεως τῶν μέσων νὰ συσταθῇ, ἂν, λέγω, ὡς ἐκ τούτων ὅλων ὠφελήθη νὰ κάμῃ εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, μ' ὄχι μικρὰν βλάβην του, τὰς πλέον φρικτὰς λεηλασίας, δὲν ἠδυνήθη ὅμως νὰ πράξῃ ἀντάξια τῶν ἐλπίδων του· διότι ὁ Πελοποννήσιος, εἴτε ὁ Ἕλλην ἀποφασισμένος νὰ ζήσῃ ἢ νὰ ποθάνῃ ἐλεύθερος, εἰς οὐδὲν λογίζεται τοὺς χειμάρρους τῶν αἱμάτων του, τὴν πικρὰν αἰχμαλωσίαν, καὶ σφαγὴν τῶν γερόντων, τῶν παρθένων, καὶ τῶν ἀνηλίκων τέκνων, καὶ τὴν ἀπαραδειγμάτιστον λεηλασίαν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τε, καὶ ἄλλα παρόμοια δεινὰ, τὰ ὁποῖα ὁ ἐχθρός τε καθημέραν ἐπιφέρει εἰς αὐτόν· ἐγκαρτερῶν δὲ γενναίως ἀπεκδέχεται τὸν Θάνατον παρὰ τὴν ἄτιμον δουλείαν, καὶ ἤδη πάρ' ἄλλοτε κινεῖται ἐνθουσιωδῶς, καὶ μὲ ὁμόνοιαν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰμπραΐμη, καὶ τὰ κινήματά του εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ οἰωνοὶ, ὅτι Θέλει παραδώσειν εἰς τὴν τύχην τοῦ Δράμαλη καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰμπραΐμη, καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι Δυνάμεις κινηθοῦσι κατ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπισφραγίζων οὕτω τὴν ἐλευθερίαν του, καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος.

Φιλάνθρωποι λαοὶ τῆς Ἀμερικῆς! τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲν εἶναι ἀγνῶμον εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας του· εὐγνωμονεῖ καὶ κηρύττει τὰς εὐποιΐας των μὲ Στεντόριον φωνὴν· καὶ τὰ ὀνόματά των καταγράφει ἤδη μὲ ἀνεξάλειπτα γράμματα εἰς τὰ χρονικὰ τῆς ἀναγεννωμένης Ἑλλάδος, διὰ νὰ τὰ παραδώσῃ εἰς τὴν αἰωνιότητα, καὶ εἰς τὸν σεβασμὸν τῶν ἐπερχομένων γενεῶν· προφέρει δὲ μὲ τὴν ζωηροτέραν εὐχαρίστησιν τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φιλάνθρωπα αἰσθήματά των. Μὴ παύσετε διὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ ἐξακολουθῆτε τὰς συνδρομάς σας, καὶ ἐστὲ βέβαιοι, ὅτι ὑποστηρίζοντες δι' αὐτῶν τὸν δίκαιον πόλεμόν μας, θέλετε εἰς τὰ ὀνόματά σας εὕρει τοὺς μόνους συμπαθεῖς εἰς τὰδικα παθήματά μας, εὐεργετοῦντες κατὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, καὶ ἀναπαύοντες τὴν συνείδησίν σας, ὅτι ἐκπληροῦτε τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰς παραγγελίας. Ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ, γενναῖε Φιλέλλην, ὁ τόσην ἐπίῤῥοιαν ἔχων παρὰ τοῖς συμπατριώταις σου, μὴ παύῃς νὰ τοὺς παρακινῇς, διὰ νὰ ἐξακολουθῶσι φιλανθρώπως τὰς συνδρομάς των, ὧν βέβαιος ὅτι ἡ Ἑλλὰς Θέλει σοὶ ὁμολογεῖν ἀθανάτους τὰς χάριτας. Μὴ λείπῃς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ γράφῃς καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ, πᾶν ὅ τι γνωρίζεις ὠφέλιμον διὰ τὴν πατρίδα μου ἀπὸ τὸν ἐξωτερικὸν κόσμον· ἐν ᾧ μὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμίαν προσφέρων σοι ὁμοῦ μὲ τοὺς τῆς πατρίδος μου καὶ τοὺς ἐκ μέρους μου σεβασμοὺς, διακηρύττομαι

πιστὸς φίλος καὶ δοῦλός σου

Θ. ΚΟΛΟΚΟΤΡΏΝΗΣ,

Γενικὸς Ἀρχηγὸς τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν στρατευμάτων.

sible, that the public sentiment of the civilized world should remain inoperative; had it been possible that the system of professed neutrality between the parties, but of real coöperation with the Turks, should have been persevered in, by the allied powers; one of two events would have been speedily witnessed in Greece, either the rapid reduction of the strong holds still in her possession, with the consequent subjugation and extirpation of her inhabitants; or a convulsive effort beyond those which she had hitherto made, which should unite all hearts and hands in throwing off the horrible calamity which weighed upon the country.

That event, however, happened, which we had ventured almost despondingly to predict, just two years ago, a few weeks before receiving intelligence of its occurrence, as one that could not but take place. From the commencement of the revolution, the ministers of the allied powers at Constantinople, had urged on the Porte, without success, the mediation of their governments. These governments were actuated by general reasons of state; by feelings no doubt of humanity, dwelling more upon the evils of the present contest, than on the perpetuated plague of Turkish slavery; by regard to the interests of the commerce of the Levant, which was interrupted by the military operations of the two parties, and the audacity of pirates; and most of all, by the perplexing fear of change. In addition to this, as Russia had her separate quarrel with the Turks (the heir-loom of the Autocratic crown), which could not fail to be hastened to its crisis by the continuance of the war in Greece, the other powers were the more earnest to effect a pacification, which would diminish the chance for a war between Russia and the Porte. This proffered mediation was, however, uniformly rejected by the Sultan, who insisted on his right, on his ability, and on his resolution to terminate the revolt of his own subjects, in his own time and way.

The remark is frequently made, that the Porte, in thus rejecting the proffered mediation, had the best of the argument; that the Sultan had a right to terminate these troubles in his own dominion, in his own way. This, however, we do not admit. It is an admitted principle of the law of nations, that any power or any number of powers, may interfere in the concerns of any other power or powers, when required by the great paramount law of nature, as well as nations, that of self-preservation. The question, when self-preservation does require this

interference, is indeed a question of *fact*, very delicate, and on which the parties are not like to be agreed. But the *principle* is clear. Now the Turks either do or do not belong to that family of nations, whose assent, implied or express, has been given to the law of nations, as understood in the modern civilized world. If they do, then we say, as a principle, the right of the allies to interfere is clear, supposing a state of facts to exist authorizing the application of the principle. If the Turks do not consider themselves a party, bound by the law of nations, then we do not know, how they can complain of any policy, on the part of the other powers, which those powers think it their duty to pursue. The ulterior question whether the Turks are, or are not, under the law of nations, admits an argument of some nicety. If adhering to practices forbidden by the clearest principles of that law, ought to exclude them, they are excluded. They have continued to imprison ambassadors, on a rupture with the powers they represent, till the present year. If having entered into treaty with civilized states, be sufficient ground to include them under the law of nations, they are of course included. Mr Ward, the respectable historian of the Law of Nations, lays down the proposition, that 'what is commonly called the law of nations, is not the law of *all* nations, but only of such *sets* or *classes* of them, as are united together by similar religions and systems of morality;' * and most of the standard writers on the subject, have dropped hints to the same effect.

But this is not the place for the farther discussion of either of the questions started. The allied powers, finding that the Turks would not directly accept their mediation, began to treat the subject *ex parte*. As Russia was pressing the Turkish government on her own account, and as England has registered it among the maxims of her hereditary policy, to check the Russians on the Turkish quarter, negotiations arose between these two powers of a nature so important, as to carry the Duke of Wellington to St Petersburg. Here an understanding was effected in 1826, that Greece should be pacified on the grounds of continued allegiance to the Porte, the payment of an annual

* Ward's Enquiry into the Foundation and History of the Law of Nations in Europe. Vol. I. p. 77. This author, however, considers the Turks as having acceded to the European law of nations, by the negotiation of treaties.

tribute, the purchase of the property of the Turks, and the choice of her own rulers, subject to some control on the part of the Porte. But the Porte refused to accede to such an arrangement. Meantime, the evils which the allied powers put forward, as their justification for interference, increased; namely, the complete interruption of the ordinary commerce of the Mediterranean, the growth of piracy, and the necessity imposed on all the commercial states of supporting a squadron in the Archipelago. The public sentiment of Europe also became, from day to day, stronger; and was more and more emphatically expressed. It became intolerable to all honest men, that a slave-trade in well educated, and often accomplished fellow Christians, of both sexes, should be carried on to as great an extent as the African slave-trade, under the pretence, that the European powers, who professed to hold the slave-trade as felony and piracy, were bound not to interfere. The Greeks, in the depths of their despondency, invoked and implored the interference of the leading powers. There were thousands of individuals in Europe and America, who had visited Greece, and were personally acquainted with those who invoked this interference; and who knew, of their own knowledge, that it was not a contest between barbarian and barbarian, but between a barbarous and a civilized race. An intelligent statesman, Count Capo d' Istria,—himself a Greek, for many years a minister of state in the Russian service, in retirement but not out of favor,—travelled from court to court, like another Columbus, persuading them, not to launch forth after undiscovered and perhaps fabulous regions, but to rescue from utter desolation the birth-place of European civilization. The helm of state in England had just been assumed by the only individual perhaps in that country or Europe, who, daring to act on a liberal policy, wielded the power which was necessary to carry his will into effect. Little indeed did we imagine, just two years ago,—when, in our humble sphere, but with devout earnestness, we expressed the wish that this individual might elevate himself above the low policy of the European cabinets, and dare to give repose and liberty to the Greeks, and when our suggestion was derided by the shrewder politicians of the day,—that the work was already done; that a treaty was about to be signed, under the auspices of this illustrious statesman, his dying legacy as it were to the world. And what a lesson does it teach to the candid portion of those who had per-

mitted themselves to become the strenuous asserters of the manliness, liberality, and integrity of the Turk, of the knavery and degeneracy of the Greek, to find Russia, and France, and England enter into a treaty, to prevent this rightful sovereign from reducing his rebellious subjects! What a lesson does it afford to the allies themselves, to find themselves obliged to do for desolate, wasted, and all but lifeless Greece, what they were implored to do when her wounds were fresh and her first agonies were upon her; to step in to arrest the scimetar, after a hundred thousand have bled; to protect the soil, after the vine is rooted up, and the olive-tree is levelled; to give security to the fireside, whose ashes have been slaked in the blood of its inmates; to proclaim liberty to husbands and fathers, whose wives and daughters have been sold into the infernal slavery of Anatolia and Algiers, and freedom of religion to Christians, whose patriarch has been gibbeted, and their priests roasted alive at slow fires. If the interference is justifiable now, it was justifiable eight years ago. If the Grand Seignior had a right to sack and burn Scio, to hang its hostages on the walls of the citadel, and reduce the remnant of its population to slavery in 1822, he had a right to do the same to Missolonghi in 1826. Did the law of nature, the obligation of Christianity, the innate common sense of mankind, the voice of humanity, all slumber till the trade of the Levant company began to suffer? The reason assigned for the interference is, if possible, worse than its delay; for it is not the only, nor the main reason. The interruption of trade and piracy required no such strange remedy as the mysterious treaty of July 6, 1827. That treaty was entered into, *first*, because Russia would not longer be put off. She was determined to go to war; jointly if the allies would join her, and singly if they would not. *Secondly*, because the allies all saw the portentous absurdity of the course, they had for seven years pursued, that of forcing Turkey to become a military power of the first order. They were quite willing the Sultan should fight the battles of legitimacy with a wooden sword; but it did at length occur to them, that the destruction of the Janissaries, and the organization, under a vigorous system of military discipline, of the whole Turkish empire, excited by a religious war, might render him an inconvenient neighbor. And, *lastly*, it was found, in the words of the treaty itself, that there was such a thing as 'humanity,' as well as the 'interest of the repose of Europe';

that public opinion was disaffected, and was too strong to be defied; and that the utter destruction of the Grecian people, was becoming, in the near approach of that catastrophe, a responsibility too heavy to be assumed by those, who had but to speak the word to avert it. Why should we hesitate to speak out? It was the will of Providence that this Christian people should not perish. And what do we behold? Events to which modern history has no parallel, concurring to prevent it;—England allied with Russia in a war against the Turk; the members of the Congress of Verona sending their combined fleets to protect those, whose cause they had solemnly denounced seven years before, as revolt and insurrection; the ships of France and England, for the first time, since Heaven knows when, locked yard-arm with yard-arm, in one line of battle. We behold them thus effecting by an 'untoward' and all but disavowed movement, the object of a treaty formed after years of deliberation; doing perhaps the only conceivable act, beyond the reach of their instructions; but doing it advisedly, and for reasons stated; in a belief that they were thereto authorized, and that it was the only measure by which their duty could be discharged; in short, saving Greece by the application of the navies of the most powerful states of Europe, although not one of those states either did make, or pretended to make, the salvation of Greece the moving cause of its proceedure. We know of nothing in the history of states, in which second causes have been more effectually overruled, to the production of great effects in the design of Providence.

The treaty of pacification was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Russia, England, and France, on the sixth of July, 1827. It sets forth, in the beginning of the preamble, that the three powers are 'penetrated with the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary contest, which, by delivering up the Greek provinces, and the isles of the Archipelago, to all the disorders of anarchy, produces daily fresh impediments to the commerce of the European states, and gives occasion to piracies, which not only expose the subjects of the high contracting parties to considerable losses, but besides, render necessary burdensome measures of protection and repression.' It then sets forth that the kings of England and France, having received a pressing request from the Greeks to interpose their mediation with the Porte, and being, as well as the Emperor of Russia, animated by the desire of stopping the effusion of blood, and of arresting

the evils of all kinds, which might arise from the continuance of such a state of things, have resolved to unite their efforts, and to regulate the operations thereof by a formal treaty, with the view of reëstablishing peace between the contending parties, by means of an arrangement, which is called for, as much by humanity, as by the interest of the repose of Europe.

The treaty then provides, (Article first,) that the three contracting powers will offer their mediation to the Porte, by a joint declaration of their ambassadors at Constantinople; and that there shall be made at the same time, to the two contending parties, the demand of an immediate armistice, as a preliminary condition indispensable to opening any negotiation. Article second provides the terms of the arrangement to be made, as to the civil and political condition of Greece, in conformity with the principles of the understanding between Russia and England, of the preceding year, already alluded to. By the third article, it was agreed, that the details of this arrangement, and the limits of the territory to be included under it, should be settled in a separate negotiation, between the high contracting powers, and the two contending parties. The fourth article stipulated for the immediate execution of the preceding. The fifth article disclaims any view to augmentation of territory, or exclusive commercial advantages to be obtained by the allies. Article sixth provides that the arrangements of reconciliation and peace shall be guarantied by such of the signing powers, as may deem it useful or possible to enter into such a guarantee. Article seventh directs that ratifications shall be exchanged in two months, and sooner if possible. To this public treaty was added the following 'additional and secret article.'

'In case the Ottoman Porte does not accept, within the space of one month the mediation, which shall be proposed, the high contracting parties agree upon the following measure;

'1. It shall be declared by their representatives at Constantinople to the Porte, that the inconveniences and evils pointed out in the public treaty, as inseparable from the state of things subsisting in the East, for the last six years, and the termination of which, through the means at the disposal of the Sublime Porte, appears still remote, impose upon the high contracting parties, the necessity of taking immediate measures for an *approximation* with the Greeks.

It is to be understood that this approximation shall be brought about, by establishing commercial relations with the Greeks, by

sending to them, for that purpose, and receiving from them, consular agents, so long as there shall exist among them authorities capable of maintaining such relations.

'2. If, within the said term of one month, the Porte do not accept the armistice proposed in the first article of the public treaty, or if the Greeks refuse to execute it, the high contracting parties shall declare to that one of the two contending parties that shall wish to continue hostilities, or to both, if such become necessary, that the said high contracting powers intend to exert all the means, which circumstances may suggest to their prudence, to obtain the immediate effect of the armistice, the execution of which they desire, by preventing, in as far as may be in their power, all collision between the contending parties; and in fact, immediately after the aforesaid declaration, the high contracting parties will conjointly employ all their means in the accomplishment of the object thereof, without, however, taking any part in the hostilities of the two contending parties.

'In consequence, the high contracting powers will, immediately after the signature of the present additional and secret article, transmit eventual instructions, conformable to the provisions above set forth, to the admirals commanding their squadrons in the seas of the Levant.

'3. Finally, if contrary to all expectation, these measures do not yet suffice to induce the adoption by the Ottoman Porte of the propositions made by the high contracting powers, or if, on the other hand, the Greeks renounce the conditions stipulated in their favor, in the treaty of this day, the high contracting powers will nevertheless continue to prosecute the work of pacification, on the basis agreed upon between them; and in consequence, they authorize, from this time forward, their representives in London, to discuss and determine the ulterior measures, to which it may become necessary to resort.'

To complete the chapter of wonders connected with this treaty, it was, by some breach of official confidence, which we believe has never been traced to its author, published without authority, and before the exchange of ratifications, *secret article and all*, a short time after its date!

The Greeks joyfully accepted, the Turks perseveringly refused, the proffered mediation. Instructions were accordingly given to the allied squadrons, to compel the cessation of hostilities. On the third of September immense reinforcements of the Egyptian army arrived at Navarino. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, the admirals, Sir Edward Codrington, De Rigny, and Heiden, held a conference with Ibrahim, in

which he consented to an armistice. The same day a detachment of his squadron sailed from Navarino for Patras, but was forced to return by the allied squadron.*

Enraged at this interference, and in violation of his agreement, Ibrahim now began to lay waste and desolate the Morea. To counteract this faithless and barbarian policy, the allied admirals proceeded to a course of decided action. They held a conference on the eighteenth of October, and published its result, in a protocol, which, for happy ambiguity and mystical comprehensiveness, compares to great advantage with the treaty under which they were acting. It sets forth that three courses presented themselves; First, to blockade the harbor of Navarino during the winter, which would be difficult, expensive, and, in the event of a storm dispersing the fleet, unavailing. Secondly, to unite the allied squadron within the harbor of Navarino, and, by a permanent occupation of it, compel the Ottoman fleet to remain inactive. This course was rejected, because the Porte would meet it by its usual policy of procrastination. The last course, and that which they adopted, was to proceed 'to take a position with the squadrons in Navarino, in order to renew to Ibrahim propositions, which, entering into the spirit of the treaty, were evidently to the advantage of the Porte itself.' This course the worthy admirals concluded to adopt, as likely to effect their object '*without effusion of blood*, and without hostilities, but simply by the imposing presence of the squadron.' It so happened, however, that the very pacific measure of entering the harbor in line of battle, with ten three-deckers, ten frigates, and four brigs, and bearing down on the Turkish force of three line-of-battle ships, five fifty-four gun ships, twenty-five corvettes, twelve brigs, and forty transports, moored in a crescent, with springs on their cables, and with six fire-ships anchored to windward, produced the very unnatural and extraordinary effect of a general battle,—sanguinary and destructive, almost beyond example. It was fought on the twentieth of October, and decided the fate of Greece.

But we must hurry over this, as well as over many other incidents of subsequent occurrence and great interest. The military expedition undertaken to recover Scio failed; Gen-

* For an able chapter on the Events of the Grecian War for 1826–7, see the second volume of the American Annual Register.

eral Church appears to have effected nothing, and Cochrane vanished from the scene. Count Capo d' Istria arrived in Greece on the nineteenth of January, 1828, with a loan of fourteen millions of francs, advanced by Russia and France. He immediately called about him the able men of all parties. On the seventeenth of August, a French expedition sailed from Toulon, under General Maison, to effect the evacuation of the Morea by the Egyptians, and disembarked at Coron on the twenty-ninth. By the seventh of October the evacuation of the Morea was completed.

Meantime another and most momentous series of events commenced, in the war between Russia and the Porte, which was officially declared on the twenty-sixth of April, 1828. The causes, the fortunes, and probable issue of this war, afford the most important topics, at the present day, in the politics of the world. But it is out of our power at the present moment, to engage in their discussion. We must, in like manner, suppress the reflections, with which we intended to have followed up our sketch of the history of the Greek revolution; and will only observe, in closing our remarks, that, imperfect as our abstract of Dr Howe's work has been, it is sufficient to bear us out in our introductory observation, that the revolution in Greece is a subject of great importance.

ART. VI.—*Letters written in the Interior of Cuba, between the Mountains of Arcana, to the East, and of Cusco, to the West, in the Months of February, March, April, and May*, 1828. By the late Rev. ABIEL ABBOT, D. D., Pastor of the First Church in Beverly, in Massachusetts. 8vo. Boston. 1829. Bowles & Dearborn. pp. 256.

WE hardly know how more annoyances, novelty, and romantic interest can be crowded into three months, than by a voyage to the island of Cuba. One embarking at a northern port in February, leaves a coast covered with snow and bound in frost. The sea, at the commencement of the voyage, is still more inhospitable than the land which he leaves behind. The winds are rough, cold, and, in the strongest sense of the term,

penetrating; so much so, that it is difficult to envelope one's self in a sufficient quantity of clothing to make an adequate protection against their piercing severity. The day passes in a variety of discomforts; in migrating from the cabin to the deck, and from the deck to the cabin; walking to and fro, with yet an unsteady step; making occasional advances to an acquaintance with the captain and officers of the ship; severing the last connecting link with home, by discharging the pilot; and taking an occasional glimpse at the receding and still receding shore, which grows more dear, as it becomes more distant;—and, as it gradually sinks below the borizon, a thousand remembrances and anticipations rush upon the mind of the voyager, as he looks to the past and the future, from what seems like an isthmus between two separate existences. He does not, however, become fully sensible of the transition, until the night closes in; he then begins to feel that he has exchanged the solid, fixed continent, for a floating, wandering shell. But then all sense of insecurity vanishes, when he comes on deck, the sails and rigging being half shrouded in darkness, and perceives the steadiness with which the course is kept, and hears an occasional voice giving or acknowledging an order, indicating the presence and guardianship of mind, and sees the ship triumphantly leaping from wave to wave, dashing up a bright spray, which appears the more vivid amidst the general darkness.

The first part of the voyage should be stormy, the atmosphere enveloped in a thick mist, with only a glimpse of a sail or two from day to day, until, as the routes of the vessels bound on the same voyage diverge, none is seen for several days. The rain still continues, and the wind occasionally blows a gale. Your clothes, your sheets and bedding, become saturated with a clammy moisture, and the water collects in drops on the side of your birth. Here and there a leak through the deck, or side of the ship, makes a continual dripping, and drenches a part of your garments or bed. In moving, you must hold by the table or sides of the cabin, and accommodate yourself in some degree, to the motion of the ship, or you will, by some sudden lurch, be flung prostrate across the cabin. You have not the accommodations and good order of a Liverpool packet, upon this voyage. The captain will be swearing at and threatening the steward, for allowing the waste of water, providing the wrong article for dinner, &c. The chicken, which is nearly pecked

to death by its companions, must be killed first. Though you may not suffer that worst of all calamities, sea-sickness, your stomach becomes queasy; and in this state of fastidious irritability, you will be soothed only by the captain's exceeding politeness in offering you great junks of salted beef, cut with his own greasy knife, about which he has just been scolding the cook or cabin-boy. The table-cloth will have become so foul and loathsome, that a knife, fork, spoon, or piece of bread, which has come in contact with it, is no longer endurable. If you endeavor to reconcile yourself to your knife, fork, spoon, and plate, by use of a spare towel or two with which you may have provided yourself, the captain looks upon this with the most absolute contempt, as totally unseamanlike, and a reproach upon the good management and neatness of his cabin; and his looks express plainly enough that you are a nice, mincing puppy. The salt, though white at first, by degrees acquires the complexion of pepper and salt, and finally verges upon that of pepper, and is none the more attractive on account of each one's helping himself from the salt-cellar with his own knife. The wind is fitful and changeable, and you have no sooner got yourself seated for dinner, than the ship gives a lurch, and sends you and your messmates with the chairs, beef, gravy, pease-soup, dishes, and plates, in one common chaos, to the lee side of the cabin. No longer trusting to chairs, the party place themselves near the side of the cabin, and each one scrambles among the fragments for his part of the wreck of the dinner. The coffee served up morning and night, begins to have an indescribably sickening, disgusting taste, as if some old bilge-water had been mixed with it in boiling. In the evening you are troubled with the cold gusts from the cabin-door, which the captain must have kept open, that he may know what is going on upon deck. You try to drive away some of the cold and dampness by a fire, but the wood being infected by the general moisture, will only smoulder in the stove without yielding any heat; or if you succeed, with the help of your assistant, to kindle up a fire that affords a gleam of comfort, it cannot be sustained, for want of a regular supply of fuel; or the fire itself may join the enemy, and add to your other annoyances, by filling the cabin with smoke. The captain grows cross and querulous, and the men sulky, going about their duty, in their wet garments, with a heavy, refractory spirit. The gales increase so that you are obliged to *lie to*. The lurching, tossing,

and jerking motion of the ship ceases; all the men except the watch are retired to get rest, in preparation for severer service. The ship lies steady and strong to the wind, which whizzes through the shrouds and rigging, as if it would shiver the whole ship, with all its apparel, into shreds and splinters. All else is silent on board of the ship. The mate, whose watch it is, now and then steals down into the cabin, to record upon his slate an entry for the log-book;—'Twelve o'clock. A violent gale at southwest,' &c.; and as you spy him entering, muffled in his watch-coat, and searching about for something, you involuntarily start, as if an assassin were approaching. You try your birth, and are repelled by a comfortless dampness; you get up, and attempt the Vicar of Wakefield, or one of the Waverley Novels, but cannot fix your attention; all the grace and beauty of the style, and all the interest of the story, have vanished. The importunate, angry, terrific whizzing of the gale provokes a continual restlessness and impatience. Something seems to be wrong, and yet nothing is to be done. You go to the gangway, and put your head just above deck, not venturing quite out, lest you should go off in the wind. You see one or two forms skulking behind some shelter, as if lying in wait for some one. But being finally worn down, and utterly exhausted, you throw yourself into you birth and fall asleep.

When you wake in the morning, you find the ship is under way, going, with close-reefed sails at the rate of ten miles an hour. But the agitation of the sea, and violence of the wind, still give the ship a good deal of motion. You have a small glass in your state-room, so placed that you may brace yourself against the birth, with your feet against the bottom of the partition, in which position you may shave yourself with perfect security, however irregular the motion of the ship. Having drawn out some dry and clean linen, and other articles of dress, from your closely packed trunk, where they have been protected from the general saturation, you make your toilet in very neat style, except the outer garments, bootees, and cap, which are always such as not to shun the contamination of contact with a tarred rope or a spray of sea-water. The clear, dry air, with the change of dress, give a pleasurable sensation through your whole frame. On going upon deck, the faces of the captain and the men greet you with good humor; every one is busy, and goes about his duty with alacrity. You are now far away in the Gulf Stream, and perceive, for the

first time since embarking, that you have changed your latitude. The air has a bland softness, notwithstanding the violence of the wind. The sun is just below the edge of the horizon, and all the eastern atmosphere is a transparent sea of effulgence. In other directions, you just perceive, near the horizon, and at immense distances, small specks of dim, gauzy whiteness, which are recognised for sails, and remind you that you are still in a peopled world. In the immense prospect, in all directions, the white-crested waves are tumbling with restless and ever-varying turmoil; and as they successively rise and subside, the eye seeks to catch the white streaks of foam at a greater and still greater distance, and you expect to extend the varying, indefinite boundaries of vision still farther, and descry the shore of some island or continent; and though you may be persuaded, from your known latitude and longitude, that no such object will appear, yet still you persist in imagining that there is some grand object or other, just beyond the verge of your prospect, which you in vain attempt to discover.

Such are some of the incidents which we are sure may be encountered in this voyage, which will be almost infinitely varied in different passages, each one of which would afford materials to fill a book. Were we to pursue this one as we have begun, it would occupy all the space of the present article, and we should forget the work of Dr Abbot. We will, therefore, not dwell particularly upon the remaining objects and incidents,—the approach to the Hole in the Wall; the throng of sails sure to be met, converging to this point; the exhilaration at the sight of the low land of Abaco; the new and peculiar appearance of the scattered palm-trees seen ranged along the horizon; the small green islands on the left, mostly uninhabited, what few habitations there are, being the rudely built dwellings of fishermen; the passage over the Bahama Bank, with the continual music of the man at the lead, singing out every five minutes, in a peculiarly monotonous and drawling tone, 'Three quarters and twain,' 'A half and twain,' &c. during the whole day and night, to indicate the depth of the soundings; the clearness of the water, through which is distinctly seen the sandy bottom, studded, here and there, with patches of sponge; the numerous vessels passing the same course; the exhilarating proclamation, that the Orange Key [that is, *rock*] is discovered to the right; then, successively, the Dog Key, &c., to the Double-headed-shot Key on the left,—

being a row of monuments, stretched along sixty or eighty miles, of what was once an island, and is now the Sal Key Bank.

In passing the Bahama Bank you are reminded that some twenty-five leagues to the eastward is St Salvador, the first land discovered by Columbus; and though the chart shows it to be at so great a distance, you have a desire to turn from the course of the voyage, to visit the place where the first European footsteps, in our hemisphere, were imprinted. If you have left all the clouds and gales in the Gulf Stream and latitude of the Bermudas, and pass the subsequent part of the voyage in a bright, clear atmosphere, of a genial warmth, the more sensibly felt and enjoyed from a contrast with the rough winds and biting frosts which you left at home but a few days before, it will be one continued scene of delight and luxury. When you are satiated with sleep, or tired of reading, you may amuse yourself for hours in the day, by climbing up and stationing youself in the rigging, to contemplate, with an idle curiosity, the various objects in the prospect, and most of all, the sublime, terrific, and treacherous sea itself, the inexhaustible subject of musing and contemplation, which never tires except in a dead calm.

Finally, a dim, bluish haze just above the horizon, not distinguishable from a cloud except by its more marked and definite lines, announces Cuba, and kindles, in a new voyager, a train of tumultuous sensations. All eyes are now peering to descry the Pan of Matanzas, which being described to you as a mountain resembling a Quaker's hat crown, you may look for it as well as the rest, and perhaps have the satisfaction of first discovering it.

Dr Abbot arrived at the port of Matanzas; when the voyager, who would receive the most favorable first impression, should arrive,—at sunrise, on a clear, bright morning. On the right, as he enters the bay, he sees a line of low rock, with abrupt hills in the rear, and a few small huts of fishermen or negroes, standing just on the brink of the water, with a small garden enclosed near by. On the left, the bay is bordered partly by an abrupt shore, and in part by low grounds, and receding ravines, with a few white, neat-looking buildings; and at the bottom of this bay, which is not deep, appears the town of Matanzas, with buildings huddled together in apparent confusion, mostly of an indifferent appearance, the only two that present themselves

with any striking effect, being a white wooden house, with a piazza in front, a little to the right or west of the town, and the custom-house, fronting on the public square, a stone building, with a white front, and ornamented with a broad piazza, supported by high square pillars. In the clear, lucid atmosphere of this region, where objects appear with unusual splendor and brilliancy, the landscape bounded by hills in the distance, the new species of trees and shrubbery, the sprinkling of buildings along the shore, the vessels arriving and departing; the song of the sailors, who, especially if from Virginia, take in their cargoes to the music of a brisk and animating air and chorus; and the throng of boats gliding to and fro across the harbor, navigated by blacks, or dark-looking Spaniards, with huge whiskers and mustachios, in straw hats, some in rags, some in fantastic dresses, and some with scarcely any dress; with all the hum and echoes of this little, busy port,—present to one newly arrived in these regions, a most animated and romantic scene. Not the least gratifying object, in this prospect, is one of our beautiful national frigates, if there happens to be one in the harbor at the time, the sight of which, here, will awaken all your patriotic pride, and give you the most lively sense of the protection extended by the government to its subjects, even in the remote regions of the world. And if a midshipman, dressed in a blue coat, white underdress, and straw hat, shoots out in his boat round the bows of the frigate, to board you, and inquire the news, and borrow the newspapers from home, and on coming aboard, announces to you that his ship is commanded by your acquaintance or friend, you seem, at once, to have met all the delights of home, amidst all the enchantments of romance.

After relating the ceremonies preliminary to landing, Dr Abbot describes, with great truth and vivacity, the first impression made on a new visiter, on entering the town.

'There had been a small shower, and we seemed treading on mortar in the streets. The buildings were a motley group of all sizes, and of various forms and roofs. The Spanish visage and costume, however, strike you with irresistible humor. It seems a scene of masquerade, and as if all are striving to amuse by the extravagance and oddity of their appearance. *Here*, is ambling by you a Don, with a spur on his shoe, his horses head low, and his tail tied up in a club; *there*, comes a volante with huge wheels, highly adorned with silver plate, with a boot of broadcloth hitched

to the top of the vehicle, as if there were nuns or donnas within, not to be seen by vulgar eyes. This heavy carriage is sometimes drawn by one horse, and sometimes by two, with a postillion in livery, and jack-boots reaching almost to his hips, with a monstrous spur at his heel, and a short whip in his hand, both very freely applied. Sometimes, if the sun be hid, the boot or curtain is dropped, discovering to you two or three gaily dressed and laughing girls, or one or two grave men, lounging in the ample chaise body, for this is the form of the carriage. You withdraw your eyes from the volante, to gaze on a vehicle of an humbler character, on the clumsy cart, with large wheels and a rude body, formed of skins, and perhaps filled with corn, each ear covered with a thin coat of husks, the state in which they preserve this grain. It is drawn by oxen most strangely harnessed.

'A yoke is placed behind their horns at the root, and so fixed to them with fillets and ropes, that they draw or push by their horns without chafing. A rope or thong leads from that gear to the nostril, which is perforated to receive it. A rope thus fastened to the nose of each ox, is sometimes seen in the hand of a man leading the team, as we lead a horse by the bridle; and sometimes the teamster holds the rope in his hand, and walks by the side of the cattle, goading the animals with a ten-foot pole.

'There is an infinite variety of caparison to their riding horses, from a saddle of leather and plaited stirrup, to a bed of straw tied on by a rope. Their bridles are as various, with and without bit, of leather, rope, and braided grass. But what strikes the stranger with surprise, almost rising into a nervous feeling, is the constant sight of men in armor. It seems as if it was a time of war, and every horseman a vidette. The broad sword dangles by the side of the gentleman, and holsters are inseparable from his saddle. The simplest countryman on his straw saddle, belts on his rude cutlass; and every man with a skin less dark than an African, appears ready for encounter.' pp. 3, 4.

After a few days spent in town, Dr Abbot made an excursion into the country, going a part of the way up a river that discharges itself into the harbor of Matanzas, and for the remainder, riding in a volante through coffee and sugar estates, bordered here and there with lime hedges, and palm, orange, and other ornamental trees.

'About five in the morning, the church-bell tolled for prayers. In about twenty minutes we rose, took a cup of coffee, the very quintessence of the island staple, without any accompaniment. At dawning, the servants took up my baggage, and we repaired to the mole, where the watermen were waiting, and we started down the

bay, to the side of the Stranger, and thence entered the most romantic river, I should say, that ever was seen—only that I cannot speak confidently as to that point, there being many romantic rivers which I never have seen. The mouth of it is guarded by a Spanish fort, and the solitary sentinel was pacing his round with a gun on his shoulder, and a high cap on his head. Whether it was that we were rowed by bargemen belonging to the Custom-House, or that we made so innocent an appearance, I cannot say, but we unexpectedly were suffered to pass without a hail. A jest, in Spanish, however, was sent into the fort by one of the rowers, and we shot up this enchanting stream. The tide in the river is but two feet, and in the bay, little more. Our course was instantly walled in by a lofty bank of nature's masonry, sometimes almost perpendicular, and sometimes with a precipitous slope, I conjecture, fifty, seventy-five, and a hundred feet high. But imagine not that these beetling cliffs appeared in dreary, naked majesty, blackening in a tropical sun. From a few feet in the water, to the top of the height, is a matted growth of cane, and brush, and trees, glossy and brilliant with foliage and flowers, not a plant of which but was a stranger to my eyes. Many of the trees were exceedingly beautiful. The red mango tree runs high with a branchy top, and is as gay and thick with flowers, as an apple-tree in a New England spring. The mahawa has something of a catalpa top, trunk, and limb, with a gay red flower on some of the trees, and a yellow flower on others; and what struck me as a curious anomaly, on some trees were seen flowers, some perfectly red, and some perfectly yellow, so growing naturally, and not by inoculation. In crevices of the rocks, you occasionally discover natural beehives, which are found filled with honey, in situations difficult for the human robber to disturb their busy and well ordered commonwealth. The turns in this river are frequent, presenting the most diversified prospects; the bank, now curving into an amphitheatre, and now fluted in the most beautiful swells, and hollows, as if the hand of art had been employed. Now you see a little hut of wattled walls and thatched roof, and a narrow bank of a rod or two, flourishing with great beds of sallads and cabbages, luxuriant in spite of shade. Here runs into the water a little close fence to wall the pigs from the river, while they enjoy the water; and there a still closer fence, to inclose the fishes, probably at the recess of the scanty tide. A duck came swimming along our passage so fearlessly, that the bargeman might almost have saluted him with his oar, and, when so near, dipping only, not flying. His form was different from all the ducks I have seen. Various birds appeared on wing, and perch, and on the water, whose forms, and feathers, and names, were all new to me.' pp. 5–7.

The useless cotton-tree is a conspicuous object in many of the landscapes on this island, and the attention of the traveller is sure to be attracted by *bibiaguas*, a sort of little black ants, an unconquerable tribe of aborigines, great marauders upon every plantatation, who carry on a perpetual war against the proprietors.

'As you approach this plantation, [La Carolina, in the neighborhood of Matanzas,] you discover one of the most beautiful and grand objects, that exuberant nature produces in this favored region,—a cotton-tree. It is not rare, almost every estate reserves one or more of these trees, in some favorable situation to gratify the eye; for it answers no other human purpose,—it is neither timber nor fuel. The cotton, however, I should not forget, which it yields in a very scanty crop, is sometimes used to stuff a pillow. One on the Santa Ana Estate, towers a hundred feet towards heaven, sixty-five of which, ascertained by admeasurement, are a smooth cylinder, without a limb or knot, twenty-seven and a half feet in circumference, six feet from the ground; and near the base, where it spreads itself in the direction of its principal roots, like a giant bracing himself against the tempest, the fluted trunk has been measured, forty-six feet and a half. Were there nothing to be seen but this noble shaft, with its white smooth surface, it would excite admiration. But at the height already mentioned, it stretches forth its arms, of a size for timber, horizontally and symmetrically, and forms a top, for width and grandeur worthy of the trunk below. It has been measured and found to cover a diameter of one hundred and sixty-five feet.

'This immense tree is a world by itself, and is peopled by its millions. The wild pine-apple colonizes its top. Bajuca, or vines, vegetate on its extended limbs, and run downward to the earth coiling like ropes on the ground, which the thirsty traveller, when water fails him in this land of rare springs, cuts, and the sweet milky juice proves to him a delightful beverage. These vines, very possibly, answer another purpose of nature, who regards with tenderness her humblest offspring. The mice and rats, and opossum, who might find it difficult to ascend the plain surface of the trunk, may easily ascend these natural shrouds, and drink out of the cups of the pines, which stretch their leaves to catch and concentrate the rains and dews in those natural reservoirs.—I said this tree was peopled by its millions. This is quite within bounds; you may see among its branches the commonwealths of the comajen, or wood-louse. They are not peculiar to this tree. Their large, black cities are attached to the body of some limb, or safely repose in some fork of the tree, where they are a Chinese population, innumerable. This insect, about the size of a flea, forms a

covered way of a mortar of its own, down the trunk to the ground; and as they have different public roads, it is probable that some are for ascending, and others for descending, so that the travellers may not incommode each other. This insect is harmless, and their populous nests are carried whole to the poultry yard, where I have seen hundreds, young and old, enjoying the repast, with all the glee of turkeys in grasshopper time.

'On the subject of insects, I will take this opportunity of mentioning the greatest annoyance to the planter, the bibiagua, an ant of half the size of our black ant. These little animals, perfectly insignificant, considered individually, are powerful and formidable in their congregated, or social strength. On the Santa Ana estate, I witnessed the attempt to disinter and exterminate a tribe of these enemies. Near the house was planted a hedge of campeachy; it is young and flourishing. One morning, Mr S. discovered signs of a nocturnal incursion. Leaves were dropped across the path, and the busy laborers had stripped the campeachy hedge of every leaf, for an extent of ten or twelve feet. The retreating enemies were traced by their path some rods on the surface to their entrance into a covered way. Here commenced the digging, and their passage, or arched way, was followed to the depth of sometimes two feet, and sometimes one, until it terminated in a spacious city. This was a collection of cells, in which were deposited masses of eggs, and astonishing numbers of the common bibiaguas, with a sprinkling of probably queen or mother ants, as we judged them to be, from their royal size, with wings an inch and a half long. They were here in no small confusion, as a stout negro had plunged into the very heart of their citadel, and disregarding their bite, was transferring them, with hand and shovel, to the blazing fire near by, and sometimes kindling with husks a quick flame to destroy them in their cells.

'We should, by stopping here, have but a limited view of this ingenious and populous nation. Its metes and bounds, its geographical limits, it is difficult to ascertain with accuracy, as they are subterranean in their highways, and in a great measure in their dwellings. Several cities and villages have been discovered, and the subterranean passages, connecting them in one commonwealth. I should think that from the entrance into the ground to which the marauders of the campeachy were traced, to the last town as yet discovered, may be twenty or thirty rods; and who can tell where we are to look for their metropolis or frontiers?' pp. 10–12.

The following account is given of the process of manufacturing sugar, on an estate about forty miles from Matanzas. The grinding is done on this estate by oxen, but on many estates, as Dr Abbot somewhere else mentions, and we believe on

most of the extensive ones, it is done by steam-engines, which are peculiarly adapted to this use, since the heat necessary to boil down the cane juice, will work the engine, which can, accordingly, be applied in this manufacture with little or no expense for fuel. The engines, apparatus, and machinery used for this purpose, have been hitherto mostly, if not wholly, supplied from England. An agent of the manufacturers resides on the island, and contracts with the planters for the supply of the engines, and putting them in operation.

'After a superb breakfast, highly enjoyed with an appetite eager from a ride of ten or eleven miles, we sallied out to survey an extensive *sugar plantation.* Two volantes accommodated the ladies; the gentlemen first repaired to the mill, to witness a busy scene. A huge boiler, filled with grits, was preparing dinner for the laborers on the spot. A negro close by, with a mill turned by a crank, was providing the raw material. Two mills, with ten or twelve oxen harnessed in each, with a driver to each pair on the outside, and a general whipper on the inside, and a yell from the whole, which defies description, were keeping the mill in quick motion. When the cane had passed through the first pair of nuts, it was turned back again through the second pair, (the middle nut being one of each pair,) by six wooden rollers called dumb turners, revolving parallel with the nuts. The juice fell copiously into an inclined trough, and passed off rapidly in an underground conductor, to join the confluent stream of the other mill. Together in a rapid and respectable tide, it disgorges itself into a reservoir, in the boiling section of this vast building, one story lower than the level of the mills. The mills in this manner deliver five hundred gallons in twenty-five minutes.

'From the reservoir, the juice is next passed by a duct, to a large copper kettle, containing five hundred gallons, under which is kept a hot fire of wood;—into this mass three tumblers of lime are thrown, as a refining process. Here it boils with violence, and rises crowned with froth and bubbles; and as it is prone to overleap the limits of the kettle, there is a second rim rising higher, which controls the stray fluid and leads it into a reservoir close by, which may be called the save-all, for safe keeping.

'The next step is to transfer the refined juice into a duct, which conveys it into a tank, where the impurities sink to the bottom. Thence it passes by an easy conveyance to take its course through a row of three kettles, over a fire, a gentler fire of dried ground cane. From the first kettle it is dipped out into the second by a negro with a copper bucket attached to a long pole, which operation he performs by means of a moving skid, with dexterity and tolerable ease. From the third kettle it is transferred to a tank,

or large trough, against the wall, with a guard of boards on each side, that nothing may be lost. It is here brought to a state of granulation by two negroes, one at each end of the trough, dashing with the bucket on the pole, back and forth, and up and down, till it is felt or seen to be graining. It is at this trough that strangers and negroes have free access to cake off the sugar for their entertainment; and invalids find it salutary to inhale the fumes of the neighboring kettles.

'In this state of granulated liquid, the precious mass is taken in an iron bucket to the pans, arranged in rows over an inclined plane. The pans are first wetted, that the sugar may not stick to them; and are in the form of an inverted cone, with a hole at the bottom, which is stopped by a plug and husks, but not so tight as to prevent the molasses from oozing out, and falling on an inclined plane, placed like a roof beneath, and running into casks below. Negroes returning from the field are required to call as they pass, and take each a pan of sugar to the purging-house, so called, till they are all removed. Here we will leave the pans for the present, to complete our view of the mill and boiling-house. Passing to the end of the building we look into the furnaces under the respective kettles, and find all are fed with dry cane, which has been through the mill, except the central fire under the clarifying kettle, which is heated hotter than the rest with wood. Great quantities of cane fuel are housed at hand, lest rain should unfit it for use. I may just remark that the negroes wear sandals in this business; and that the pots, about to receive the granulated juice are wet to prevent its sticking, and that from the central clarifying boiler, the same process goes on to the granulating tank, both on the right and left.

'In passing to the *purging-house*, we discovered a negro goading a pair of superannuated oxen, who were incapable of harder labor, round a post in the centre of a little pit, six or eight feet in diameter, for the purpose of treading liquid clay. Everything, of course, looked filthy enough. In this dirty hole is produced the mighty agent, through whose pollution purity is produced, and snowy whiteness is imparted to the dark muscovado.

'In the neighboring building, we saw it standing in rows, with the lower part of the cone in a hole, to drop the molasses again upon an inclined plane, which conveys it to a vat holding thirty thousand gallons. We saw seven thousand pans, each holding from thirty-five to fifty pounds of sugar. On the top of the sugar in the pan, a portion of the clay from the pit is placed, and by its magical power, it drives the molasses downward till the greatest part of the cone becomes white, and the bottom becomes tinged with a slight molasses color. The clay comes off from the top entirely in a cake, perhaps an inch thick. The pots are once

more removed to a drying-house; the white sugar is then severed from the darker, and cut and broken into small pieces, and exposed to the sun in driers on truckles, that in a moment they may be run under a roof in case of rain. The same is done by the darker sugar; and both are next removed to the store, and boxed for the market, and sent eighteen miles, by land, on mules or in carts, to the Embarcadera, and thence by the Canimar to Matanzas, twelve miles.

'Five hundred gallons of juice yield about three hundred pounds of clayed sugar; and as that quantity of the liquid flows from the nuts in twenty-five minutes; and the operations of the mills and furnaces being simultaneous, and so managed that one part shall not wait day or night for the other, this mill and furnace establishment must send to the purging-house, the driers, and the boxes, more than seven hundred pounds of clayed sugar in an hour; sixteen thousand eight hundred pounds must be boxed each day, and something like one million pounds, to speak loosely, in a season.

'The molasses of this establishment is a heavy article, and would be an important item in the profits of the plantation, if the cartage did not nearly consume its price. The planter designs to set up a distillery on the premises, to raise the price, and diminish the carting of this branch of the economy of the plantation.

'The buildings on this estate (and *very small* is the sum, which the *palace* has cost the owners) have been reared at an expense of more than fifty thousand dollars. Though there are estates vastly larger than this, for its income, this may almost be esteemed a principality. When every expense has been deducted from the product of the two thousand acres, it leaves a net income of fifty thousand dollars per annum.' pp. 22–25.

In a subsequent letter we are told, that one hundred and ten yokes of oxen (in value, one thousand three hundred dollars) are kept for performing the grinding and other work on this estate. An equal investment in steam-enginery would afford an equivalent, or greater power, and save to the owner a great part of the expense of keeping the oxen.

Every one who has travelled in the interior of this island will bear testimony to the truth of Dr Abbot's acknowledgments and praises of the hospitality of the planters. 'I am,' says he, 'like the sailor crossing the line, almost made to swear that I will not walk when I can ride, nor eat brown bread when I can get white, nor touch any secondary thing while there is a first which is better.'

An ascent of one of the peaks of the Hacana mountains,

lying to the southward of Matanzas, near midway of the island from north to south, gives the author an opportunity of describing the general features of the territory. The approach to the mountain is through a sterile savanna, covered only with a blighted growth of grass and bushes, the palmetto, and palmetier; a tree which runs from thirty to forty feet high, having a stem only three or four inches in diameter, with a palmy top, curiously wrapped round at the insertion and below the leaves with a natural web, in which the leaves cross each other in diamonds.

'Much of the height we ascended on our horses, and securing them to palmettos we soon attained the first peak of the highest row, and passed from peak to peak, in what we supposed the trail of wild negroes, through grass and bushes, quite luxuriant, to the summit of the most elevated, which is estimated variously, from fifteen hundred to two thousand feet, above the level of the sea. Delightful views opened upon us, standing on this natural observatory. A savanna east, and another west, stretched a few miles at our feet, walled in by a necklace of hills, less high than that on which we stood. Beyond these, the eye rested on about thirty sugar estates, easily discerned by the lively green of the cane, glittering in the sun. The coffee estates were still more numerous; but the avenues, with which they are adorned, set with palm, and orange, mango, and other trees, both fruitful and beautiful, and shrubs and bushes of gorgeous flowers, were too distant to exhibit their charms to advantage. The Sumidero, in most parts of the circle, appears in high cultivation.

'We were not altogether fortunate in the morning, a thin fog lingering in the horizon. But the ocean was perfectly visible at the bay of Cardenas, and the sheet of water between the shore and the island in the bay, and the form of the island, lying northeast at the distance of about twenty miles. We expected to see the Caribbean sea, lying southwest. In a clear day it is distinctly seen at the distance, by estimation, of twenty-five miles; but it remained a little doubtful to the last, whether *we* saw the water, the fog not wholly clearing away. It is certain, however, that the eye here spans the island at a single station; and the observer can entertain no doubt that a line of forty-five or fifty miles would reach from the Caribbean to the Atlantic. From this peak the heights of Camiraoca are seen in the range of the La Carolina, Mr B.'s estate. The mountains extend in an irregular way, west one hundred and twenty miles, north twenty, south five, and east about six miles. Beyond this limit, to the east, the island is a level country about three hundred miles, and from sea to sea.

'As natural canals and rivers are rare, and the expense of transporting the bulky articles to market is often more than half their value, canals and rail-ways, at no distant day, may be expected to intersect the most fruitful and practicable parts of the island.

'The mountains of Hacana, except the tops of some of them, present a naked appearance. The sweet pea; a beautiful rose on a myrtle-leafed vine, deep red, with a border on the under sides of the petals; a species of aloes, with a stem, ten or fifteen feet high, called by the Spaniards, *pinea de sacra*, or hedge aloes; the night-blooming cereus, shooting its roots into the rocks, and winding about on their crags; were the most considerable vegetables we saw upon them.' pp. 33, 34.

It is well known that the value of a newly imported African negro depends in part upon the tribe to which he belongs; for it is a universal rule, both among freemen and slaves, with animals as well as human laborers, that the usefulness and productive capacity of the agent are very materially affected by the character and disposition, independently of muscular power. According to the accounts given to Dr Abbot, the Carrobalees are proud; the Mandingos able-bodied, contented, and good laborers; the Gangars thieves, and ready to run away; and the Fantees revengeful. He relates an instance of this trait in a Fantee, on an estate which he visited. (By *bohea*, our readers will understand, is meant a negro hut.) 'The fellow was enraged on account of correction bestowed on his wife by a negro-driver of his own nation, and he plotted revenge. He secured the door of his enemy, as he esteemed him, by a rope, and set fire to the bohea in two places. The first negro that burst from the building he stabbed, mistaking him for his enemy; perceiving his error, he struck at the driver, as he next rushed out, who attempted to parry the vigorous blow with his whip, but it severed his jugular. The desperado next cut his own throat, and to be certain of death, plunged his knife into his own breast.'

Dr Abbot describes a tree which is called, by way of eminence, the 'beautiful' tree. 'Its form, seen at a little distance, is globular; the ramification so regular and full, and the foliage so thick, that it seems solid. It appeared as if dressed for exhibition, and as we drew near, a scarlet-breasted, or scarlet-crested bird (I could not decide which, as it soon flew away) was perched on its bosom, as a diamond pin in a lady's kerchief. Mr C. and myself dismounted, to examine this

far-famed tree. The diamater of the stem is three feet; the diameter of the globular top is sixty; and this, also, is its height. The limbs radiate with wonderful regularity, and though almost innumerable, scarcely any two of them are seen to chafe or cross each other.' This tree is in the vicinity of Matanzas.

We must not omit the description of the process of preparing coffee for the market. The extent of a coffee estate varies from one hundred, to three or four hundred acres; but, most usually, we believe, is about two hundred, that is, six or seven *cabalerias*, a cabaleria being about thirty acres. In forming a new estate from the forest,—of which the original growth is very heavy and luxuriant in the more fertile soil,—the trees are felled and left lying upon the surface, and the coffee plants are set out among logs, and limbs, and leaves, which are considered to supply a good manure for coffee plants; and the coffee is so much better in quality, and the product so much greater, on a new estate, that a strong inducement is held out for bringing new estates into cultivation, even though the market price is so reduced, as to afford little or no profit on the cultivation of an old one. To this circumstance we are inclined to attribute, in part, the long continuance of the surplus production and depression of price of this commodity. It is well known that the price has been falling for a number of years, and is so reduced that a poor estate will not now pay the expenses of cultivation, and a middling one will just reimburse the proprietor his incidental expense for supplies, without yielding him any rent, or any profit on the cost of his negroes. It is true that every commodity goes through a series of fluctuations, the periods and extremes of which vary very materially in different articles, according to the period of time requisite to increase or diminish the quantity produced, the liability to be affected by the varieties of seasons, or the change of fashion and habit, or the spirit of speculation. The period of production, in the case of the coffee plant, is three years, this being the time from the planting of the seed to the gathering a crop from the plant. The quantity produced in the world is, therefore, likely to go on increasing annually for two or three years after the price is so reduced, as to offer no adequate motive to extend the cultivation; for the plants already set out will not all come to maturity in a shorter time. Add to this, that planters go on increasing the quantity of the product, long after the reduction of the

price, hoping for a rise. These two causes would operate to prolong the gradual depression of the price for a long period, and to reduce it to a very low point. When we consider, therefore, the additional motive abovementioned, for bringing new estates into cultivation, the very long continued, and at present very great depression of the price is not surprising, notwithstanding the actual increase, in the mean time, of the amount of the demand and the actual consumption.

The plants are perennial, and, in their wild state grow to the height of eight, ten, or fifteen feet, according to the strength of the soil, and have a little resemblance, in this state, to our wild black cherry trees when young, though the top is less bushy. The cultivated plants are set at a distance of about five feet, in rows and squares, and are kept down to the height of from three to six feet by pruning, so that the berries may be within reach of the negroes to pick. The estate is laid out in squares from twenty to fifty rods in breadth, separated by alleys, some thirty, and others not more than ten feet wide, many of the wider ones being bordered with a row of palms, orange, and various other trees, mostly for ornament, though some of them are useful; the palm branches, for instance, supplying a material for covering the roofs of the *boheas*, or negro huts. Many of these avenues are truly magnificent, and one may gallop through them, on one of the brisk little spanish horses, about sunrise on bright mornings, a thousand times, without becoming weary with their monotony. Scattered about among the coffee trees, are the plaintains, which grow to the height of twelve or fifteen feet, sending out a few broad leaves at their top, which hang over in the manner of branches, four or five feet; and from the top of the stalk of the plant, is suspended a cluster of fruit, resembling in shape and size moderate-sized cucumbers, hanging to the number of twenty, thirty, fifty, or more, on a pendent stem of between two and three feet in length. This is gathered by cutting down the plant, the stalk of which is left on the ground for manure, and the fruit supplies food for the negroes, with the addition only of a small quantity of jerked beef, brought from Buenos Aires, or herring, pork, or codfish, from the United States. This plantain is a simple, nourishing, and delicious food, and the production of it is one of the greatest ingredients in the wealth of Cuba. An estate of the dimensions we have mentioned, will contain from one hundred and twenty, to one hundred and forty thousand trees, besides a

pasture or *portrero* for the cattle, garden plats for the negroes, a small square in cane for fodder, and a small piece of forest at one corner of the estate, to shade the nursery of young coffee-trees. This patch of forest, intersected with avenues, and consisting of a stately luxuriant growth, is not the least beautiful part of the estate.

A coffee estate, with its lime hedges on the borders, its avenues of palms, oranges, and various other trees, the names of which we forget, with its whole surface white with the snowy efflorescence of the coffee-trees in the flowering season, with the scattered broad-leaved plantain, laden with its treasures of delicious fruit, in all the various stages from the blossom to ripeness, is an Elysian landscape; but the occasional chiding, threatening voice of the driver, and the sound of the lash, remind the spectator that it is not in all respects a paradise.

The coffee-tree will bear, on an average, for about twenty years, and as the plants are renewed here and there as they decay, and do not produce until the third year, one tenth part of them is unproductive. The product is from a half to three quarters of a pound per year. The fruit is contained in globular shells or husks, each of which contains two of the berries, such as we see them in the market. They are picked from the husk when they have turned red; the picking season commences in November, and continues until March. The fruit of the same tree does not ripen all at once, but the different berries become fit to be gathered successively, so that the same trees are picked repeatedly, at different times, until all the fruit is gathered. The negroes pick the fruit in baskets, which, when filled, they carry on their heads to the mill, or rather to the dryers, near to the house of the planter, and the huts or *boheas* of the negroes,—all the buildings being usually situated in a central part of the estate. The berries are placed upon the *siccaderos*, or plats for drying, until they are sufficiently dried, when they are deposited in large bins or compartments, in a store-house near to the mill, to be subsequently ground and cleaned.

'The dryers are formed with great care and neatness, and cover from a quarter to half an acre. They elevate the ground with a bed of lime-stone, beaten to pieces, and raised in the middle of the bed, so as to have a gentle declivity, and surround the edges with a wall of a foot in height. This bed and wall are covered with a strong cement or mortar, beaten down with a heavy

beetle, to render it capable of sustaining all changes of weather. An incidental but important use of the siccaderos, is to fill an extensive tank with water, to serve the plantation through the dry season; as brooks, I may say, they have none, and wells are rare, and sunk through stone for hundreds of feet, in this part of the island.

'On the dryers, the berries are kept stirring, lest they should heat. They are spread thin or thick, according to the extent of the works, which, as they have time, they extend from year to year.

'When the coffee in the cherry is dry, they rake it together in a conical heap, which they cover from the dews and rains with sail-cloth and moveable roofs of palm-leaves.

'From the dryers, the coffee in cherry is removed to the peeling-mill. This is an octagonal roof (I speak of the one now before me; they are variously built), resting on eight posts, and terminating in a cupola. This roof, which runs high, is often the pleasant resort and building-place of large flocks of doves.' pp. 51, 52.

The next process is to grind or crush the berries under a stone wheel of about five feet diameter, revolving in a circle, precisely like that of a bark-mill in our tanneries, being moved by a yoke of oxen, or, most frequently, a couple of mules or horses, driven by a boy. His business is somewhat monotonous; and we recollect a little negro at the Reserva, an estate of Mr N. Fellowes, whose employment was driving the mules, and who took advantage of the liberty his office gave him, to make some noise, and enlivened his labor and encouraged his mules by a sort of chant or recitative, which he kept up for half the time, setting to music and celebrating every incident which came within sight or hearing. If, for instance, he saw any persons approaching the house down the avenue, he forthwith announced the circumstance, in a clear, sonorous voice, in musical recitative, stating the number of visiters, describing their appearance, the horses, equipage, dress, &c. It was an ingenious device of the little slave, to make himself happy.

After the shells or berries are sufficiently crushed in this mill, the coffee passes through a fanning-mill, which, if we recollect rightly, is precisely one of our winnowing-mills, such as are used for wheat; and those used in Cuba, are, we believe, mostly supplied from the United States. Dr Abbot mentions two species of mills for fanning, or separating the grains of coffee from the husk or shells. The coffee-grains come from the fanning-mill, mixed with more or less dirt, from which it is to be separated, and the coffee divided into two or

three different sorts. For this purpose it is put upon a large table, of some twenty or thirty feet in length, and of the breadth of an ordinary dining-table, on each side of which the female slaves are arranged, who handle each grain of coffee, separating the fair and sound, from the broken and defective; the latter is called *triage*, and sells for half the price of sound coffee, more or less, according to its quality, and the closeness of the picking.

Dr Abbot, having passed some time with Mr Bartlett, Mr Sage, and other American friends, near Matanzas, travelled by land to Havana; where, after passing a short time, he went south-westerly, sixty or seventy miles, to the southern coast of the island, visiting a great number of planters, among others Mr Fellowes, at the Reserva; Mr G. D'Wolf, at the Buena Esperanza; Dr Morel, a skilful physician, of a highly cultivated mind, and very pleasing manners, formerly of Philadelphia, and now at St Mark's, a small town near the southern coast; Mrs Jouve, an intelligent and accomplished lady whose estate is romantically situated upon the mountains to the westward of St Mark's; Mr William D'Wolf, at the Empressa, and Mr Bradford, the manager of the Maryanna; and describes an extensive estate, which we take to be that of Mr Souchay. Dr Abbot gives only the initials of the names of those whom he visited or met with. He informs us that he travelled eight hundred or a thousand miles in the interior of the island, and his journal (for such these letters may be considered) is full of interesting and useful information. In some letters, addressed, as we presume, to Mr Dane, Dr Abbot estimates the white population at two hundred and fifty-nine thousand, two hundred and sixty; free black population, one hundred and fifty-four thousand and fifty-seven; slaves, two hundred and twenty-five thousand, one hundred and thirty-one; making a total of six hundred and thirty-eight thousand, four hundred and forty-eight. Humboldt, he says, estimates it a little higher, namely, at seven hundred and fifteen thousand. No enumeration has been made. Dr Abbot mentions one circumstance of very material importance, in relation to the security of persons and property, and the probable stability of the laws, in the island; we mean the great number of small cultivators, denominated *Montaneros*, a sort of yeomanry, scattered about the island, and always able to suppress the insurrections of the slaves. The author says,

'He has been sparing of remarks as to the political state and

prospects of the island. He believes that high destinies are before these islanders, rich in six thousand eight hundred square leagues of fertile soil, and, comparatively, with other slave-holding islands, strong in its *free* population, and a numerous *yeomanry*, armed and mounted. But they are not ripe for change. Remaining unoppressed, the mixed population will become more homogeneous and patriotic; and delay may prepare them ultimately, with union, with wisdom, and safety, to assume an attitude as dignified as their numbers, resources, and relative position entitle them to take.' p. xiv.

The object of his voyage was the reëstablishment of his health, in which he was flattering himself he had succeeded; but in returning, he sickened on his passage from Charleston to New York, and died on the arrival of the vessel at the quarantine ground, and was buried on Staten Island. This volume is an honorable monument of his amiable character, intelligence, and mental activity and cultivation.

Art. VII.—1. *Poems;* by the Author of 'Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse.' Boston. S. G. Goodrich. 1828.

2. *Guido, a Tale; Sketches from History, and other Poems.* By Ianthe. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 1828.

Our readers may perhaps recollect the essentials of a gentleman, as given by the dancing and music master, in Molière's 'Burgeois Gentilhomme.' 'La philosophie,' says the latter, 'est quelque chose; mais la musique, monsieur, la musique.' 'La musique et la danse,' responds the *maître à danser*, 'la musique et la danse, c'est là tout ce qu'il faut.' Most, we imagine, who have attempted to define poetry, have fallen into an error similar to that of these worthy professors, namely, that of mistaking a part for the whole, of giving a single one of its qualities, as its only essential and peculiar attribute. To talk of the essence of poetry, of that one thing which makes this poetry and that prose, as it is sometimes talked of, seems to us to be using words to little profit. The only proper mode of defining it, is to describe it. It is not distinguished by a single characteristic merely, but by several; and of two or three of these, from their importance in their various relations, notwithstanding so much has already been written upon them, we are induced to speak more at large.

Schiller somewhere accounts for the emotion excited by the history of some perilous adventure or hair-breadth escape, by our identifying ourselves, for the moment, with those of whom we read. When this is not done, we are not moved; for emotion is grounded on a sort of blind consciousness of similar danger. The history of a criminal, for example, through the several stages of guilt and punishment, excites the little emotion which it does, from the impossibility of making ourselves one with him. He is a being of another race; his blood flows in different channels from ours; his will obeys different laws. Therefore, although his fate may make our brain dizzy, it does not stir the heart. Extend this idea, make it universal, instead of particular, and we arrive at one of the constituent parts of true poetry. Poetry is not only a description of outward forms and actions, and inward feelings; it not only presents the magic mirror, in which we may behold the silent procession of the present and the past, as it issues out of one gloomy arch to vanish away through another; but by the spell which it casts over us, it makes us present and busy in the scenes which are described. As we read, we are scarce conscious of our own personal and peculiar existence, but seem to have exchanged feelings, and resolves, and sympathies with the author, or the actors in his drama. We are no longer sitting alone and solitary, but are one of the nine and twenty 'who in a compagnie toward Canterbury wolden ride'; we,—not the desolate Harold,—are a sea-weed rent from its fastenings, and tost on the waves; we are pricking over the plain by the side of Una; we 'fold our mantle, regally to fall.' In short, changing the words of Schiller a little, and giving them a more universal application, we would say, that one quality essential to poetry, is that which makes the reader feel as the poet, or as the persons through whom he speaks. It must possess the power of enchanting us away from the present and the real, into an ideal world; and of making us move in that world, as we do in the land of dreams, feeling, except from some occasional fits of returning consciousness, as if the shadows of the imagination had a positive and substantial existence.

But this is not all. Poetry deals with man's higher and better nature. It springs from the still chambers of the soul, and its object is the enlargement of the soul in all things which are worthy of an immortal spirit. To this, all the delineations of the works of nature, or of the changeful spirit of man, must

be made subservient, or, whatever else they may be, they will not be poetry. It has been called a creation. It is so in this sense. Itwidens the circle in which man is imprisoned by his imperfections. It purifies, it exalts, it ennobles. In its highest sense, it is the evolution, under appropriate forms, of perfect purity, loveliness, and power; of a perfection which indeed exists not here, but of which the mind, in some of its more blessed moments, may obtain partial glimpses. Indeed, we might almost say, that it is the representation, or rather the embodying, of the attributes of God himself, for the simple reason that he has, and alone has, centered within himself perfect beauty and perfect sublimity. Uniting, then, the two qualities which we deem most essential, we should esteem that the highest poetry, which unfolded moral excellence in its greatest amplitude and expansion, and in a way which should communicate this expansion of being, in the highest possible degree, to the reader's own nature.

The poet may not be able to paint perfection, nor could the attributes of Deity, even if mortal could grasp them, be brought forward in their abstract truth; for they must be developed under sensible images. If, for example, they be made to inhere in man, they cannot be unfolded in that awful holiness in which they exist in him to whom they are but modes of being, lest the truth which meets the sensual eye be violated. As long as they abide with earth, they must necessarily be infected with the wavering and taint of mortality. All the efforts of the poet will enable him, in his descriptions, to attain only to an approximation to perfection. But he must strive for this. The tendency of what he writes must be to advance men towards perfection. That this quality is essential to all poetry, we believe not merely from theory, but also because fact shows us, that those poems which have been most universally admired, which have lived through ages, and been on the tongues of all nations, are distinguished by it.

We have said that there is nothing perfectly sublime or beautiful, but the attributes of Deity; that there is nothing which we admire, or love, or reverence, but the perfections or the reflex of the perfections of that Secret One; and that everything really poetical will impress at least some one of these more deeply upon the heart. Examine instances, and this becomes more and more apparent. War is the perpetual theme of song, and there is in it, indeed, a poetry fearfully

and terribly sublime. But it is not in the extinction of human life. Simple cold-blooded, malignant murder is revolting. All the mechanical parts of a battle might be described, war-horns might be blown, and men hewn down,—but if this were the whole of a battle, not a poetical emotion would ever be excited by it. But in the struggle and storm of conflict, the cloud is rent apart, which in more quiet moments hides the deeper workings of the mind, and this it is that makes it the subject of the highest poetry. In the hands of the poet, this strife of matter becomes a talisman to call into being the sublimest energies of the soul,—energies which are awaked from their slumber only by the operation of some such mighty and exciting cause. If the writer can infuse such a living spirit into his description, that corresponding energies may be roused up in our own minds, then is he a poet. If he effect not this, he is a mere annalist. The conception of the character of Shakspeare's Richard the Third is sublime. But in what does this sublimity consist? In its strangeness or novelty? In his desperate and terrific villany? No; in neither of these. The conflict and oppositions of the viler passions, are but means used to exhibit in a stronger light the true poetry of the character; and this lies in the ceaseless and untiring energy, flowing on to its purpose, too deep, and strong, and uncontrollable, to be turned aside by any opposition, or stayed by any barrier. This is the portion of moral excellence here developed; this clings to the memory when everything else of the play is forgotten, and lies at the bottom of our admiration of the poet's power. To be sure its object in this particular case is most criminal; but separate this immutability of purpose from the object towards which it is directed, and you have, not in its infinitude, but to a certain extent, an attribute of the Deity himself. So also is it with external nature. The steep and battlemented cliff, with its sunless caverns; the ocean for ever roaring and rolling onwards; the soundless depths of the silent skies; the cataract, 'notching its centuries in the eternal rocks,' or the gentler show of a spring or summer landscape,—become poetical by exercising a similar influence on the moral man. Whilst the mind is filled with the conception of such scenes, it is loosed from its vassalage to sense; the chains of association which bind it down to the frivolities and vain circumstance of the present, drop off; it returns back to its simplicity; the voice that tells of its true glory is no longer drowned in earthly tumult, and

its enfranchised tendencies may soar up free and strong. The effect of such descriptions may be comparatively weak from the less direct mode in which they act; but there is one thing connected with them which seems worth observing, and that is, that they always possess a healthful moral tendency. The heart of man may become corrupted, so that it cannot give back the image of Him after whom it was fashioned; but nature cannot undergo the degrading processes to which man is subject. It is pure and fresh from the hands of God, and will hardly bear even association with moral deformity; and consequently how enlightened soever may be the mind, it can feel such scenes only in proportion to its purity. No one can take delight in them, whose heart is not full of generous and noble feeling, and refined from the grossness of sensual appetites.

The representations which poetry gives of the perfections of our moral nature may be presented under any form, under that of the ballad or the epic, of the rushing and panting pindaric, or the humbler song. The strong contrasts of vice and crime may be employed; the clamorings of the viler passions may be allowed; ambition may build, selfishness may undermine, bloodthirstiness may destroy; but all this is for the sake of a contrast that shall display in more vividness and truth that which is the highest and most true. Let not these be esteemed the essence, the *substratum* of poetry. If they be, the temple may be built, the altar raised, billows of incense may rise from the swinging censers, the massive valves of the inmost *adyta* may be flung open, and the maddening and prophetic vapor curl up about the tripod, but the oracle that issues thence is a lying one. The glare and inflaming odors, the pageantry and magnificence, may deceive the votaries for a season, but it cannot always; and with the belief in the oracle, must the credit of the shrine decay. The voice of poetry must come from the inmost and holiest sanctuary of truth. Indeed, if it be not one and the same with truth, if it be informed with any spirit save that which purifies and exalts, so far as this is the case, it has within itself a principle to work its destruction. A single generation may listen to the outpourings of a perverted mind, but a series of generations, never. By them, the true will be separated from the untrue, that which is instinct with trustworthy hopes and aspirations from the philosophy which is false and degrading, by an infallibility which cannot be questioned.

If the view which we have taken of the subject be correct,

then is the education both of mind and heart, to which the poet must subject himself, a thing of no slight moment. For what does he undertake? Nothing less, if he have a just conception of his art, than to fill his race with the worthiest sentiments and emotions of which humanity is capable. And whence are these to come? If it be a law of our nature, that we cannot by any words make others comprehend what we ourselves have never comprehended, or feel what we ourselves have never felt, then surely they must be transfused from his own soul. He must be above his race, if he would raise them. If he would make their hearts swell with new and strange emotions, they must first dwell in his own heart in all their vividness and intensity. It is no common man, but one more loftily endowed and dwelling apart,—a prophet of the living God alone,—that can bow himself upon the dead clay and breathe into it the breath of life and the quickening spirit.

It were not an unavailing task, to call to remembrance the ideas which the great masters of song have themselves entertained and expressed of the character and acquirements of the poet. The child of impulse and passion, yet retaining all the simplicity and easy and confiding faith of childhood; impatient, impetuous, and full of life, with the blood ever running races through his veins, yet ever under the guidance of Reason, not cold and pale as she is wont to be painted, but wise with an earnest wisdom, and warm with the glow and the freshness of a better clime. Such have the members of that ancient brotherhood, whose own tones have come echoing down to us through the abyss and silence of the ages, loved to picture the poet. And following the hints which they have given us, we may go still farther, and sketch what they seem to have thought that he should propose to himself to become. He must be skilled in human nature, and not only must he be familiar with the spoken word and the visible act, but with that philosophy according to which these are regulated. He must ponder deeply the motives of the heart, and be able by a quick and divining sympathy to penetrate into its very retirements. He must cherish his imagination and cultivate his taste by a careful study of all those, whose works give evidence that they felt within them the strivings of the diviner mind; not to imitate, but to gain directions which may guide him to those guarded and enchanted fountains of inspiration from whence they themselves have drawn. He must be learned in all the branches of human knowledge, that

his mind may be full of associations. He must become master of the most copious vocabulary, that *copia verborum*, not less important to the poet than to the orator; and not only take pains to acquire command of words, but he must study into their powers, and busy himself in learning all those reflected hues and shades of meaning, with which they have been tinged by association, as if they had been dipt in 'the warm flush of a rainy sunset'; for this is the distinguishing peculiarity of a poetic dialect, that its words not only suggest the single and immediate idea to the mind, but come linked with a thousand beautiful though dim remembrances. But his most anxious labor must be to cultivate his own heart, to cleanse it from all the taints which it too easily acquires by coming in contact with the world, and to bring it back to its primitive and unsophisticated state. He must strive earnestly to purify his imagination; to fill his mind with noble desires and motives; to shut out every debasing influence; to divest himself of every selfish, local, or party prejudice; to become, in truth and in deed, a citizen of the world; to ennoble and expand his heart till it become a great sea, which shall gather tribute from the fountains of the whole earth, to purify and again give back their contributions in the shower and the fruitful dew. He must strive to make himself perfect in all good and wise and great things, and to become a living example of that perfection upon which his soul's eye should be for ever fixed. Thus educated, those restless yearnings of the spirit, those unquenchable desires, ever thirsting for satisfaction, yet never satisfied, which form the real moving power that impels the true poet forward, will be left free to act; and those high instincts 'haunting the eternal mind, a presence that will not be put by,' will find for themselves a tongue and a ready utterance.

There is nothing in the nature of poetry that could lead one to suppose that its flame should burn less high in this country than in any other. On the contrary, everything appears favorable to its cultivation. Nursed amidst the grandest exhibitions of nature, bred amongst a race enterprising and energetic to a proverb, free as the very gales of heaven, and conscious of it, and rejoicing in it with the joy of a child,—one unacquainted with the truth could hardly dream that amidst all this life and energy and freedom, so few should have appeared to do honor to themselves or their country. There are living amongst us, we well know, those who have obtained a deserved reputation; but we are only repeating what has been said many times before, when

we say that their reputation rests more on what they have shown themselves capable of doing, than upon what they have done. They have wasted their powers too much upon performances at the celebrations of literary societies or the pages of Magazines or Souvenirs; on things to be praised for a day, to meet with an affectionate reception into newspaper corners, and then to be crushed under the weight of the like productions with which the next year labors. Our most able men have done just enough to show that they have within them an exhaustless mine of treasure; they have exhibited a few specimens from it to the world, and then have ceased working it.

We have entered into the discussion of the nature of poetry, so that we might more clearly expose the cause which, it seems to us, has contributed more than any other to its present state among us. This cause is imitation, a fault so manifestly prevalent in almost all which is issued from the American press, that instead of attempting to show it more distinctly, we shall hasten to consider the paralyzing influence which it must necessarily exert upon the poet. In what we have to say upon this topic, we would not be misunderstood. We use the term in its popular sense. A man may, and indeed does, form his character from the imitation of a thousand different models, and his mind is moulded by the action of other minds. But so long as he pours out in their natural direction, those thoughts which, from whatever source they may have been primarily derived, have now become mingled up with the fountain of his own thoughts, and blended with and colored by his habitual feelings, he is original. He is an imitator when he is induced to follow some model in a path which, considering his present habits of mind and acquisitions, would not be the one in which he would naturally go, if he were under no foreign guidance.

If what we have said be correct; if poetry be indeed nothing but the beautiful, the fit, the true, developed more strikingly and effectually by the aid of associations, by allusions, by the contrast of opposites,—now impersonated as in the dramas of Shakspeare, now given forth in a more abstract form as in the high and impassioned aspirations of Wordsworth; if the perfection of the moral nature be the foundation of the whole edifice; if, in short, the true rank of a poem is to be determined by a comparison of the strength, truth, and enlargement of the views of moral being finally evolved by poetic machinery, with what is infinite, true, and unchanging;—then all imitation is for-

bidden, for, from the very nature of the case, it must flow from the writer's own heart. He must make himself familiar with the lights and shades of human character. He may learn the words and diction of another, and accustom himself to their modes of presenting their thoughts. But when he has done this, all that he has acquired, is the means of exhibiting more powerfully truths which lie deep in his own soul; he has obtained the mere tools by which the statue is called forth from the block. It is the form in which the spirit is to be presented, not the spirit itself. This must exist in himself, a constituent portion of his being, or to him it exists nowhere. He who copies another must always give a false copy, so long as he goes no farther than externals. He who would truly imitate Wordsworth or Byron, must possess a mind not only capable of appreciating their minds, but one which possesses all the depth and capacity of theirs. The ultimate source of all poetry must be the writer's own mind; it is a copy of it as affected by different circumstances, and he cannot give a poetic being to truths which have not first dwelt there. Could one born blind describe to you the magnificence and grandeur of our inland forests, as they sink and swell far away over valley and mountain? Can he bring it up before the mind, as if you yourself were standing on some hill, seeing the continuous and massive verdure rolling and glancing like a heavy sea, and hearing in your ears the smothered roar that rose up from within the solitudes of the great wilderness? And can it be more easy, can it be possible, for him who has never felt them, to portray the excellences and perfections of moral being? the pure and disinterested love, the enduring and unwavering self-sacrifice, the lofty purpose, the high resolve, the infinite and inexplicable longing, reaching for ever onward and still farther onward? If, for a moment, he leave the guide in whose footsteps he has followed, he loses himself; and the most superficial, the most ignorant, the most debased even, will see the continued stumbling and exaggeration, and feel that all those nicer touches which distinguish truth and a feeling of truth are wanting.

Again; there are no two minds alike. Whatever they might have been originally, they become as different as their modes of education, as the scenes among which they have been bred, as the parents and instructers who have nurtured and taught them, —as different as the influences by which they have been surrounded. With such a difference of character, it is absurd to suppose that the volume of their their thoughts should flow in

the same channel. Style is artificial; it is easily changed, or at least admits of it to a great extent. But the mind, although to a certain degree, in its more superficial and as yet unfixed parts, it may be changed on occasion, cannot have its whole substance fused and remoulded into another form at a moment's warning. The germ, that began to unfold at the first moment of life, and which has sprung up and through years of sunshine and of storm grown into the rigidity and determined structure of a great tree, may have its branches trimmed and pruned away, and by cultivation may be freshened into a more luxuriant beauty; but its roots and trunk are fixed, and their bent cannot be entirely or easily altered. From the individual differences of minds, then, as well as from the peculiar character of poetry, it follows that an essential imitation can scarcely exist. It may extend to mere words and style, but if it extend no farther it must always be seen. For there is a correspondence between style and thought. We recognise it in the simplicity of thought and simplicity of expression in Addison, between the clumsy but gigantic strength of Johnson's mind and the elephant march of his style. The want of this correspondence, if not seen, is felt by all. There is no way of disguising it. The same dazzle may be reflected from the ripples of the shallow brook and the waves of the fathomless sea; both may be restless and noisy, but there is not an ear so dull as not to perceive at once the difference between the sudden and asthmatic turbulences of the former and the deep rolling of the latter's tides over their 'ocean floor.' Neither can the little rivulet of thought that tinkles and trickles through a common mind, ever be mistaken for the mighty, impetuous, and ceaseless current of full and impassioned genius. The danger of imitation is then obvious. Whether the poet send out a rude and ill-bred progeny of his own imaginations clad in vestments purloined from the sons of kings, or lead to the muster the thoughts of others, manacled by his narrow conception of them, and their free motion tortured and cramped by his narrower vocabulary, this want of correspondence can hardly fail of being perceived. And even if it be not, the effect will hardly be better. The reader will be attended by a feeling, which this want will inevitably create, that there is a lack of sincerity in the implied professions which are made. There is a tenderness, an earnestness, a vitality, in truth and true feeling, which can never be mistaken, and for the absence of which nothing can compensate; whilst the manner in which such writ-

ings are produced is utterly inconsistent with any strong emotion. And when the reader begins to suspect that the poet is attempting to make him weep by a given rule, that his words were the cold product of the brain instead of struggling up warm and free from the heart, be they ever so loud or burning, the echoes of his own heart will cease to give back answers. He ceases to be moved, for he is not compelled to believe that the poet was moved.

There is another power which characterizes the true poet with a more marked distinctness perhaps than any other, but it is one that cannot exist in connexion with imitation. We mean that concentrating power of the imagination, by which he is enabled by a single hint, a line, a word, a sketch the most slight and rapid, to make palpable to the mind's eye the whole of a magnificent vision. He but touches the key-note, and our whole souls tremble with the long chorus of harmony that bursts spontaneously upon it. Let us read as long as we will, he is always new. Every line, every word is a spell at whose utterance the doors of a long gallery of glorious pictures are thrown open, and we may enter in and fill our eyes and hearts with images, which shall dwell there not only for the moment but for ever. But the show of the imitator consists of a single picture which is scarcely seen before it vanishes away into forgetfulness. The one speaks to the eye alone, the other not only to the eye, but the heart. The excellence of the one consists solely in what he says; that of the other in discovering and laying open to yourself a pathway to an untrodden land of wonders. He is not only a poet himself, but he make his reader one also. He endows him for the moment with the gift of intuition, of prophecy, of creation. The one presents to you a wrought statue, marble, cold, and dead; the other a form, living, breathing, and trembling with passion. The writings of the one are the full grown and muscular man, moving stately and strong with the self-moving power of his own free will; those of the other are the shadow which he drags ever behind him, where you may trace the outline of the man indeed, but find nothing of the fulness and life of the well knit frame which gave it existence.

We have spoken thus fully of imitation, because we conceive that it has exerted a more deadening influence upon our poetry than anything else, and it is important that its influence should be duly appreciated. The peculiar tendency to it manifested by our poets, has its origin, we imagine, in the too great admi-

ration of the English writers of the present day, which exists amongst the reading public, and which can endure nothing that is not colored by their peculiarities. There are many authors in the English tongue, whom we can neither admire nor study too much; and whatever of vigor and grandeur they may impart to the mind, there is little danger of their infusing a spirit of imitation into any one who studies them as he ought. But the fact that almost all that does honor to our language has had its birth in England, has created amongst us a blind and unwholsome reverence for everything that comes thence. Not only do we admire, as they should be admired, her Bacons and Taylors, her Miltons and Shakspeares,—the authors who have passed through their century of probation and not been found wanting,—but we bow down and worship with a foolish idolatry whatever idol of the day the unsteady voice of the multitude may please to install. We have indeed shaken off her civil yoke, but we hug yet closer and closer the chains of intellectual bondage. We have broken

> 'our manacles, to wear the name
> Of freedom, graven on a heavier chain.'

Some poet by a lucky hit captivates the changeling populace. He is puffed in the journals, he is trumpeted in the reviews, and so true is it that 'distance lends enchantment to the view,' that, when it has reached our shores, we receive this contemporary praise of a contemporary writer with an undoubting trust, as if it were the voice of many succeeding generations deciding the merits of some immortal genius of ages long gone. We look up to him with a far more deep and wholesale admiration than fashion can make an Englishman do. To use the illustration of another, the object at which we gaze acquires an unnatural magnitude by being seen through the mists of the Atlantic. This feeling of undoubting admiration of what, for the time being, is admired on the other side of the water, is shared in some degree by our poets. And, besides that whatever one admires he almost unconsciously imitates, the imitator of the fashionable model of the day may win a sort of respectability at an easy price. His path is already marked out for him, and the obstacles that encounter a first discoverer have been removed; whilst he who would cut his way into an undiscovered country and people it with his own peculiar imaginations, has a thousand difficulties to overcome. He must expect often to fail in his attempts; his upward longings and aspirations will be often baf-

fled and beat back; and if, after all his toil, he should be successful, he may still remain unnoticed. The world have all gathered to behold some one whom they have lifted into the triumphal car, and the surest way of drawing any eyes upon himself is to mingle with the long line of imitators who swell out the procession. And the certainty of a little present notice is too often sufficient to overbalance the uncertainty of a future and lasting fame. But this time-serving is most unworthy of the poet. Let him remember that when Rome goes out to do honor to her returning mighty one, the multitude may indeed cast their eyes on the Dacian slave that follows in the train of the victor, but he is looked on only as a slave and a trophy. His presence there may do honor to his conqueror, but not to himself.

There is another fault in the greater proportion of our poetry, and one which we imagine is in a great measure occasioned by the habits of which we have been speaking. We refer to the attention which is given to single points, sentences, expressions, images, to the neglect of the poem as a whole. It would seem sometimes as if it were the sole object of the poet to collect together all the elegancies and prettinesses of language, and that whilst he was thus 'stringing pearls,' he had forgotten that these alone are but insignificant things in a true poem. His great end should be, not solely nor chiefly to bring before the mind pleasant associations and images and allusions, but something far higher,—to unfold to the mental vision, and to stamp upon the heart, the sublimest truths of moral and intellectual being. All these single parts are necessary; they should sustain and support each other; they are the stone of which the building is reared, and should be touched with a Grecian chisel and ornamented with Grecian art. We might compare a poem to the path which winds up about a solitary hill that overlooks an extended country. As we ascend step by step, the prospect gradually expands and opens itself on the eye, and now we view this side of it and now that; as we rise higher and higher, the scene is enlarged, until at length we gain the summit, when suddenly the whole field of vision bursts upon us in all its vastness and beauty. If the slopes of the hill be green with springing grass, and the shadows of the scattered trees be thick, and the running waters gush up into their sandy basins and play down through the gullies and gorges of the hill, the pleasure of the ascent will be much increased. But the pleasure of ascending would be but scant, if there were nothing but these

beauties scattered along the path, and no broad and commanding view of a pleasant land to lure us up. So it is with a poem; —it is not enough that chance flowers should be ever bursting up along the way, but when we have finished the reading of it, the impress of some great idea, or worthy sentiment, should be left deep in the heart.

Our remarks have not been directed against the poems now under consideration, but against the prevailing sin of our poets. On the other hand, we think the author of the first volume on our list is remarkably free from it. She has too much strength, too much of real fervency and unity of feeling, and her thoughts flow in too distinct and determinate a channel of their own, ever to blend with those of others, in the way which those of a successful imitator must. She everywhere discovers, too, a far more than common knowledge of human nature; not of its mere superficial exhibitions, but of its inmost and best attributes. In a word, and we esteem it no small praise, she possesses the heart and mind of a true poet. But notwithstanding this, we confess that the volume is not one that we take peculiar pleasure in commenting on; not because it is not a good one, and far better than most of those which appear from our press, but because we feel assured that it is not such a one as its author is capable of producing. There are but few pieces, out of the many of which it is made up, which we could conscientiously quote as fair specimens of what we believe her real powers to be. The great fault is, the want of finish. One can hardly read a piece in the volume, without feeling in his very soul, that it is the result of strong and natural emotion; but there are many times when he will feel that the writer has failed of conveying all of it, as it existed in her own breast, to that of the reader. Some little thing is wanting; or a line in bad taste breaks in on the onward flow of the illusion; or an idea, which apparently has no necessary connexion with the subject, draws away the mind from the leading idea, and this in almost every case is evidently the result of carelessness. They are the chance flourishes, full of strains of exquisite melody, yet interrupted by many a false note, which the musician flings off the keys in a moment of inspiration, and then thinks no more of. There are some few pieces in the volume, where that fundamental law of all things, that the effects described, shall be the legitimate ones of the causes introtroduced, is transgressed;—when the poet could hardly have

felt that complete identity with the characters, and presence in the situations described, which always must be felt by one who would speak words of truth and power, sufficient to deceive the reader into a like feeling of sameness. In the 'Funeral of the Osage Warrior,' for example, we can hardly suppose that the writer had forgotten everything unconnected with the subject, and delivered herself up solely to the influence of the causes brought into view. But in a book made up of a multitude of different pieces, on a multitude of different subjects, all this, and much more than we here find, was to be expected. Notwithstanding its faults, passages of great beauty and truth are everywhere scattered through the volume; so much so that we are afraid that our remarks may wear the appearance of severity, when we would have them of the highest encouragement. The author's faults, or what seem to us to be her faults, we have stated fully and strongly; had they arisen from any lack of power, we should have said nothing of them. But they do not; whilst the thoughts and feelings everywhere expressed, are too valuable not to make us earnestly desire that the community should feel them, as she is capable of making them felt.

Instead of descending to minute criticism, we shall lay before our readers some extracts taken almost at random. The first that we make, is from a piece entitled 'Tomb of Cecilia Metella.' The closing paragraph is very fine.

'But thou hast left no trace
On history's tablet, and in vain we ask
These voiceless stones of thee.

'Was hoarded wealth
Thine idol, like thy husband's?—didst thou vaunt
His venal honors, and exalt the power
Of the triumvir, in thy purple robes,
Presiding at his feasts, till Rome was sick
Of pomp and revel?—or in secret cell
To thy Penates breathe the matron prayer
With trembling for his sake?—or in the grief
Of solitary widowhood, deplore
His breathless bosom pierced by Parthian darts?
—There is no record on these mighty walls
Of thy lost deeds. Even thy sarcophagus
Is rifled, and the golden urn where slept
Thy mouldering ashes, proved but fitting bribe
For the rapacious hand. Thy scatterd dust,
How doth it differ from the household slave's?

Who 'neath thy bidding at the distaff wrought,
Or bent with sterner toil, in ponderous vase,
Brought the cool Marcian waters, or perchance
Through sinuous mazes of embroidery's art
Guided the weary needle.

'But in vain
We stand communing with the faithless tomb
That cast thee forth.—The strong cemented rock
Lays claim to immortality,—but dust,
Man's dust, must yield each element a part,
To pay creation's loan, nor can he cling
To the brief memory of a shadowy race,
Save through his deeds.

'O Woman, nurse of Man!—
Make not thy grave beneath the imposing arch,
Or the drear pyramid;—enshrine thyself
Amid thy buried virtues, in the heart
Of him who loves thee; make thy monument
The graces of thine offspring, and the thanks
Of all who mourn. So shalt thou miss the pomp
Of this world's triumph, and thy noteless tomb
Be glorious in the resurrection morn.'

Our next extract has all the antique quaintness and richness of our elder poets. Whether it be that the tinge of conceit gives more prominence to the associated thought, that the seeming rudeness of the setting makes the richness of the jewel more apparent, or from some other cause, we know not; but to us there is often an exceeding beauty in pieces of this description. It seems as if the poet, after having in vain striven, by every other mode, to give utterance to the fulness of his feelings, were at length forced by despair,

'in part but to express
That exceeding comeliness
Which his fancy doth so strike,
To borrow language of dislike.'

Conceits are not always unnatural, as all know, who have watched the language of full and overflowing tenderness.

'DEATH OF AN INFANT.

'Death found strange beauty on that cherub brow,
And dashed it out. There was a tint of rose
On cheek and lip; he touched the veins with ice,
And the rose faded.—Forth from those blue eyes

There spake a wishful tenderness,—a doubt
Whether to grieve or sleep, which Innocence
Alone can wear. With ruthless haste he bound
The silken fringes of their curtaining lids
For ever.—There had been a murmuring sound
With which the babe would claim its mother's ear,
Charming her even to tears.—The spoiler set
His seal of silence.—But there breathed a smile
So fixed and holy from that marble brow,—
Death gazed and left it there;—he dared not steal
The signet-ring of heaven.'

There is much beauty too in the lines, 'To an Absent Child.'

'Where art thou, bird of song?
Brightest one, and dearest!
Other groves among,
Other nests thou cheerest;
Sweet thy warbling skill
To each ear that heard thee,
But 't was sweetest still
To the heart that reared thee.

'Lamb! where dost thou rest?
On stranger bosoms lying?
Flowers thy path that drest
Now uncropped are dying,
Streams where thou didst roam
Murmur on without thee;
Lovest thou still thy home?
Can thy mother doubt thee?

'Seek thy Savior's flock,
To his blest fold going,
Seek that smitten rock
Whence our peace is flowing;
Still should love rejoice,
Whatsoe'er betide thee,
If that Shepherd's voice
Evermore would guide thee.'

The greatest merit of the volume, as we have before intimated, consists in single paragraphs, and thoughts which we may everywhere find beautifully expressed, and most tender and elevated in sentiment. Of such passages we might make extracts without number. But we have room for only one more. It is from 'The Pilgrims.' We commence when the

vessel in which they came, is described as departing from the shore on its return to England. It seems to us that the writer has entered fully and deeply into the hearts of our forefathers.

> 'But yon lone bark
> Hath spread her parting sail.
>
> 'They crowd the strand,
> Those few, lorn pilgrims.—Can ye scan the wo
> That wrings their bosoms, as the last, frail link
> Binding to man, and habitable earth,
> Is severed? Can ye tell what pangs were there,
> What keen regrets, what sickness of the heart,
> What yearnings o'er their forfeit land of birth,
> Their distant, dear ones?
>
> 'Long, with straining eye
> They watched the lessening speck.—Heard ye no shriek
> Of anguish, when that bitter loneliness
> Sank down into their bosoms? No! they turn
> Back to their dreary, famished huts, and pray!
> Pray,—and the ills which haunt this transient life
> Fade into air. Up in each girded breast
> There sprang a rooted and mysterious strength,
> A loftiness,—to face the world in arms,
> To strip the pomp from sceptres, and to lay
> Upon the sacred altar, the warm blood
> Of slain affections, when they rise between
> The soul and God.'

The other volume before us is also by a lady, and is likewise made up of a number of short poems. They belong chiefly to that class, if indeed there be any such class, whose office is simply and solely to please. The burden of most of them, is tried love, love militant, and love triumphant. He who should look into them hoping to see a strong light thrown down into the deep places of human nature, or to find glimpses of a high and far philosophy, would be disappointed; but if he would relieve himself of heavy thoughts, or pleasure himself of a summer afternoon with dreams in which youth loves to revel, he will find them well fitted for his purpose. Most of them are such lays as the troubadour might have composed for his courtly and gallant audience, and are made to be sung amidst the garden shadows by moonlight, underneath a sky for ever blue, and when the fragrant wind is throbbing with the pulses of a perpetual and invisible music. Though beautiful,

this is not the highest kind of poetry. It does not raise the soul aloft, infusing into it the sterner and sublimer sentiments, but it wins it away from the din and dust of the world, and lulls it into a delicious rest. There are passions and feelings in the human heart, deeper than the love which romance pictures forth. They lie cloistered and apart in its inmost cells, and grow unseen into strength. They are the life of man's life, and the strength of his strength; the most deeply cherished and hoarded of all; but whatever influence they may exert on his actions, they are feelings which he gives not forth willingly in words to the world, even if he himself fully understand them. When, therefore, he finds them embodied in the creation of the poet, he is ready to be acted upon in the most powerful manner. He has yearned for sympathy, as man always must in whatever he himself feels strongly, and has found it. His soul leaps with a sure instinct to the unusual communion of a kindred spirit;—the poet has given a direction and voice to his emotions, and they throng up reinless and masterless to the outlet, like the struggle of many waters. He whose power reaches to these feelings, and who can call them forth from their hiding-places, exercises the most despotic sway over man,—more despotic from their very unfitness to be the subject of the road-side talk. But this power, and clear-sighted knowledge of the human heart, are rarely possessed, and it is well perhaps that they are not. There are many times in which we can read with delight an Italian love tale, when a drama, even of Shakspeare, would be a weariness and a fever. These poems do not belong to that higher class of which we have been speaking; but they do not on that account fail of being very beautiful, and for many readers, no doubt, may possess a higher interest than those.

We shall make one or two extracts, and, if we had room, should be glad to make more, both on our reader's and our own account. In general, there is a great equality throughout the volume. The characteristics are almost everywhere the same; the same gentleness, tenderness, easy versification, and tinge of romance. The poem, from which the book derives its name, is a simple, short, and well told story. It is of two brothers of a noble family, the elder of whom, Guido, is feeble and sickly, possessing not the form 'that ladies love to look on and to charm,' and unfit for all warlike exercises, but gifted with intellect and genius; whilst Julio, the younger brother, the

cherished one of his mother, and the pride of his father, is skilled in all knightly feats and attainments, and fitted equally to grace the camp or the court. Guido falls in love with Floranthe, but she, although she looks upon him with a most sisterly regard, has given her heart to the younger brother. Guido discovers at length, their mutual love; but knows that

> 'her sire would ne'er bestow her hand
> On one whose wealth was but his battle-brand.'

Whatever it may cost himself, he resolves not to prevent their happiness; and so he enters a monastery, leaving titles, estates, and her whom he had loved, to his more fortunate brother. The descriptions of the two brothers, of the awakening and gradual growth of Guido's love, and other parts of the poem, are very finely done; but taking them from their connexion, as well as the analyzing of such a story, is somewhat like tearing a flower in pieces to show its beauty. We think the following lines from 'The Mother,' possess much beauty.

> 'Her tall graceful form
> Was bending o'er him, and one round white arm
> Supported his fair head, while her hand prest
> Her bosom, as she feared that he might start
> To feel the quickened pulses of her heart.
> Yet still she drew him nearer to her breast
> Almost unconsciously. At length, he woke,
> And the soft sound that from his sweet lips broke,
> Were like the gentle murmurings of a brook
> Along its pebbly channel.' p. 101.

> 'Oh! but to watch the infant as he lies
> Pillowed upon his mother's breast; his eyes
> Fixed on her face, as if his only light
> On earth beamed from that face with fondness bright;
> Or to gaze on him sleeping, while his cheek
> Moves with her heart's glad throbbings that bespeak
> Feeling too full for words; to see him break
> The silken chains of slumber and awake
> All light and beauty, while he lisps her name
> 'Mother!' although his childish lips can frame
> No other sound—oh! who, with joy like this
> Could ask from Heaven a deeper, dearer bliss?' p. 103.

The following is from 'The Lament of Columbus,' and is of a

somewhat different character from most of the pieces in the volume.

'Not mine the dreams,
The vague chimeras of an earth-stained soul,
O'er which the mists of error darkly roll;
For heaven-sent beams
Have chased the gloom that round my soul was flung,
And pierced the clouds that o'er creation's mysteries hung.

'From my youth up
For this high purpose was I set apart—
An unbreathed thought, it lived within my heart;
And though life's cup
Was filled with all earth's agonies, I quaffed
Unmurmuring, for that hope could sweeten any draught.

'There were who jeered,
And laughed to scorn my visionary scheme;
They thought yon glorious sun's resplendent beam
So brightly cheered
And vivified alone the spot of earth
Where they, like worms, had lived and grovelled from their birth.

'But, called by God,
From home and friends my willing steps I turned;
Led by the light that in my spirit burned,
Strange lands I trod;
And lo! new worlds uncurtained by my hand
Before th' admiring East in pristine beauty stand.

'And what was given
To recompense the many nameless toils
That won my king a new-found empire's spoils?
The smile of Heaven
Blessed him who sought amid those Eden plains
To plant the holy cross; but man's reward was chains.'

'No selfish hope
Of fame or honor led me here again
To tread this weary pilgrimage of pain;—
He who must cope
With treachery and wrong, until the flame
Of pure ambition dies, has nought to do with fame.' pp. 66–69.

We must here close our extracts; but, before we leave the subject, we cannot but express the pleasure and the pride we

feel in the productions of our fair country-women. So much have they cultivated it of late, that they seem almost to have taken possession of the whole domain of light literature, as if it were theirs by a peculiar and exclusive right. Novels and poems are continually coming from their pens; and, what is of far higher consequence, there is a heartiness, a sincere and unsophistical naturalness and tenderness in most of them, that has by no means characterized all the writings of the same class, from female pens in past times. We hope that, in this respect, they may go on as they have begun.

ART. VIII.—1. *Practical Observations on Popular Education.* By H. BROUGHAM, Esquire, M. P. F. R. S.

2. *Library of Useful Knowledge.* Published under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. H. BROUGHAM, Esquire, M. P. F. R. S. Chairman of the Committee.

THE first named of these works, was published about four years ago, and has already gone through between twenty and thirty editions.* It will undoubtedly go through many more in Great Britain. We hope its circulation will be no less extensive in this country. We earnestly wish that all the readers of this article may be induced to procure and read the pamphlet, if they have not already done it. They will find in it the outlines of a vast project for the intellectual improvement of the lower classes of society, drawn with that clearness which is a distinguishing quality of the author's mind, and recommended by arguments, which to us, at least, seem irrefragable. They will find, too, what is not always an ingredient in the speculations of great minds; namely, plain common sense. There is no pomp, no declamation, no rhapsody; but on every page, and almost in every sentence, there are opinions and suggestions, so obviously wise and weighty, and yet so simple, that while the reader is delighted with their excellent sense, he is almost provoked that he did not think of them himself.

To meliorate the condition of the working classes by imparting new light to their minds, has long been a darling object

* See North American Review, No. 52, for July, 1826.

with Mr Brougham. But absorbed as he has been, in the pursuits of a crowded and aspiring life, he could only devote to it those fragments of time, which most other men think not worth gathering up. The pages of which we are speaking, he tells us, were written in 'time stolen from needful rest.' How greatly does this consideration enhance their value in the eye of the philanthropist. With what supreme satisfaction does the mind contemplate the vigils of a great man, consecrated to objects of benevolence.

It has been said by men of high authority among us, that Mr Brougham, and the distinguished men who have coöperated with him, have only imitated, after the lapse of more than a century, the example set by our Pilgrim fathers. Now admitting this were true, it would not take away one particle of the essential merit of the reformations in Great Britain; for it is their vast utility, and not their originality, that makes them so worthy of encomium. But it is not true. There is no part of the plan discussed in the work before us, which has any considerable resemblance to our system of free schools. Would to Heaven that these noble institutions had been imitated, both in England and elsewhere. This, however, is not the case. If they are not inimitable anywhere else, they are as yet unimitated, and are the peculiar heritage of New England. But let not the pride we take in our provisions for education stand in the way of justice. Let us frankly and gladly own, that whatever there is among us resembling the plan in question, has been copied from our transatlantic brethren. At least there is but one exception to this, and for that Mr Brougham has given us due credit. We refer to the organization of the 'Library Company of Philadelphia.' Mr Brougham alludes to it thus; 'The Mechanics' and Apprentices' Library at Liverpool, established in 1823, comes ultimately, if I mistake not, from a very illustrious stock; for it was formed upon the model of the plans which owe their origin to the Library Company of Philadelphia, founded by Franklin, in 1731, and incorporated in 1742.' Nor is this the only instance in which Mr Brougham has paid a just tribute to our illustrious countryman. We shall quote the concluding paragraph of his 'Observations.'

'To the working classes I would say, that this is the time when, by a great effort, they may secure for ever the inestimable blessing of knowledge. Never was the disposition more universal among the rich to lend the requisite assistance for setting in motion the

great engines of instruction; but the people must come forward to profit by the opportunity thus afforded, and they must themselves continue the movement once begun. Those who have already started in the pursuit of science, and tasted its sweets, require no exhortation to persevere; but if these pages should fall into the hands of any one at an hour for the first time stolen from his needful rest after his day's work is done, I ask of him to reward me (who have written them for his benefit at the like hour) by saving threepence during the next fortnight, and buying with it Franklin's Life, and reading the first page. I am quite sure he will read the rest; I am almost quite sure he will resolve to spend his spare time and money, in gaining those kinds of knowledge, which, from a printer's boy, made that great man the first philosopher, and one of the first statesmen of his age. Few are fitted by nature to go as far as he did, and it is not necessary to lead so perfectly abstemious a life, and to be so rigidly saving of every instant of time. But all may go a good way after him, both in temperance, industry, and knowledge, and no one can tell before he tries how near he may be able to approach him.'

We shall now state, in as brief terms as we can, in what the plan of popular education proposed and illustrated in the works before us consists. The position assumed in the beginning is, 'that there is no class in the community so entirely occupied with labor, as not to have an hour or two every other day at least, to bestow upon the pleasure and improvement to be derived from reading; or so poor, as not to have the means of contributing something towards purchasing this gratification.' Respecting these assumptions, we have only to remark, that if they are true of the laboring classes in Great Britain, they are true *a fortiori* of the same classes in this country, labor being compensated here so much more munificently.

The difficulties to be encountered arrange themselves under these two heads, want of money and want of time. First, want of money to procure the requisite books and instruction; and secondly, want of time to go through such books and receive such instruction, as are suited to conditions of greater leisure. How then are these difficulties to be obviated? The first expedient proposed by Mr Brougham is, to promote, by every possible means, *the publication of cheap books.* He says that the price of books is out of all proportion to that of other articles of manufacture, being three times as great in London as in Paris. If an Englishman may reasonably complain of the price of books, what may not an American say? Let us then, for our own

interest, attend to the remedies proposed. The causes of the high price of books in England are four, namely, the high expense for labor where so little is done by machinery; the direct tax upon paper; the employment of paper more costly than is necessary; and the aversion to crowd the page or narrow the margin. All but the second exist in this country, and to at least as great an extent as anywhere in Europe. The first we may not hope or desire to remedy, any faster than new inventions and applications of machinery may do it. But the two last, namely, expensive paper, and large type with a wide margin, may be remedied. Why may not we content ourselves with the same style of printing, and the same quality of material, as satisfy the readers of France and Germany? where a library may be purchased at less than one third of what the same books would cost if printed here. *Retrenchment*, for certain reasons which we need not mention, has become a hackneyed word in this country; but if it be necessary anywhere, it is in the cost of books; and it is for the interest of every scholar who would not become a beggar, to insist strenuously upon it. We have no doubt that it would be both a needful and profitable speculation, to establish a press for the express purpose of publishing the most popular works, in a form much cheaper than they can now be found. We could wish that some enterprising publisher would take this into consideration.

In Great Britain, what is here proposed has been actually executed. Hume's History, which formerly cost nine dollars, may now be had for four dollars. The price of Franklin's Life and Essays is reduced to twenty-five cents. (Here the cheapest edition costs fifty or sixty cents.) Cook's Voyages complete, with many good engravings, may be had for one dollar and fifty cents. These instances are sufficient to show the possibility of a great reduction in the present price of common books. But the friends of popular education in Great Britain did not content themselves with cheaper editions of books already in circulation. They organized themselves into a *Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge*. A numerous committee was chosen, in which we find many of the first names of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Of this committee Mr. Brougham is chairman. Under their superintendence was commenced, in 1827, a series of works under the name of the *Library of Useful Knowledge*. We have placed this title second at the head of this article, and before we dismiss the subject, we intend to say something respecting the merits of these pub-

lications, as treatises on the various branches of science. But at present we are chiefly concerned with their cheapness. They come out in numbers consisting of thirty-two closely printed octavo pages, one every fortnight. The price in London is *sixpence* (about eleven cents) per number. The price here is twelve and a half cents per number. This surpasses, in point of economy, anything we had before supposed possible. A complete treatise on Arithmetic and Algebra costs only twenty-five cents, about *one seventh* of what we are daily paying for a school-book. For another twenty-five cents, we have a complete treatise on Geometry; for a third, a complete treatise on Mechanics, with an ample number of plates exceedingly well engraved; and for a fourth, a complete treatise on Hydrostatics, having the requisite number of plates neatly executed. Thus for *one dollar* we have, brought to us across the Atlantic, what we have never been able to procure, in this country, for less than seven, or at the lowest possible estimate, six dollars. And we might still go on enumerating treatises of Geography, Physiology, Electricity, History, Biography, and so on through the various departments of useful knowledge; all equally well executed, and all furnished at the same trifling expense. Nor will the Society stop at the boundaries of useful knowledge. Arrangements have been made by this enterprising body for publishing a *Library of Entertaining Knowledge.* This has already been commenced; it is published upon the same plan as the other, namely, in numbers semi-monthly, and at the same *almost nothing* of expense.

This is laying open to the poor a highway to knowledge, which before could only be approached by paying an enormous toll. The method of publishing in numbers is admirably adapted to the circumstances of the laboring classes. In the first place, they do not feel the expense so much, when they only pay twelve cents at a time. It is but six cents per week, and this can be very easily saved from one week to another, though it might not seem so easy to hoard it up for six months or a year, until it become sufficient to purchase a large work. And again, it exactly meets the wants of small *library associations.* The tracts being in a pamphlet form, there is no need of any expense for binding; a paper covering sewed on strongly, is amply sufficient to preserve them. Besides, a single set of these pamplets will suffice for a great number of readers, as it is not necessary that all should begin with the same num-

ber, or preserve the same order in their reading. We shall not extend our remarks on this part of the subject; for the advantages of the system are so directly obvious, that a bare statement is enough to enforce conviction. In the words of Mr Brougham, 'those who have not attended to such matters, would be astonished to find how substantial a meal of information may be had by twopenny-worths.'

The next object to be effected, in order to bring the means of education within the reach of the laboring classes, is to diminish as much as possible the expense of *instruction*. For this purpose, Mr Brougham recommends the formation of *clubs* or *associations*, in which each individual shall contribute his share of the expense, whether it be for instruction, books, or apparatus. If a considerable number thus join their forces and make common interest, the burthen will not fall very heavy upon each laborer, even if we suppose no extrinsic aid to be given, and if every lecturer or teacher requires to be paid. But in not one case in a hundred, would either of these suppositions need to be made. No benevolent individual, to whom, in casting the lots of humanity, a larger portion had fallen than to those around him, would see men thus conspiring and struggling after knowledge, without lending them a helping hand. Such efforts would 'plead like angels, trumpet-tongued,' and almost force the miser to unclench his grasp. The rich are with good reason averse to helping the poor, when the poor manifest no disposition to help themselves, and so pensioning indolence and listlessness. But resolute exertions on the part of the poor would be almost sure to call down donations from the rich. This probability amounts so nearly to a certainty, that Mr Brougham counts confidently upon it as one of the means of overcoming the difficulties in the outset, when the burthen will fall heaviest. He enumerates a multitude of instances in which the opulent had manifested not only their willingness but their strong desire to join with laborers in promoting this noble object. Speaking of the London Mechanics' Institution, which was organized in 1823, on a very extensive scale, he tells us that the sum required for the buildings, exceeding three thousand pounds, 'was generously advanced by Dr Birkbeck, to whom [for his exertions in the cause of popular education, as he observes in another place] the people of this island owe a debt of gratitude, the extent of which it would not be easy, perhaps in the present age not possible, to describe.' He also pays the following elegantly turned

compliment to Sir Francis Burdett;—'I should mention with greater admiration the gift of a thousand pounds from Sir Francis Burdett, but that those who know him and who mark his conduct, have so long since become accustomed to such acts of wise and splendid benevolence, that they cease to make us wonder.'

We cannot reckon with quite so much assurance upon extrinsic and voluntary aid in the way of lecturing and teaching, because individuals competent to give instruction are not so numerous in any community as those who are competent to give money; to say nothing of the many, who, in giving such gratuitous instruction, would be cutting off the hand that feeds them. Still many persons might be found, who would *possess* the requisite knowledge, and who could *afford* to give it; and many such might be expected to volunteer their aid. But we will not use our own words, when we can borrow with so much advantage those of Mr Brougham.

'Although much may be done by the exertions of individuals, it is manifest that a great deal more may be effected by the labors of a body, in furthering this important measure. The subject has for some time past been under consideration, and I am not without hopes of seeing formed a society [it will be remembered that this was written two years before the formation of the Society of which we have been speaking] for promoting the composition, publication, and distribution of cheap and useful works. To qualify persons for becoming efficient members of this association, or coöperating with it all over the country, neither splendid talents, nor profound learning, nor great wealth are required. Though such gifts, in their amplest measure, would not be thrown away upon so important a design, they are by no means indispensable to its success. A well informed man, of good sense, filled with the resolution to obtain for the great body of his fellow creatures, that high improvement which both their understandings and their morals are by nature fitted to receive, may labor in this good work, either in the central institution or in some remote district, with the certainty of success, if he have only that blessing of leisure for the sake of which riches are chiefly to be coveted. Such a one, however averse by taste or habit to the turmoil of public affairs, or the more ordinary strifes of the world, may in all quiet and innocence, enjoy the noblest gratifications of which the most aspiring nature is susceptible; he may influence, by his single exertions, the character and the fortunes of a whole generation, and thus wield a power to be envied even by vulgar ambition for the extent of its dominion—to be cherished by virtue itself for the unalloyed blessings it bestows.'

For small towns and villages, where only a few persons can associate themselves together, it is recommended that an experienced teacher be employed to go from place to place; and it is observed that 'the man qualified for the task, who should fastidiously reject so useful and so honorable an occupation, might be a man of science, but would little deserve to be called a philosopher. No talents and no acquirements are too great to be thus applied; and no use to which parts and learning can be put is more dignified.' But before long, the association would, in a great measure, furnish its own teachers. Some individuals, from having more leisure or better capacity than others, would necessarily make greater proficiency, and these would take both pride and pleasure in imparting of their store to others. This is not mere conjecture; it has been realized. In the Edinburgh School of Arts, a joiner *who received his instruction there*, became an accomplished and acceptable teacher of Mathematics. In the Glasgow Association, a mechanic paid back what he had borrowed from the institution, by lecturing on Geography, Chemistry, and Mechanics. Indeed the opportunity and inducement afforded for *mutual instruction* should be considered as a motive for forming such associations, second in importance only to the accumulation of funds. It is introducing the division of labor where it may be employed to as much advantage as in any of the manual arts. It is making use of the social lever to lift a weight too heavy for individual strength.

As to the *apparatus* necessary for instruction and illustration, the burthen would be chiefly felt at the outset. Once procured, it would last a long time, and would not be a constantly returning tax, at least to any great degree. Nor is the cost at first so great as we might imagine. Mr Brougham, whose competency to judge on this subject is unquestionable, estimates the necessary expense of an apparatus for a course of lectures at the small sum of twenty pounds. We shall again borrow his own words.

'In estimating the expenses I have supposed a room to be hired, and the rent to be moderate. To make a beginning, the parties must make a shift with any public room or other place that may be vacant; the great point is to begin; the numbers are certain to increase, and the income with the numbers, as the plan becomes known and its manifold attractions operate upon the people. For the same reason I reckon a small sum for apparatus. Great progress may be made in teaching with very cheap and simple exper-

iments. Indeed, some of the most important, if not the most showy, are the least costly and complicated. By far the grandest discoveries in natural science were made with hardly any apparatus. A pan of water and two thermometers were the tools that in the skilful hands of Black detected latent heat: a crown's worth of glass, three penny-worth of salt, a little chalk, and a pair of scales, enabled the same great philosopher to found the system of modern chemistry, by tracing the existence and the combinations of fixed air; with little more machinery the genius of Scheele (a working chemist) created the materials of which the fabric was built, and anticipated some of the discoveries which have illustrated a later age; a prism, a lens, and a sheet of pasteboard enabled Newton to unfold the composition of light, and the origin of colors; Franklin (a working printer) ascertained the nature of lightning with a kite, a wire, a bit of riband, and a key.—Even the elements of Mechanics may be explained with apparatus almost as cheap and simple. To take one instance; the fundamental property of the lever (and I may say of the whole science) may be demonstrated by a foot rule, a knife, and a few leaden balls of equal size.'

We cannot in this country place the estimate for apparatus quite so low as that of Mr Brougham. The little demand hitherto existing has created no competition in the making; indeed it has hardly been sufficient to induce a solitary individual to make such manufacture an exclusive occupation. Ten years ago scarcely an article of apparatus could be found in our collections, which was not of foreign fabrication. And we doubt if, at this moment, all the parts of a complete apparatus could be made here at any price. But this evil will be every day diminishing. The formation of Lyceums and Mechanics' Associations will increase the demand, produce competition, lower the price, and perfect the workmanship. We may also anticipate great simplification in the construction and an improved economy in the materials. 'There cannot be a doubt,' says the author before us, 'that a compendious set of machines may be constructed to illustrate at a very cheap price a whole course of lectures.' 'A friend of mine is at present occupied in devising the best means of simplifying apparatus for lectures upon the mechanical powers; and cheap chemical laboratories may then receive his consideration.' And why, we ask, may not something of the same kind be done in this country? Neither inventive genius nor manual skill is wanting; and at this moment, such an undertaking would meet with due encouragement. It would ensure not only compensation, but gratitude. A greater

benefit could hardly be conferred upon science. But even supposing no improvement in this respect, a beginning may be made with a very few articles and such as can be readily procured. An air-pump, an electric machine, a prism, a lens, a magnet, a small galvanic battery, a blow-pipe, some retorts and crucibles, a thermometer, a small metallic lever, a set of pulleys, a wheel and axle, and a cheap planetarium, would be sufficient to illustrate all the most important principles of natural science.*

With regard to the formation and direction of these associations, it is said to be a 'fundamental principle to make the expenses be mainly defrayed by the mechanics themselves; it is another principle equally essential, that they should have the principal share in the management.' It is recommended that at least two thirds of the standing committee of management be from the working classes. As a general principle, they will manage any concern best, who have the deepest interest involved in it; and in cases of doubt or difficulty, they can readily and will naturally take advice of the more experienced and better informed. Gratitude for disinterested aid will prompt them to this. But on the other hand, if the mechanics be not intrusted with the chief direction of affairs, there will be a constant sense of inferiority connected with a jealousy, always too ready to be excited, which would be of all things the most to be deprecated. The policy of an annual assessment upon the members is equally obvious. That which costs nothing is too apt to be considered as worth nothing. But if the mechanics are required to pay a trifle for the instruction they receive, they will be eager to get their penny-worth. We have heard of a man who would eat when he was no longer hungry, merely because he had paid for what was set before him.

Thus we have given a general outline of those popular institutions, under various names, which, within the last six years, have spread themselves over every part of the British Islands, and poured floods of intellectual light upon the lower ranks of society. What a glorious commentary upon the practical wisdom in

* Since this article was furnished, Mr Josiah Holbrook, of Boston, has advertised that he is prepared to furnish apparatus for lectures on mineralogy, electricity, galvanism, geometry, hydrostatics, astronomy, chemistry, and mechanics; a full apparatus for illustrating the five last named branches costing but fifty dollars. We have also learned that a variety of machines are in process of construction in the same city, designed to illustrate the most important applications of philosophy to the arts.

which they originated! Their present flourishing state bears equally honorable testimony to the high tone of public feeling. This they could not owe to a single individual however gifted; it could have been realized only by the united exertions of thousands of enlightened individuals, and of thousands more who desired to be enlightened. Herein, they have given a noble lesson to other nations; and we take pleasure in paying them the tribute of unfeigned admiration.

We now turn with satisfaction to notice the progress, which institutions similar to those we have been considering, have made in this country, and especially in our immediate neighborhood. From the view we have taken, it is obvious, as was stated in the beginning, that they have nothing in common with our *free-school* system. They take up popular education, where free schools leave off, and carry it through the higher stages. Persons who have derived most benefit from the one, are best qualified to derive benefit from the other; those sow the seed, these mature the plant. Reading, writing, grammar, geography and arithmetic, which comprise the substance of what is taught in free-schools, are merely the alphabet of education, considered with reference to Lyceums. We insist upon this, because a want of zeal on the subject of Lyceums, has been sometimes defended by saying, that the means of popular education provided in New England, are already ample enough.

The Mechanics' Institution, established about two years ago in Boston, was an early and praiseworthy imitation of the example set beyond the Atlantic. At the opening of this excellent institution, the nature and merits of the plan were ably set forth in the Address delivered by Mr George B. Emerson; to which we refer our readers for a mass of interesting facts relating to the history of such institutions, and an eloquent illustration of the advantages to be derived from them. The example of Boston was speedily imitated in various other parts of the same state and of the states adjoining. It is believed that as many as one hundred of these associations are now in operation in Massachusetts. We mention one very recently organized on a liberal and extensive scale at Northampton, because its experience confirms what we have alleged in another part of this article, namely, that it would not always be necessary to *hire* lecturers. Not less than eighteen gentlemen have pledged themselves to lecture *gratuitously* in this Lyceum, where a lecture is to be given every week, without regard to seasons.

But great as has been the zeal hitherto displayed, much yet remains to be done. The object is of such importance, and the means of accomplishing it are so easy, that there should not be a single town or village, however small, without a popular Lecture, or something of that nature. While the best interests of humanity are concerned in the multiplication of such institutions, they are happily not exposed among us, to objections which elsewhere have been urged against them. Elsewhere, schemes for a universal diffusion of knowledge have been regarded with jealousy on account of their supposed inconsistency with a subordination of ranks, essential to the well-being of society. The inferior classes,—it has been the plea,—are contented with their present condition; but if they were enlightened, they would become discontented and aspiring, and would, in consequence, be really less happy than they now are. In our country,—recognising, as its whole social condition does, the great principle of equal rights,—the universal right to knowledge, and to the elevation, and pleasures, and power which it gives, is not subject to be disputed. And indeed nowhere is the objection capable of being sustained. The experiment, in the first place, having never been fairly made, its supposed results are to be set down for nothing but conjecture. But admit that the lower classes would become ambitious and aspiring, and what follows? Simply that those who now have the superiority and would still maintain it, *must themselves strive and aspire too*, a result of all things the most desirable to have produced. For then the whole mass of society will make a positive advancement; there will still be the same gradations of condition, because each class will be elevated in the same proportion. And thus the objection converts itself into one of the strongest arguments.

There is, however, on some minds, an impression that it is in vain to think of giving laborers a scientific education; and by way of confirmation of this view, it is remarked how few, even of those who have most leisure and means, attain to anything like a general acquaintance with the principles of science. We admit the fact, but deny the conclusion. This very leisure is often the most fatal hindrance to improvement. From the corporeal inaction and sensual indulgence, which are the too frequent consequences of leisure, a habit of intellectual somnolency is generated and gradually confirmed. But there is less danger of this among the laboring classes. Their minds are generally active enough, but the misfortune is, that this activity

has not hitherto been directed to good purpose. It is admitted that they cannot have a great deal of time for study; but is this a reason why they should not improve what they have? Does it not, on the contrary, afford the best possible assurance that this time will be well improved? While the rich man wastes pound after pound because he has many more, the poor man husbands his penny because it is his all. So may it be expected to be with leisure. Besides, it is not contemplated to traverse with the laborer the whole field of scientific investigation. It is only intended to put him in possession of the results. To illustrate our meaning by an example. In teaching astronomy by popular lectures, it is not necessary or desirable that the lecturer should go back to the age of Ptolemy or beyond, and trace the history of the science downward. He need not mention a single one of all the hypotheses that have been entertained. The names of Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Tycho Brahe, Newton, Herschell, and Laplace, need not once be pronounced, while placing before common minds a distinct idea of the mechanism of the heavens. All the grand outlines of astronomy, with reasons and illustrations made level to the most moderate capacity, may be brought within the compass of half a dozen lectures. The numberless and intricate details which grow out of *nutation*, *aberration*, and *disturbances*, ought to be omitted in such lectures, even if on the lecturers' part they could be embraced as well as not. They would confuse and embarrass, instead of aiding the understanding. Let the subject be set forth in its sublime simplicity, and the machinery of the solar system will be comprehended with as little difficulty as that of a watch or a steam-engine. To any other branch of natural science, similar remarks might be applied. Any sensible mechanic, who had never heard of electricity, might be made to understand completely, in the space of two hours, the nature and value of the grandest discovery ever made in that science, namely, the identity of lightning with the electric spark; and the way in which the lightning-rod operates to guard an edifice from its tremendous effects. The reason why treatises on the subject are amplified over so wide a surface, is, that one third of the book is taken up in discussing the merits of various hypotheses, and at least another third in the description of instruments for conducting experiments; all of which are interesting and useful in their place, but would not be necessary in such a course of instruction as we have in view.

The plan, therefore, as it seems to us, so far from being visionary, is perfectly rational and feasible.

We shall now consider some of the recommendations which the *Library of Useful Knowledge* possesses, in addition to its cheapness. Having already counted largely on the patience of our readers, this view will be very summary. One general remark is, that being professedly written for the instruction of persons little informed, the style of reasoning and illustration is for the most part, much more plain and familiar than we usually meet with. The stiffness and formality of technical language is laid aside whenever it can be done, and a manner more resembling conversation is adopted. The reader is properly addressed as one, as yet, uninformed upon the subject before him, and consequently needing all the helps which can be derived from familiar terms, comparisons, and analogies. This will pass for no slight merit with those who consider how liable writers upon scientific subjects are, to fall into the error of supposing that what is perfectly clear to their own minds, without illustration, will be equally so to the minds of their readers. They see no difficulty, why should others? To them a technical nomenclature is a help; and they forget that, without frequent explanation, it may be a dead letter to the uneducated reader. Franklin, in his philosophical essays, avoided this error more completely than any other man, whose works we have seen; these essays may be regarded as perfect models of a neat, easy, and perspicuous philosophical style. None of the treatises before us come quite up to them, in this kind of excellence; but, if we are not led astray by an accidental resemblance, they were the mark at which several of the writers pretty successfully aimed.

The series is introduced by a preliminary discourse on the *Objects, Advantages, and Pleasures of Science*, which, in less than two years, has passed through eight editions, amounting probably to more than a hundred thousand copies. It illustrates in a masterly manner, the bearings of the various branches of science upon the business and happiness of life. Whoever may be its author, it is too far removed from the pedantry of science, and too replete with practical common sense, to be the work of an ordinary mind. It not only evinces an extensive acquaintance with every branch of science taken individually, but also much profound and philosophical reflection, upon the most important relations which the various branches bear to

each other, and to the human understanding. It is sent out as a lure to induce men to attend to what follows. It awakens a curiosity, which can only be gratified by persevering inquiry. If these remarks shall induce an individual to purchase and peruse the preliminary tract, they will have accomplished their object; for we are sure the reader will not rest here. Having arrived at the door of nature's great museum, and caught a glimpse of the rare and wonderful things within, he will press for admittance, till he has gained it.

The tract upon Arithmetic and Algebra, comprising two numbers, the seventeenth and twenty-fifth, is especially worthy of being mentioned here, because it contains an important innovation. Arithmetic and algebra are treated together, as forming *one and the same* branch of mathematics. In our view, this is a decided improvement. Algebra is nothing more than *generalized arithmetic*, and the sooner the learner is made to comprehend this the better. Once point out the distinction between letters and numbers, considered as representatives of quantity or magnitude, and then the two branches may proceed hand in hand. While teaching the pupil to add numbers, let the same operation be performed upon letters, and so on, through the whole series of operations. In this way, each process will aid and elucidate the other. It will be readily seen that the whole difference arises from the *liquid* nature, if we may so express it, of numbers. For example, if five be multiplied by eight, the two numbers *flow* together, as it were, so that in the product forty, neither of the factors five or eight appears by itself; whereas if a be multiplied by b, these factors, wanting the liquid nature of numbers, cannot mix together in the product $a\,b$, but remain separate and distinct. This one distinction, running through all the operations (which are precisely the same in the two branches), explains the whole difference between them; and a very young child may be made to comprehend it completely, by the analogy of pouring together liquids of different colors, and marbles of different colors. The first will intermix, the second will not; you cannot ascertain the separate liquids by looking at the mixture, but you can readily separate the marbles. Just so it is with the results obtained by numbers and letters; and with this one exception, arithmetic and algebra are the same thing. Let them then be taught together that they may help each other. In this way, time will be saved, and each will be better understood. We are fully of the be-

lief, that a child who has never studied either, may be made to comprehend both, by teaching them together, in two thirds of the time that would be required if each were taught separately. If this be true, an important change is yet to be made in our books and methods of instruction.

Another most valuable tract, forming numbers tenth and eighteenth, contains *an Account of Lord Bacon's Novum Organon Scientiarum.* This work may well be denominated the Atlas of modern philosophy, for the heaven of truth rests upon its shoulders. We are accustomed to pronounce the name of Bacon with reverence, as if he scarcely belonged to our race. But how few, comparatively speaking, have the means of appreciating the amount of his benefactions to mankind. The Novum Organon, by general consent the most stupendous achievement of the human intellect in its investigations of the way to knowledge, is so rare and costly a book, that many, who might desire to study it, could not procure it. Moreover, it is so abstruse from the nature of the subject, and so obscure from the want of a lucid method, that few of those who might procure it, would be able to understand it. Probably no work was ever written, which stands more in need of an able commentary to make it intelligible to ordinary capacities. These considerations render the tract before us one of the most important in the collection. It puts into the hands of the common reader, a key to treasures before inaccessible. A proof that it has been acceptable to the public, is that it has passed already through the fourth edition. We did not fully understand, till we read this, the worth of a familiar abstract of a great and difficult work; and having more than once thrown down the original in fatigue and despair, we feel personally grateful to the author of this, for his plain, and really interesting exposition. The light of a great mind has been shed over the subject, to make it so clear. Be the author who he may, every reader will be impressed with the idea, that he was fully competent to the task he has undertaken. He commences with a view of the condition in which Bacon found the world, in respect to knowledge and science; and then, carrying us along in full sympathy with his own enthusiasm, and delighted with the ease with which he enables us to master the hugest ideas of a giant mind, he prepares us to join cordially in the conclusion; 'that, by giving the inductive philosophy to the world, Lord Bacon has proved one of its most signal benefac-

tors; and has largely done his part towards promoting the final triumph of all truth, whether natural, or moral and intellectual, over all error, and towards bringing on that glorious crisis, destined, we doubt not, one day to arrive, when, according to the allegorical representation of that great poet who was not only the admirer of Bacon, but in some respect his kindred genius, —TRUTH, though "hewn, like the mangled body of Osiris, into a thousand pieces, and scattered to the four winds, shall be gathered limb to limb, and moulded, with every joint and member, into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection."' In short, if we should attempt to express half the satisfaction this essay has afforded us, we should be charged with extravagance by all who have not read it.

We were in hopes of having room to notice the *Life of Sir Christopher Wren, with a History of Architecture;* and the *Life of William Caxton, with a History of the Art of Printing;* but we find that if we should attempt to state our views of the different works in detail, we should not easily reach the end. The ground is by far too extensive to be traversed in the time allotted to a review. But if we could find, in the whole series, a tract possessing any striking and tangible defects, we should take pleasure in detaining the reader long enough to convince him that our abstinence from censure thus far, has not been owing to the want of a disposition to find fault, but solely to the want of a subject. Works like these, however, are the despair of critics. Professing nothing but utility, and accomplishing all they undertake; addressing themselves to the great mass of mankind, and sent abroad in what seems the purest spirit of philanthropy; containing stores of intellectual wealth, and yet costing less than the vilest trash that issues from the press;—what can you do with such works, but buy them, read them, praise and profit by them?

In conclusion, we must be indulged in a brief appeal to patriotism, in furtherance of a cause, which abler pens than ours might be well employed in recommending. We have hitherto abstained from arguments drawn from our political condition; but they are too powerful to be passed over in silence. There is a solemn responsibility resting upon every real republican to strengthen the foundation upon which republicanism rests. This foundation is knowledge and virtue in the mass of the people. With them the physical force of the community resides; and if the theory of our government were fully realized

in practice, they too would control its moral energies. Looking to an enlightened populace, there is nothing fearful in the thought, that they are, theoretically speaking, our legitimate and acknowledged governors. But the mind recoils with horror from the idea of submitting the most precious interests of society to the suffrages of an ignorant majority. We do not intend to affirm that a majority of our population are absolutely ignorant, for we do not so believe; on the contrary, we are sure that, compared with the mass of any other nation now existing, they must be pronounced enlightened. But knowledge and ignorance are relative terms; and, speaking with reference to that state to which well-directed efforts might speedily advance them, they are comparatively ignorant. This is not their own fault, but the inevitable consequence of their present condition. Individually their means and resources are scanty; but by union and concentration they might become ample. And when we compare the power they *might* constitutionally wield—and *would* wield, if a political convulsion should disjoin them from the salutary influence of the enlightened minority,—with the largest measure of wisdom and ability that a demagogue, in the impudence of his flattery, would dare to ascribe to them, the question of their improvement at once assumes a magnitude, which we know not how to describe. For such a crisis, however remote it may appear, it is the part of wisdom to be prepared. We have the experience of all history against the ultimate success of our great political experiment; warning us, that if we would avoid those dangers which no free government has yet survived, it must be by taking such precautions as none has ever yet taken. Let us listen reverently to this monitory voice, and take the best of all possible precautions, by diffusing intelligence far and wide among the people.

ART. IX.—*Catalogue of Pictures in the Athenæum Gallery.* Boston. 1829.

THE exhibition of pictures, which has been open the last two months, has been attended with circumstances most gratifying to the amateur, and most encouraging to the artist. It was hardly

anticipated that so large and good a collection could be made, for the third time, without the repetition of a single picture, and with so little aid from other places; for although some of the best have come to us from abroad, more than seven eighths in value, as well as in number, belong to Boston and the vicinity. We take pleasure in saying too, that the great merit of the collection is to be found in the works of our native artists. It is essentially American. There are specimens of the works of nearly every eminent American artist, and it can only be necessary to mention the names of Copley, West, Stuart, Allston, Trumbull, Newton, Sully, Doughty, Fisher, and Harding, to satisfy those who have not seen the collection, that it must possess gratifying evidence of American talent. Another pleasing fact, is the obvious improvement of those artists who have heretofore exhibited their works at the Athenæum. They have all felt the influence of the exhibition. The criticism to which they have been exposed, the liberality with which they have been encouraged, and still more, the opportunity they have enjoyed of comparing themselves with other and greater masters, have stimulated them to efforts which have been to a great degree successful. We perceive with much pleasure, that one of the leading objects of establishing the exhibition, the improvement and encouragement of the young artist, has thus been so far attained. We think we perceive too, in the increased number of those who visit the gallery, an indisputable evidence of the growth of a taste in the community, for the beautiful art which is there exhibited. We hope that the public and the artists will continue mutually to excite each other by the attainment and encouragement of advancing excellence; for after all that has been, and may be said, of the dangers of luxury and the debilitating influence of refinement, they are dangers which none of us are very anxious to avoid, and which the progress of society renders inevitable. Luxury, or the indulgence of imaginary wants, is an offence with which every man in every state of society is chargeable. It is a very narrow use of the word to confine it to pictures and statues, gold and silver, houses and furniture. The indolence of the savage, the inebriating draught of the laboring man, the afternoon excursion of the industrious citizen, are no less luxuries than the easy chair, or the splendid equipage of the wealthy; and we conceive there can be no doubt, that the pleasures of taste and imagination are rather to be encouraged, than those grosser and

more corporeal indulgences, which are almost sure to be their substitutes. The question is not whether we will be luxurious, for that we are and must be, but in what kinds of luxury we will indulge; whether we will have bull-baitings, and cock-fighting, epicurism and gluttony, or fine arts and literature. Fortunately the natural taste for art is almost universal, and requires only opportunity for developement. Every one is pleased by a beautiful landscape, a fine statue, or any skilful representation of an agreeable natural object. Skill alone is always interesting, whether it be in the construction of a ship, or a double-speeder, or in painting a picture. Commercial and manufacturing skill have been pretty well developed among us, and we hope the time is fast approaching when the fine arts may claim their share of interest. The exhibition at the Athenæum, is an omen of good augury in this respect. Talents of a high order, and skill of no ordinary kind, have been shown by several of our artists; and it appears to us that the public are by no means backward in appreciating or encouraging merit. The reputation which is obtained by the deserving is extended through the community at once, and thus the best reward of application is secured. Indeed, we can think of no way in which the plan of the exhibition could be improved, and we have only to declare our pleasure at its past success, and its hopeful prospects.

We feel some reluctance at expressing an opinion as to the merits of individual pictures; for of the great variety of persons who have seen the collection, with tastes as various as their characters, we can expect but few to agree with us. As we shall do it, however, 'without fear,' so we shall hope to escape 'without reproach.' Among those by the old masters, which occupy the first side of the room, we were attracted by an excellent Ruysdael; two very pleasant pictures by Ommeganck; an 'Interior of a Chapel,' by Peter Neefs, which is quite a *bijou*; and a picture by an unknown hand, called in the catalogue, 'Fishermen at Evening.' The large picture by Copley, which occupies the centre of that side of the room, though valuable doubtless as containing family portraits, seems to us to have little interest for the public. The scene, the figures, and the faces are of remarkable tranquillity; the coloring is fresh and brilliant, and the finish, as usual, very careful. But the pictures, which we think the most valuable among the older ones, are the two which are called, and we have no doubt, are

rightly called, by the names of Guercino, and Salvator Rosa. The 'Christ healing the Blind,' has the most prominent merits and defects of Guercino, so far as we are acquainted with them. It is full of expression of face and attitude, finely drawn, and in parts beautifully shaded, and the drapery is singularly rich and brilliant. At the same time there is a want of perspective, and a brown hue in the darker parts of the picture, which, while they are disagreeable, are characteristic of the artist.* The Salvator Rosa has all the force, spirit, and grandeur, which are known to belong to that artist. The vivacity, freedom, boldness, yet harmony of coloring of this picture, seem to us decisive marks of Salvator Rosa, and would be sufficient to make it a work of great merit, were the name of its author unknown and unsuspected.

Our attention was next called to the 'Sortie of Gibraltar,' Trumbull's *chef-d'œuvre*, and we congratulate the Athenæum on the acquisition of a picture of so much value. The composition, drawing, and coloring of this work, seem to us nearly unexceptionable. The fault, if there be any, lies in the subject, which is prosaic, and rather unmanageable; but the group of officers who occupy the principal station, is well arranged, and all the subordinate parts are in excellent keeping. There is so much truth, so natural an air pervading the picture, that the effect upon us is like that of a well told tale; we cannot but believe that some such scene actually took place. We turned from that to the 'Lear,' by West, the merits of which are very different from those of the 'Sortie.' Indeed, we do not see how a stronger contrast could well have been presented. The Lear is the embodying of a poetic fancy, an extravagant delineation of an extravagant character; and, for ourselves, we confess it is far from being an attractive picture; we do not dwell upon it with pleasure, for the conception seems to us radically wrong, and the execution in some respects bad. Lear is too violent and too Herculean a madman, and the other figures we think ill disposed. They are confused and crowded in a manner which is painful to the eye and to the mind. We are aware that this picture is much praised, and that we may be expressing a

* We are glad to learn that the Athenæum has purchased this picture. It is so rarely that we have an opportunity of procuring a genuine work of a good master, that none should be neglected by a public institution.

singular opinion; but we think the conception and composition of it cannot be considered its leading merits. There is a certain grandeur and majesty in the figure of Lear, something of the 'divinity doth hedge a king,' which are imposing; and the coloring is rich and vivid. We are glad that the Athenæum has obtained possession of it, were it only as a memorial of the excellent man who painted it. An American gallery would be quite incomplete without a West. Under the Lear, are hung two pictures, the 'Dull Lecture,' by Newton, and 'Anne Page, Slender, and Shallow,' by Leslie, which we consider the best cabinet pictures in the room. Both are delightful, though marked by very different characteristics. The coloring of the Newton is a feast to the eye. The effect is like that upon the ear of a rich and perfect chord of musical instruments, with this advantage, that the spectator can recur to it and repeat it at pleasure. The artist has arranged his colors with most charming effect, though with some disregard to probability in the lights and shadows. There is not care enough to preserve the consistency of the scene. The drawing, too, is liable to exception; but we have no pleasure in finding fault with this picture; its coloring, so brilliant, so rich, so harmonious, makes us forget everything else in the pleasure of contemplating it. Leslie, on the other hand, has taken great care to be correct in his drawing; and his lights and shadows are arranged precisely as they would be by nature, in a room like the one represented. His coloring is colder than Newton's, though the tone is so different, that it ought not to be brought into direct comparison with it. It is more correct, without being so striking a picture as Newton's; and the humor of the scene, which is strictly Shakspearean, makes it, we think, as popular and attractive as the other. We are grateful to the liberal proprietor, Mr P. Hone of New York, for the pleasure he has afforded us by the sight of these two capital works.

There are many excellent landscapes in this year's collection, which we have not room to enumerate. But we must not omit the 'Lake of the Mountains,' by Doughty, which is full of the soft, rich coloring, which seems to be peculiarly his. It is a picture which affords a most agreeable repose to the eye and the mind, at the same time exciting the fancy and soothing the feelings. The 'Outlet of the Lake,' by Fisher, is a fine composition, but the effect of it is injured by scattered lights, and by a tone of coloring somewhat too brilliant. Both these

artists have improved greatly, and well merit the popularity they have obtained ; we should like to see, however, one change in the style of both, which we venture to suggest to their consideration. They paint too many clouds in their skies. Doughty, especially, seems to be fond of mist and vapor in every variety of appearance. For ourselves, however, we greatly prefer a clear sky to a clouded one, a warm to a cold one ; at least, we should not wish to have our sky always overcast and shadowy, nor even loaded with passing clouds. There is a picture by T. Cole, called 'Evening,' which possesses a great charm for us in the soft and warm sky, with just cloud enough to show its clearness. It is a picture we like to look upon, though its merits consist principally in its tranquillity and its sky. Pratt has a landscape, in which the subject requires clouds of the densest form, and the most striking contrasts of color. We refer to his 'Mount Sinai,' which seems to us to show great power of imagination, and very considerable skill of execution, in the style of Martin, so celebrated for his lightning and tempest. We like it much better than his other productions, whether bowers, or mountain scenery, or portraits. We are constrained to wish, when we look at the last, that he would put a little more warmth and health into his flesh. Of the portraits in the room, we think the first place is due to the 'Independent Beggar,' by Waldo, a picture of remarkable force and truth. The tone of coloring is excellent, rich, and natural, the outline bold, and the shades well managed. The conception of the whole, the attitude and expression are extremely happy, and are well combined to produce the intended effect. Another excellent portrait is by Fisher, and we confess we were surprised at the spirit and the correctness of coloring, with which it is executed. The hue of the flesh is that of nature, and the drawing is so good that we are quite sure it must be a striking resemblance. Stuart also has been recalled to us by two of his admirable works. It is very agreeable to see the portrait of so true a gentleman, as the late Dr Lloyd, executed in a manner which shows that the artist duly appreciated the benevolence and dignity of his subject, and knew how to represent them. It is this happy talent, which, combined with his bold pencil, has placed Stuart in the elevated rank which he will ever maintain. The portrait of Dr Holley, though not so richly colored, shows the same power of mind and hand. Thomas Dixon, Esquire, by Inman, and James Cox, Esquire,

by Harding, merit notice for the spirit and correctness of their coloring and execution. We are happy to perceive, as we think, in this, and two other portraits by Harding, those of Mr Carroll and Mrs Smith, that he continues to improve.

We wish we could dwell upon many others of the pictures which are great ornaments of the collection, such as the 'Dying Greek' by Weir, the attractive portrait of Mrs Hemans by West, and that of Houqua by Chenery, several of Salmon's views, and others by Fisher and Doughty, and the beautiful collection of miniatures; but we fear we have already taxed too heavily the patience of our readers, by a criticism, which, to those certainly who have not seen the exhibition, must be barren and uninteresting. We cannot close, however, without expressing our deep feeling of regret, that we find but one picture by Allston in the catalogue, and that an old one. How is it, that he alone, of all our artists the most distinguished, and the most valued, has not produced anything for either of the three exhibitions we have had? The first year, indeed, there were many of his works; and how highly they were esteemed, he must be well aware; but they were sent by those who had long possessed them, and from that time to the present we have seen nothing, and heard of nothing, which has come from his easel. We would not, on any account, use an expression which would grate harshly on the delicacy of a refined and sensitive mind; but our admiration of his genius, and our almost irrepressible desire to see more of his productions, lead us to suggest to him the propriety of showing that he is not insensible to the universal homage which his works receive from a discerning public. We think too, that a man of his celebrity, has become, in some degree, public property; at least he should not treat with neglect, year after year, the anxious expectations of a community that ask only for *something* from his pencil, however slight a production of his genius, which they are already prepared to admire. But we are unwilling to believe that there is anything like a feeling of indifference in his mind; and we merely mean to express, in the strongest manner, our regret that any feeling, or any course of events, should have deprived us for so long a time of the pleasure we are sure of enjoying, when looking at a picture by Washington Allston.

ART. X.—1. *History of England from the first Invasion of the Romans.* By JOHN LINGARD, D. D. London. 1825.
2. *History of the British Empire from the Accession of Charles the First, to the Restoration.* By GEORGE BRODIE. Edinburgh. 1822.
3. *A Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry the Seventh to the Death of George the Second.* Second Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. London. 1829.
4. *History of the Commonwealth.* By WILLIAM GODWIN.

THERE is scarcely any topic more noble in itself, or more interesting to the human race, than *Constitutional History;* by which is meant the history of the progress of nations in the art of self-government. This term is no longer confined, as it once was, to the annals of Great Britain, and a few states which have sprung from her. Within the last half century, a great change has been brought about in this, as in many other particulars. Principles of government which were once treated as fanciful and absurd, or at least as suited only for the atmosphere of the British Islands, are now diffused, not as idle theories and shadowy speculations, but soberly and practically, over the fairest portions of both hemispheres. Constitutional liberty now beams on all North America, and a large portion of South America; and in the old world, is shedding its light over the 'gay regions' of France, and glances on the wretched remnant of the devoted population of Greece. Even in those countries of Christendom where free principles of government are not avowedly adopted, their influence is felt and acknowledged; the shackles of superstition and ignorance are yielding to the grasp of free inquiry; the two conflicting systems are placed in fair opposition, and we cannot doubt that the result will be such as the friends of rational liberty ardently hope for, and confidently expect.

While we contemplate this state of things with exultation, we are naturally led to look backward, and trace the progress of this giant power, from infancy to its present state. Our minds are involuntarily carried back to a remote period of English history. We watch with anxious gaze the frail barks which bear a few Saxon adventurers from the mouths of the Elbe, who carry with them that dauntless spirit, and those simple and primitive laws, which are to expand and flourish in the British Isles. One thousand years afterwards, a band composed of the descendants of these rude invaders, is seen preparing for a bolder

voyage, by which this spirit and these institutions are to be transplanted to a still wider field, where we fondly hope they are destined to arrive at full perfection. To follow the Constitution, through the different stages of its progress, from the establishment of the Saxon power in England, is a most interesting subject of inquiry, and one which, by a singular fatality, has been reserved for our day. The English nation has been in nothing more unfortunate than in her historians. While she was advancing step by step in the attainment of freedom, it was hardly possible that history should keep pace with her. In times of excitement, we do not look for philosophical history from contemporary authors. The actors in those great events which for half a century agitated the nation, could not be expected to be impartial narrators of them. That Clarendon should have leaned to one side, and Whitelock and Burnet to the other, is saying no more than that they were subject to the infirmities of humanity. Unhappily, however, passion and prejudice long survived the contest which produced them. The moment which seemed most favorable for the appearance of a British historian, after the House of Brunswick had become quietly established on the throne, was seized upon by Mr Hume; who possessed almost every requisite for the undertaking, but that without which all the rest are worthless—a fair and candid mind. At this time of day it is unnecessary to enlarge on the faults of Mr Hume's History of England. Like all great evils, this one has at length wrought its own cure. His misrepresentations are now so glaring, that the very party he intended to aid, has been obliged to turn against him in self-defence. In nothing is the progress of liberal opinions more clearly shown than in the fate of this historian. Notwithstanding the charms of his style, and the vigor of his intellect, no Englishman of sense pretends now-a-days to justify or defend him. Having devoted several pages in a late number to this subject,* we shall merely add, that the works placed at the head of this article, are among the best antidotes to the subtle poison of this artful casuist. Dr Lingard, roused to indignation by the injury done to the Catholic Church, has taken the field in its defence. Mr Brodie has entered the lists as the champion of the English nation in general, against the assertion of Mr Hume that the condition of that people under the Tudors was much like that of Turkey at the period when he wrote. Both these writers

* See North American Review, No. 61, for October, 1828.

are led by their zeal into some extravagance and occasional inaccuracy. In the ordinary style of partisans, they make the most of their respective cases, and leave the reader to his own deductions. Mr Hallam has had the courage to take the most dangerous ground of all, that of umpire between the parties, and of course must lay his account with blame from all sides. He has aimed at impartiality, and seems to have attained it, as far as it is attainable on such a subject. The wish to be impartial shows a liberal and honest mind, and such a mind can hardly fail to incline to what may be called the popular side of the grand question. He pursues with a steady eye the clew of the constitution, through the labyrinth of feudal tyranny and fanatical fury; when snapped by prerogative, or entangled by anarchy. His object is to exhibit the *English people*, and the ground they have stood upon, in all the changes of the government.

A theme more worthy can hardly be imagined; compared with it, how poor are the stories of the Continental states. The miserable squabbles of Guelph and Ghibeline, which for centuries fill up the annals of Europe, appear almost too trifling to be read. The rise of the Houses of Hapsburg and Brandenburg is but little better. One usurper succeeds to another; one elector takes his fellow elector prisoner, and carts him over Europe as a show. The blood of the people is shed to secure an appanage for the son of some needy potentate; while the people themselves are handed over from one ruler to another, with as little ceremony as cattle change owners at a fair. The history which has obtained the name of constitutional, is just the reverse of this. It is the only true history of man; and being founded on the principles of our nature, stirs up within us an irresistible interest. Time, instead of diminishing this interest, adds a value to the most remote event connected with it. The transactions of the reign of Charles the First, are infinitely more studied now than they were one hundred years ago; while the Spanish war of the succession, and the campaigns of Marlborough, which in their day filled the world with wonder, and shook Europe to the centre, are fast passing into insignificance.

Mr Hallam, has of course, confined himself to the constitutional History of Great Britain. In the foregoing remarks we have considered this but as one branch of the subject. He treats of the progress made by the English people in constitu-

tional liberty. The same principles modified by the peculiarities of climate and national character, apply to all governments which recognise certain rights on the part of the people; whether under the form of a limited monarchy, restrained by the delegated voice of the nation, as in France and England, or under that of a pure republic, as in the United States. To follow up the subject, and point out the steps by which the vast revolutions now going on in the world have been brought about, is reserved for some other hand. To the citizens of these states, inquiries of this nature have a peculiar value, standing as we do on a middle ground; tracing back our history on the one hand to the settlement of our own country, and thence to the infancy of British story; while on the other, we have before us events certainly momentous, either for 'weal or woe.' Whether we consider then the importance of a correct knowledge of our own institutions, as citizens of a free state; or the desire natural to all men to look forward and speculate on the probable condition of coming generations, the subject is full of interest. It becomes us to inquire by what means information in relation to it, can best be disseminated; and particularly to ask ourselves whether it has hitherto had its proper share of attention in our places of education. At this moment there is no occasion to say anything in recommendation of the advantages of knowledge in general. All judicious observers are convinced, that the institutions under which we live, must owe their support to an enlightened, sober, and industrious population. The fate of our country is in the hands of its inhabitants; and it must rise or fall as the character of the people is elevated or debased. In this point of view, the importance of a right education is incalculable; and in no department of it is correct information more necessary, than in that of Constitutional History in its widest sense. It is the great excellence of republican forms of government, that they adapt themselves to the wants and circumstances of mankind. To know what those wants are, and what the experience of other nations has taught in regard to government, is essential to every man who would understand his duties, not only as a legislator, but as a citizen called on to judge of the conduct of his representatives.

The advantages of right notions on this point are so obvious, and the application of them so perpetually occurring, that it would seem as if no seminary which pretended to furnish a liberal education, should be without some provision for instruc-

tion in regard to it. Yet, strange as it may seem, there is no branch which has been so entirely neglected. We will not undertake to assert, that there is no professorship of History in the United States; but we are quite sure that in no seminary in Massachusetts has provision been made until very lately for instruction in this department. Something may have been done for history in general; but we are not aware that any steps have yet been taken to correct the ill effects which have resulted from the want of proper direction to students in English history. We infer this from the fact, which is sometimes mentioned as an evidence of improvement, 'that where one student read Hume's History of England twenty years ago, ten read it now;' that is to say, that ten times as much prejudice, falsehood, and sophistry is imbibed, to be eradicated in after life, as was imbibed twenty years ago. That a young man might not be worse employed than in reading Hume, we will not undertake to assert; but that any instructer in our day should place his work in the hands of a youth, leaving him to suppose that it contained the truth, is to us matter of no little surprise. It is certain that in England, his authority as to any event subsequent to the accession of the Tudor dynasty, would be received with ridicule. His misstatements are the more dangerous, because they are not the effect of passion or honest zeal; but cool, deliberate, and artful. The weapons he wields are sophistry and sarcasm. He does not assail openly, but with a plausible affectation of impartiality, blasts a character by some sneering insinuation, at the close of a pretended encomium. This is the most dangerous of all modes of attack, because most captivating to the young and inexperienced reader. An instance may be cited in the character of Hampden; whom he has not the effrontery openly to abuse, but insinuates that his high qualities were obscured by a morbid fanaticism, which would have evaporated in psalm-singing among the wilds of America, whither he was on the point of going; and 'where,' says Mr Hume, 'he could only propose the advantage of puritanical prayers and sermons.' So says Mr Hume; but history tells us, that Mr Hampden's ground of complaint was, not only that he was not allowed to pray after his own way, but that if he did not conform, in this respect, to the prescriptions of my Lords Bishops, he was liable to punishment as a felon. To Mr Hume it no doubt seemed a small matter; being indifferent to both creeds, he thought it a mighty foolish thing to quarrel

with genteel people about such a trifle. If the student wishes, however, to see both sides of the question, as between the Church and the Puritans, let him look into Neal. Nay, if he would make up a cool and deliberate judgment as to the ecclesiastical history of England from the Reformation, to the great measure which has carried gladness to the hearts of all friends of the human race, in the emancipation of the Catholic population of Great Britain; he must consult Dr Lingard and Mr Hallam. He must go back to the religious condition of England, before the dissolution of monasteries; not as it is represented by Protestants, but as he finds it on a fair comparison of conflicting authorities. He will there see that what is called the English Reformation, like all other human events, is one of a mixed character. He will see in those religious communities, which have been held up to execration, a great deal to admire and commend. The celibacy of the clergy, which has been the theme of so much reprehension, will appear to be not unsusceptible of plausible defence. That time which the married clergyman devotes to the care of his family, was supposed to be given up to the duties of charity and exercises of religion. If the testimony of Catholic writers may be relied on, these were much more regularly performed than we have been led to suppose. At all events, the estates which by the gifts of the pious had been appropriated to the poor through the medium of these establishments, were certainly in most instances devoted to their relief. Whether these estates were not much greater than was consistent with good policy, is of no moment; nothing could justify the conduct of Henry the Eighth in seizing on this property, and distributing it among his needy favorites, in violation of every principle of justice and humanity. As this measure grew out of his rapacity, so the Reformation had its origin in a still more unworthy motive. His resentment at the firmness of the Pope, in the matter of his divorce, transported him beyond the bounds of reason or decency. So determined was he to bring about an entire separation from the See of Rome, that the scruples of the most conscientious, and the services of the most faithful of his subjects, were equally disregarded. We have had the sufferings of Protestant martyrs rung in our ears from our cradles; but the two most illustrious of English martyrs, the enlightened Sir Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher, died, rather than abjure the faith of their ancestors, at the bidding of a tyrant.

The student will not have proceeded far in this inquiry, before he will begin to suspect that it is one thing to protest and another to reform. The English Reformation (setting aside religious belief, with which we have nothing to do at this time; and looking at its effects on the grand object of constitutional inquiry, *toleration*) was anything but a change for the better. It has been well said by an ancient wag, that Henry the Eighth was a king with a pope in his belly. The power of the Papal See in England, had long been on the wane, and the natural jealousy of the interference of a foreign power kept it within bounds. Transferring the supremacy in religious affairs from the Pope to the King, added to the immense patronage arising from the disposal of the estates of the sequestered religious houses, gave a power to the crown which nothing could resist. The ferocious tyrant, who would trample on all rights to obtain this ascendency, was not likely to be very scrupulous in the use of it. All writers agree in condemning the measures which followed the establishment of the Protestant religion in this reign. In the short one of Edward the Sixth, something was done towards the settlement of the church, but the accession of Mary brought about the reaction which such excesses are calculated to produce. This princess has become so proverbial for ferocity and bigotry, that one can hardly be allowed to suppose that any good quality had a place in her character. It may, however, be remarked that she gave one proof of sincerity, not very common among sovereigns, in relinquishing sixty thousand pounds a year, which had been taken to the crown, out of the plunder of the church. Whatever may have been her character considered by itself, she has been most unjustly dealt with in the comparisons that have been drawn between her and her sister Elizabeth. What Mary did from bigotry, Elizabeth did from policy and pride of opinion. The first inquisition established in England, was the Court of High Commission, which took its rise in an act of the first year of the reign of this Protestant princess. A more odious and oppressive tribunal never existed in any country. The fury of Mary's resentment fell upon those who had distinguished themselves in favor of the new religion. Her sister persecuted both Catholics and Protestants. She was a Catholic in all points, except the acknowledgement of the Pope's supremacy. She had mass in her private chapel, and ordered her bishops to expel all ministers who differed ever so little from the

discipline of the church by law established. The treatment of the Catholics was still more iniquitous than that of the Puritans. Camden and Hume, with other writers of the same stamp, would have it believed that no one suffered death for his religious sentiments under Elizabeth. What will be the indignation of the student, when he learns, that this is a miserable prevarication. No one was put to death expressly for professing the Catholic religion; but by an act of parliament, the professing of that religion under certain circumstances was declared to be treason, and for this species of treason many suffered; some writers make them amount to two hundred. Now, that the good Protestants of those days should have thought it treason to be a Jesuit, as honest Dogberry in his zeal ruled it to be flat perjury to call Prince John a villain, is one of those extravagances which party spirit is constantly committing. As to the man, who, two hundred years afterwards, under pretence of writing an impartial history, leaves such a fact unexplained, it may certainly be said that his statements should be received with the utmost caution.

We have not room to follow up this part of the subject at much length; but cannot quit it without remarking, that as in the early stages of the Reformation, the professors of the old and new religions pursued each other with unrelenting fury; so Churchman and Puritan, who had heartily concurred in the measures of severity against the Catholics, soon turned with equal rage upon each other. The result of this controversy is too well known to be dwelt upon. The Presbyterians, when they had demolished the church, found a sturdy band of Independents all ready to be persecuted; and the Independents themselves, who had fled to the rocky shores of New England for religious freedom, had hardly time to shelter themselves in their new country, when they fell foul on the refractory of their own number.

By the time the student has proceeded thus far, he will begin to ask himself, why it is that the Catholic religion has been always identified with persecution, while Protestantism and toleration have been considered synonymous. The answer seems to us a simple one.—Because the Catholic religion has been the most powerful. Wherever the power of the church and that of the state are the same, there will be intolerance. The cause lies not in this creed or that, but in man. A weak sect is always liberal, but we never have yet heard of any

which used power with moderation. The farther this inquiry is pursued, the more apparent will be the good sense which induced the enlightened framers of our constitution, to leave this matter where alone it belongs,—to the conscience of each individual. If there is anything of which the United States may justly boast, it is that they have brought this great question to the test of experiment with the most triumphant success. We have moreover the satisfaction to believe that other nations are advancing in the same path. The glorious event to which we just alluded, by which the Catholics of England have been restored to the right of citizens, is but a harbinger of better things. To all true friends of religious freedom, it is a joyful event; while it carries disquiet and alarm to those who profit by the abuses of the church of England. A reform in that establishment will be the inevitable result of the repeal of the test acts, and the Catholic disabilities. Not that the accession of votes in parliament will alone have this effect; but the same spirit which obliged the government to become the instrument of emancipation, will oblige it to go farther. The church itself is in no danger, if reasonable and just; but something will erelong be done to equalize the tythes, and the incomes of the bishops. Pluralities, non-residence, and sale of livings, by which the revenues of the church have been diverted from their proper use, and have become a mere temporal property, like any other estate, will fall before the influence of good sense and justice.

Parliamentary reform is not far behind; and the mention of it leads us to another very important consideration, which should stimulate the youth of our country to the study of constitutional history. For want of correct information in this particular, very erroneous ideas have been entertained among us in relation to the character of the American Revolution. To judge from some of the orations we hear on the fourth of July, one would infer that our ancestors had been subjected to the most debasing slavery, from which they had suddenly emerged to the happy state of light and liberty we now enjoy. On occasions like that just mentioned, a considerable latitude of expression is allowable; but the sort of rhodomontade which was once fashionable, and is not yet wholly banished, does great injustice to the characters of those who achieved the independence of this country. The inhabitants of these provinces had always enjoyed the rights of British subjects. So

jealous were they of those rights, that the mere attempt to wrest from them what they held so dear, roused them to the most determined resistance. In all the state papers of that period, it will be seen that the provincial legislatures, and afterwards the Congress, contended for the enjoyment of the plain right of British subjects; namely, that no tax should be laid upon them, unless at the same time they were admitted to the privilege of representation in parliament. This is the principle which runs through the whole controversy, and which the friends of American rights, both here and in England, laid down as the basis of their argument.

In order, then, to understand what was the ground on which the resistance of the colonies to the mother country was defended in the first instance, it is necessary that the student in American politics, should turn to the constitutional history of England, and inquire into the nature and origin of the British parliament. It was admitted on all hands that so far as the inhabitants of the British islands were concerned, the principle was undeniable, that representation and taxation should go together. To understand what is meant by this expression; to what extent it was literally carried into effect in the early period of parliamentary history; and how it has by degrees become rather a nominal, than a real privilege, the student must go back as before, to the time of the Plantagenets. He will not be long in finding, that the notion which has been supported in England, and finds some defenders in this country, that the rotten boroughs are a part of the constitution, and an essential part, is about as well founded as that pluralities and non-residence are at the foundation of all church discipline and sound doctrine. Mr Hume defends the Stuarts on the ground that they did no more than all their predecessors had done; and that the English nation at that day, were no more free, than the subjects of the Grand Seignior. This accomplished writer was not well versed in English law; and was very apt to infer, because a thing had been done, that therefore it had been lawfully done. Mr Hallam is too much of a lawyer for an historian, but has greatly the advantage of Mr Hume on constitutional questions, from his accurate legal knowledge. He does not rest satisfied with saying, Henry the Eighth did this, and Queen Elizabeth did that; but he goes on to inquire, Did they so because the people admitted their right to do it, or because they were too weak to resist? For the present pur-

pose, it will not be necessary to go farther back than the reign of Henry the Seventh; and here we shall find, as in the case of religion, that we have been in the habit of looking but at one side. If religious zeal has portrayed ecclesiastical history, poetry has been employed on the characters and measures of sovereigns. Richard the Third has been taken upon trust, from Shakspeare. A bad man he certainly was; and yet, if we may judge from the statute book, he was far from being the worst of English kings. An act passed in this reign, abolishing forced loans and benevolences, had more of spirit and sound policy in it, than any passed from that time to the meeting of the long parliament. An usurper he was; but his successor was equally an usurper, quite as worthless a man, and a much more mischievous king. Under both these reigns, and part of that of Henry the Eighth, we find parliaments exercising a good deal of power, and sometimes showing not a little spirit. The immense accession of strength acquired by the crown, after the seizure of the church property, broke down the House of Commons, partly by intimidation, and partly by influence. If we would understand the ancient constitution of parliament, it will be necessary to look at it before this event. In the first place, by the mere act dissolving the monasteries, thirty-six mitred abbots who had been called to the House of Lords, were disfranchised. The House of Commons did not then vary much from its constitution at the present day, excepting that a considerable number of boroughs and some counties have been admitted to the right of representation, which did not at that time enjoy it. On the other hand, many places which then possessed a population to warrant this privilege, have since fallen into decay, and become rotten boroughs; though several of them were created as rotten boroughs by Queen Elizabeth and other sovereigns, expressly for the purpose of political influence. This was the case with many of the Cornish boroughs which were particularly subject to coercion through the Stannary court. There can be no doubt that the rotten boroughs are an excrescence on the constitution, and as perfectly within the control of parliament as any other abuse whatever. On this point we shall quote the opinion of Mr Hallam, as to the origin and true nature of the House of Commons. He says,

'I must so far concur with those, whose general principles as to the theory of parliamentary reform leave me far behind, as to

profess my opinion, that the change which appears to have taken place in the English government towards the end of the thirteenth century, was founded upon the maxim, that all who possessed landed or moveable property, ought, as freemen, to be bound by no laws, and especially by no taxation, to which they had not consented through their representatives. If we look at the constituents of the House of Commons, under Edward the First, or Edward the Third, and consider the state of landed tenures and of commerce at that period; we shall perceive that, excepting women who have generally been supposed capable of no political right but that of reigning, almost every one who contributed towards the tenths and fifteenths granted by the parliament, might have exercised the franchise of voting for those who sat in it. Admitting that in corporate boroughs the franchise may have been usually vested in the freemen, rather than in the inhabitants, yet this distinction, so important in later ages, was of little consequence at a time, when all traders, that is, all who possessed any moveable property worth assessing, belonged to the former class. I do not pretend that no one was contributary to a subsidy, who did not possess a vote; but that the far greater portion was levied on those, who, as freeholders and burgesses, were reckoned in law to have been consenting to its imposition. It would be difficult, probably, to name any town of the least consideration in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which did not at some time or other, return members to parliament. This is so much the case, that if, in running our eyes along the map, we find any seaport, as Sunderland or Falmouth, or any inland town, as Leeds or Birmingham, which has never enjoyed the elective franchise, we may conclude at once, that it has emerged from obscurity, since the reign of Henry the Eighth.'

We here see the British parliament in the vigor of its youth. The maxim that taxation and representation go together, is here carried into practice. It was no doubt intended that this principle should be kept up, and that the constitution should shape itself to the changing exigencies of the state. Can any man in his senses, suppose that the right to send members to parliament, was meant to be a property, saleable on 'change, like an exchequer bill? It is impossible not to see that it is an abuse, which has grown up so gradually as to have escaped notice, until the holders of this species of stock were strong enough to keep ministers on their side, and prevent a reform. But like many other absurdities, it will pass away, not by the hand of violence, but by that resistless force of public opinion, which carries the government with it, in spite of itself. The student

in English history cannot but observe, that just in proportion as parliament lost its influence under the Tudors and Stuarts; just in the same proportion, the other institutions of the country languished or became perverted. Judges were intimidated; juries were punished for daring to give verdicts according to evidence; and in some instances these very tribunals were converted into the worst engines of tyranny.

No man of the least reflection will hesitate to condemn the conduct of Charles the First, in his systematic attempt to dispense with parliament altogether; nor will there be much more difference of opinion as to the maxim in the abstract, that taxation and representation should go together. And yet, when it is attempted to test the principle by a reform in parliament; there are many in England, and some theorists in this country, who think it a most dangerous experiment, if not an absolute violation of the constitution.

To us, there seems to be no medium in theory, between dispensing altogether with the House of Commons, and admitting the propriety of parliamentary reform. The House of Commons, as now constituted, can be defended on no principle of representation. It has clearly not the sanction of antiquity in its favor, as appears by the paragraph just quoted; and the most devoted admirer of things as they are, not even my Lord Eldon himself, will pretend, that if he were going to lay down a just and equal basis of representation, he would adopt that of the British Empire as it now exists. The argument drawn from the danger of innovation, is exceedingly weak and poor; for when it is once admitted that some change is desirable, provided it could be made with safety, the question then presents itself,—By whom is this change to be made? Surely the parliament which has power to keep up the system as it is, has power to limit reform within such bounds as it may think prudent. Whenever a change is made, it must be by the regular constitutional course; unless we suppose a degree of blindness which seems not to belong to this age. In our time, as in all times, some men are wiser than others; but in matters of government we believe the mass are grown wiser than of yore. Mr Canning foresaw years ago, what the optics of Mr Peel and the Duke of Wellington have but just discerned; that they had to choose between Catholic emancipation and revolution. The prophetic mind of Fox foretold it all, and much more; to him the abolition of the slave trade, Catholic emancipation,

and reform in parliament seemed certain events thirty years ago.

There can be but little danger in any reform which parliament will inflict upon itself. But the opposers of reform, after every other argument has failed, beg the question after this manner.—The present system must be the best, because under it the British Empire has risen to an unparalleled height of prosperity and renown. The only mode of answering this objection, is by analyzing it, to see what is meant by the assertion. If it is meant that the British nation is so wise and so happy, that it can by no possibility be made wiser or happier, there is no more to be said. If it do not go this length, it means nothing.

If we considered the question of reform in parliament as a merely theoretical one, and that so long as there is a parliament, it is of no moment whether it represent one class of the community, or twenty; we certainly should think that the time and talents which have been spent upon it, might have been better employed. We take, however, a very different view of the subject; and we are confident that he who diligently and impartially gives up his mind to the study of constitutional history, will perceive, that as, in the prostration of the House of Commons, fell the liberties and character of the English nation, so the abuses and defects (and they are many) which still exist in the government of that country, are owing to the want of a fair and equal representation in that house. The only practical attempt at reform in parliament, was that made by Oliver Cromwell, in conformity with the scheme adopted by the long parliament just before their dissolution. 'This model,' says Mr Hallam, 'limited the number of representatives to four hundred, to be chosen partly in the counties, according to their wealth, or supposed population, by electors possessing either freeholds, or any real or moveable property to the value of two hundred pounds; partly by the more considerable boroughs, in whose various rights of election no change appears to have been made.' In two parliaments summoned by the Protector, this basis was adopted; but the views then entertained by him, no parliament was likely to fall in with. Clarendon says of this measure, 'It was then generally looked upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time.' But Clarendon in exile at Montpelier, had many good ideas which never occurred to him while keeper of the king's

conscience and manager of parliament. What is called the convention parliament, which recalled Charles the Second, was convened by Richard Cromwell after the old mode; and thus ended parliamentary reform.

From that time to this, the unequal operation of the system has been daily becoming more and more apparent. If in the reign of Charles the Second, parliamentary reform was thought necessary; what must be thought of it at the present time, when interests have grown up from inventions which were then unheard of, and cities have sprung into existence, whose population is greater than was then that of the counties to which they belong. Can a system be right which refuses to conform itself to the advancing condition of mankind? Can it be believed that the East India Company would have procured repeated renewals of its charter, since the revolution of 1688, if the commercial interest had been fairly represented in parliament? Would the odious monopoly of the corn laws have been allowed to go on as it has done, if the power of the landed proprietors in parliament had not been altogether disproportionate? One abuse upholds another; the owners of rotten boroughs get places in the Company's service for friends and relations, and the Company's servants think there is no occasion for reform in parliament. He who sits for old Sarum, feels tender on the mention of pluralities and non-residence in the church. The country gentlemen make a great point of upholding the game laws; and the lawyers will not quarrel for that, if there is nothing said about the enormous abuses of the court of chancery, one of the greatest curses that ever lighted on any nation. The national debt, and the poor laws, are not strictly constitutional questions, because they might have grown up under any form of government. It may be observed, however, that the latter evil has been enormously increased by the restrictions on industry, arising from abuses we have enumerated. Nothing but a thorough acquaintance with the history of the British constitution, will give right views of this great question, and this knowledge can only be acquired in the works of English writers. Mr Hallam's is decidedly the best work on the subject we have yet seen. As to De Lolme and other foreigners, who have undertaken to handle it, they certainly inform those who knew nothing before; but an accurate, discriminating account of the constitution, can only be given by one who knows practically the operation of it.

We have said that a thorough acquaintance with the constitutional history of England, is requisite to those who would understand our own. It will be found, moreover, that as we advance in the knowledge of it, we shall appreciate our own institutions more justly. The end of government being the equal protection of life, liberty, and property, to every individual, we shall ask ourselves, where is this object more perfectly accomplished, than in our own country? Seeing that no human institution can be perfect, we shall not show our patriotism by vaporing and rant; nor on the other hand, shall we be prone to regard with nervous apprehension, the jars and animosities which arise from party violence or sectional prejudice. Some very worthy persons, who are sincerely attached to our government, are thrown from time to time into alarm, lest it should crumble under us, and leave us exposed to anarchy and violence. Such apprehensions do not seem to us to be founded either in sound views of the state of things at home, or a just appreciation of our condition in comparison with that of other nations. Ours is a government of opinion; it was well understood to be so in the outset. It is on public sentiment that its safety must rest. Bringing the question then to this test, what will be the conclusion as to the probable continuance of our present form of government? Forty years have now passed, since the United States have lived under the existing constitution. With what difficulty it was carried into effect; what prejudices it had to encounter, it is unnecessary to repeat. It was an experiment of a delicate nature; but one which happily has succeeded beyond the expectations of the most sanguine. When we look back at the fears and forebodings of that period, and compare them with the result of experience, the conclusion should inspire anything rather than despondency. The union was then a bugbear to some, and even the most confident could not but look forward with anxiety. What has the experience of forty years brought to pass? To say that the union is popular, is an expression so feeble as to excite a smile. Whatever difference may exist among us as to other questions, on this there is but one sentiment. The moment that the idea of a dissolution of the confederacy enters the mind, such a train of mischief succeeds, that we are glad to turn from it, let the evils on the other side be what they may.

So far, then, as public feeling is concerned, unless some very improbable change should take place, the permanency of our

government seems, to say the least, as likely, as at any time since its adoption. If we turn to other countries, we shall have no less reason to be satisfied with the state of things at home. Those who are disposed to undervalue our institutions, have only to cast their eyes, even towards those nations which are justly regarded as the most distinguished for civil and religious liberty. We have factions and political contests; but what other nation can look back forty years, and say, our factions and our contests have never ended in the shedding of each other's blood? Acts are sometimes passed by which the interest of one class or section is sacrificed to that of another; but the frequent return of elections is sure to work the cure. Abuses are not sanctioned by time, and incorporated in the body of the Constitution. Religious heats prevail among us, but they waste themselves in words. If any one wishes to see the contrast between our condition in this respect, and that which a church establishment brings with it, let him read the speech of the Duke of Wellington, in which he describes the state of parties in Ireland. The worst consequences of the dissolution of our government could scarcely exceed the state of things actually existing at that moment in that ill-fated country. If we would inculcate just views of our own government, and liberal and enlarged notions with respect to those of other countries, we should encourage the study of constitutional history;—not by a text-book, not as it presents itself to the mind of a single individual, but as a science. The subject of education is now fully appreciated, and we cannot doubt that this most important and delightful branch of it, will receive its full share of attention.

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OCTOBER, 1829.

ART. I.—*A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada. By Fray Antonio Agapida.* 1829. 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey.

ALMOST as many qualifications may be demanded for a perfect historian, indeed the Abbé Mably has enumerated as many, as Cicero stipulates for a perfect orator. He must be strictly impartial; a lover of truth under all circumstances, and ready to declare it at all hazards; he must be deeply conversant with whatever may bring into relief the character of the people he is depicting,—not merely with their laws, constitution, general resources, and all the other more visible parts of the machinery of government, but with the nicer moral and social relations, the informing spirit, which gives life to the whole, but escapes the eye of a vulgar observer. If he has to do with other ages and nations, he must transport himself into them, expatriating himself, as it were, from his own, in order to get the very form and pressure of the times he is delineating. He must be conscientious in his attention to geography, chronology, &c., an inaccuracy in which has been fatal to more than one good philosophical history; and mixed up with all these drier details, he must display the various powers of a novelist or dramatist, throwing his characters into suitable lights and shades, disposing his scenes so as to awaken and maintain an unflagging interest, and diffusing over the whole that finished style, without which his work will only become a magazine of materials for the more

elegant edifices of subsequent writers. He must be—in short, there is no end to what a perfect historian must be and do. It is hardly necessary to add, that such a monster never did and never will exist.

But, although we cannot attain to perfect excellence in this, or any other science in this world, considerable approaches have been made to it, and different individuals have arisen at different periods, possessed, in an eminent degree, of some of the principal qualities, which go to make up the aggregate of the character we have been describing. The peculiar character of these qualities will generally be determined in the writer, by that of the age in which he lives. Thus the earlier historians of Greece and Rome sought less to instruct than to amuse. They filled their pictures with dazzling and seductive images. In their researches into antiquity, they were not startled by the marvellous, like the more prudish critics of our day, but welcomed it as likely to stir the imaginations of their readers. They seldom interrupted the story by impertinent reflection. They bestowed infinite pains on the costume, the style of their history, and, in fine, made everything subordinate to the main purpose of conveying an elegant and interesting *narrative*. Such was Herodotus, such Livy, and such too, the earlier Chroniclers of modern Europe, whose pages glow with the picturesque and brilliant pageants of an age of chivalry. These last, as well as Herodotus, may be said to have written in the infancy of their nations, when the imagination is more willingly addressed than the understanding. Livy, who wrote in a riper age, lived nevertheless in a court and a period, where tranquillity and opulence disposed the minds of men to elegant recreation, rather than to severe discipline and exertion.

As, however, the nation advanced in years, or became oppressed with calamity, history also assumed a graver complexion. Fancy gave way to reflection. The mind, no longer invited to rove abroad in quest of elegant and alluring pictures, was driven back upon itself, speculated more deeply, and sought for support under the external evils of life, in moral and philosophical truth. Description was abandoned for the study of character; men took the place of events; and the romance was converted into a drama. Thus it was with Tacitus, who lived under those imperial monsters, who turned Rome into a charnel-house; and his compact narratives are filled with

moral and political axioms sufficiently numerous to make a volume; and, indeed, Brotier has made one of them in his edition of the historian. The same philosophical spirit animates the page of Thucydides, himself one of the principal actors in the long, disastrous struggle, that terminated in the ruin of his nation.

But, notwithstanding the deeper and more comprehensive thought of these later writers, there was still a wide difference between the complexion given to history under their hands, and that which it has assumed in our time. We would not be understood as determining, but simply as discriminating their relative merits. The Greeks and Romans lived when the world, at least when the mind, was in its comparative infancy; when fancy and feeling were most easily, and loved most to be excited. They possessed a finer sense of beauty than the moderns. They were infinitely more solicitous about the external dress, the finish, and all that makes up the poetry of a composition. Poetry, indeed, mingled in their daily pursuits, as well as pleasures; it determined their gravest deliberations. The command of their armies was given, not to the best general, but oft-times to the most eloquent orator. Poetry entered into their religion, and created those beautiful monuments of architecture and sculpture, which the breath of time has not tarnished. It entered into their philosophy,—and no one confessed its influence more deeply, than he who would have banished it from his Republic. It informed the souls of their orators, and prompted those magnificent rhapsodies, which fall lifeless enough from the stammering tongue of the schoolboy, but which once 'awak'd to extacy the living' populace of Athens. It entered deeply even into their latest history. It was first exhibited in the national chronicles of Homer. It lost little of its coloring, though it conformed to the general laws of prosaic composition, under Herodotus. And it shed a pleasing grace over the sober pages of Thucydides and Xenophon. The Muse, indeed, was stript of her wings. She no longer made her airy excursions into the fairy regions of romance. But as she moved along the earth, the sweetest wild-flowers seemed to spring up unbidden at her feet. We would not be understood as implying that Grecian history was ambitious of florid or meretricious ornament. Nothing, indeed, could be more simple than its general plan and execution; far too simple, we fear, for imitation in our day. Thus Thucydides,

for example, distributes his events most inartificially, according to the regular revolutions of the seasons; and the rear of every section is brought up with the same eternal repetition of *ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτέλευτα τῷδε, ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψε.* But in the fictitious speeches, with which he has illumined his narrative, he has left the choicest specimens of Attic eloquence; and he elaborated his general diction into so high a finish that Demosthenes, as is well known, in the hope of catching some of his rhetorical graces, thought him worthy of being thrice transcribed with his own hand.

Far different has been the general conception, as well as execution, of history by the moderns. In this, however, it was accommodated to the exigencies of their situation, and, as with the ancients, still reflected the spirit of the age. If the Greeks lived in the infancy of civilization, the contemporaries of our day may be said to have reached its prime. The same revolution has taken place as in the growth of an individual. The vivacity of the imagination has been blunted, but reason is matured. The credulity of youth has given way to habits of cautious inquiry, and sometimes to a phlegmatic scepticism. The productions, indeed, which first appeared in the doubtful twilight of morning, exhibited the love of the marvellous, the light and fanciful spirit of a green and tender age. But a new order of things commenced, as the stores of classical learning were unrolled to the eye of the scholar. The mind seemed at once to enter upon the rich inheritance, which the sages of antiquity had been ages in accumulating, and to start, as it were, from the very point where they had terminated their career. Thus raised by learning and experience, it was enabled to take a wider view of its proper destiny; to understand that truth is the greatest good, and to discern the surest method of arriving at it. The Christian doctrine, too, inculcated that the end of being was best answered by a life of active usefulness, and not by one of abstract contemplation, or selfish indulgence, or passive fortitude, as variously taught by the various sects of antiquity. Hence a new standard of moral excellence was formed. Pursuits were estimated by their practical results; and the useful was preferred to the ornamental. Poetry, confined to her own sphere, was no longer permitted to mingle in the councils of philosophy. Intellectual and physical science, instead of floating on vague speculation as with the ancients, was established on careful induction and experiment. The orator,

instead of adorning himself with the 'pomp and garniture' of verse, sought only to acquire greater dexterity in the management of the true weapons of debate. The passions were less frequently assailed, the reason more. A wider field was opened to the historian. He was no longer to concoct his narrative, if the scene lay in a remote period, from the superficial rumors of oral tradition. Libraries were to be ransacked; medals and monuments to be studied; obsolete manuscripts to be decyphered. Every assertion was to be fortified by an authority. And the opinions of others, instead of being admitted on easy faith, were to be carefully collated, and the balance of probability struck between them. With these qualifications of antiquarian and critic the modern historian was to combine that of the philosopher; deducing from his mass of facts general theorems, and giving to them their most extended application.

By all this process poetry lost much, but philosophy gained more. The elegant arts sensibly declined; but the most important and recondite secrets of nature were laid open. All those sciences, which have for their object the happiness and improvement of the species, the science of government, of political economy, of education,—natural and experimental science were carried far beyond the boundaries, which they could possibly have reached under the ancient systems.

The peculiar forms of historic writing, as it exists with the moderns, were not fully developed until the last century. It may be well enough to notice the intermediate shape which it assumed, before it reached this period, in Spain and Italy, but especially this latter country, in the sixteenth century. The Italian historians of that age seemed to have combined the generalizing and reflecting spirit characteristic of the moderns, with the simple and graceful forms of composition, which have descended to us from the ancients. Machiavelli, in particular, may remind us of some recent statue, which exhibits all the lineaments and proportions of a contemporary, but to which the sculptor has given a sort of antique dignity by enveloping it in the folds of the Roman toga. No one of the Spanish historians is to be named with him. Mariana, who enjoys among them the greatest celebrity, has, indeed, given to his style, both in the Latin and Castilian, the elegant transparency of an ancient classic, but the mass of detail is not quickened by a single spark of philosophy or original reflection. Maria-

na was a monk; one of a community, who have formed the most copious, but in many respects the most incompetent chroniclers in the world; cut off, as they are, from all sympathy with any portion of the species, save their own order,—and predisposed by education to admit as truth the grossest forgeries of fanaticism. What can their narratives be worth, distorted thus by prejudice and credulity? The Aragonese writers, and Zurita, in particular, though far inferior as to the literary execution of their works, exhibit a pregnant thought and a manly independence of expression far superior to the Jesuit Mariana.

The Italian historians of the sixteenth century, moreover, had the good fortune not only to have been eye-witnesses, but to have played prominent parts in the events which they commemorated. And this gives a vitality to their touches, which is in vain to be expected from those of a closet politician. This rare union of public and private excellence is delicately intimated in the inscription on Guicciardini's monument, 'Cujus negotium, an otium, gloriosius incertum.'

The personage, by whom the present laws of historic composition may be said to have been first arranged into a regular system, was Voltaire. This extraordinary genius, whose works have been productive of so much mingled good and evil, discovers in them many traces of a humane and beneficent disposition. Nowhere is his invective more keenly directed, than against acts of cruelty and oppression, above all, of religious oppression. He lived in an age of crying abuses both in church and government. Unfortunately he employed a weapon against them, whose influence is not to be controlled by the most expert hand. The envenomed shaft of irony, not only wounds the member at which it is aimed, but diffuses its poison to the healthiest and remotest regions of the body.

The free and volatile temper of Voltaire forms a singular contrast with his resolute pertinacity of purpose. Bard, philosopher, historian, this literary Proteus animated every shape with the same mischievous spirit of philosophy. It never deserted him, even in the most sportive sallies of his fancy. It seasons his Romances, equally with his gravest pieces in the Encyclopædia,—his familiar letters and most licentious doggerel, no less than his Histories. The leading object of this philosophy may be defined by the single cant phrase, 'the abolition of prejudices.' But in Voltaire, prejudices were too often confounded with principles.

In his Histories, he seems ever intent on exhibiting, in the most glaring colors, the manifold inconsistencies of the human race; in showing the contradiction between profession and practice; in contrasting the magnificence of the apparatus, with the impotence of the results. The enormous abuses of Christianity are brought into juxtaposition with the most meritorious features in other religions; and thus all are reduced to nearly the same level. The credulity of one half of mankind is set in opposition to the cunning of the other. The most momentous events are traced to the most insignificant causes; and the ripest schemes of wisdom are shown to have been baffled by the intervention of the most trivial accidents. Thus the conduct of the world seems to be regulated by chance; the springs of human action are resolved into selfishness; and religion, of whatever denomination, is only a different form of superstition. It is true that his satire is directed not so much against any particular system, as the vices of that system. But the result left upon the mind is not a whit less pernicious. His philosophical romance of 'Candide,' affords a good exemplification of his manner. The thesis of perfect optimism in this world, at which he levels this *jeu d'esprit*, is manifestly indefensible. But then he supports his position with such an array of gross and hyperbolical atrocities, without the intervention of a single palliative circumstance, and withal in such a tone of keen derision, that if any serious impression be left on the mind, it can be no other than that of a baleful, withering scepticism. The historian rarely so far forgets his philosophy as to kindle into high and generous emotion, the glow of patriotism, or moral and religious enthusiasm. And hence too, his style, though always graceful, and often seasoned with the sallies of a piquant wit, never rises into eloquence or sublimity.

Voltaire has been frequently reproached for want of historical accuracy. But if we make due allowance for the sweeping tenor of his reflections, and for the infinite variety of his topics, we shall be slow in giving credit to this charge.* He was, indeed, oftentimes misled by his inveterate Pyrrhonism; a defect, when carried to the excess in which he indulged it, al-

* Indeed Hallam and Warton, the one as diligent a laborer in the field of civil history, as the other has been in literary, both bear testimony to his general veracity.

most equally fatal to the historian, with credulity or superstition. His researches frequently led him into dark, untravelled regions; but the aliment, which he imported thence, served only, too often, to minister to his pernicious philosophy. He resembled the allegorical agents of Milton, paving a way across the gulf of Chaos, for the spirits of mischief to enter more easily upon the earth.

Voltaire effected a no less sensible revolution in the structure than in the spirit of history. Thus, instead of following the natural consecutive order of events, the work was distributed, on the principle of a *Catalogue raisonné*, into sections arranged according to their subjects, and copious dissertations were introduced into the body of the narrative. Thus, in his *Essai sur les Mœurs*, &c., one chapter is devoted to letters, another to religion, a third to manners, and so on. And in the same way, in his 'Age of Louis the Fourteenth,' he has thrown his various illustrations of the policy of government, and of the social habits of the court, into a detached portion at the close of the book.

This, indeed, would seem to be deviating from the natural course of things, as they occur in the world; where the multifarious pursuits of pleasure and business, the lights and shadows, as it were, of life, are daily intermingled in the motley panorama of human existence. But, however artificial this division, it enabled the reader to arrive more expeditiously at the results, for which alone history is valuable, while, at the same time, it put it in the power of the writer to convey with more certainty and facility his own impressions.

This system was subsequently so much refined upon, that Montesquieu, in his 'Grandeur et Décadence des Romains,' laid no further stress on historical facts, than as they furnished him with illustrations of his particular theorems. Indeed, so little did his work rest upon the veracity of such facts, that although the industry of Niebuhr, or rather of Beaufort, has knocked away almost all the foundations of early Rome, Montesquieu's treatise remains as essentially unimpaired in credit as before. Thus the materials, which anciently formed the body of history, now served only as ingredients from which its spirit was to be extracted. But this was not always the spirit of truth. And the arbitrary selection, as well as disposition of incidents, which this new method allowed, and the coloring which they were to receive from the author, made it easy to pervert them to the construction of the wildest hypotheses.

The progress of philosophical history is particularly observable in Great Britain, where it seems to have been admirably suited to the grave, reflecting temper of the people. In the graces of *narrative*, they have ever been unequal to their French neighbors. Their ancient Chronicles are inferior in spirit and execution, to those either of France or Spain. And their more elaborate histories, down to the middle of the eighteenth century, could not in any way compete with the illustrious models of Italy. But soon after this period, several writers appeared, exhibiting a combination of qualities, erudition, critical penetration, powers of generalization, and a political sagacity, unrivalled in any other age or country.

The influence of the new forms of historical composition, however, was here, as elsewhere, made too frequently subservient to party and sectarian prejudices. Tory histories, and Whig histories, Protestant and Catholic histories successively appeared, and seemed to neutralize each other. The most venerable traditions were exploded, as nursery tales. The statues decreed by antiquity were cast down; and the characters of miscreants, whom the general suffrage of mankind had damned to infamy, of a Dionysius, a Borgia, or a Richard the Third, were now retraced by what Jovius distinguishes as 'the golden pen' of the historian, until the reader, bewildered in the maze of uncertainty, is almost ready to join in the exclamation of Lord Orford to his son, 'Oh quote me not history, for that I know to be false!' It is remarkable, indeed, that the last mentioned monarch, Richard the Third, whose name has become a by-word of atrocity, the burden of the ballad, and the moral of the drama, should have been the subject of elaborate vindication by two eminent writers of the most opposite characters,—the pragmatical Horace Walpole, and the circumspect and conscientious Sharon Turner. The apology of the latter exhibits a technical precision, a severe scrutiny into the authenticity of records, and a nice balancing of contradictory testimony, that give it all the air of a legal investigation. Thus history seems to be conducted on the principles of a judicial process, in which the writer, assuming the functions of an advocate, studiously suppresses whatever may make against his own side, supports himself by the strongest array of evidence which he can muster, discredits, as far as possible, that of the opposite party, and by dexterous interpre-

tation and ingenious inference, makes out the most plausible argument for his client that the case will admit.

But these, after all, are only the abuses of philosophical history; and the unseasonable length of remark, into which we have been unwarily led in respect to them, may give us the appearance of laying on them greater emphasis than they actually deserve. There are few writers in any country, whose judgment has not been sometimes warped by personal prejudices. But it is to the credit of the principal British historians, that however they may have been occasionally under the influence of such human infirmity, they have conducted their researches, in the main, with equal integrity and impartiality. And while they have enriched their writings with the stores of a various erudition, they have digested from these details, results of the most enlarged and practical application. Thus history in their hands, although it may have lost much of the simplicity and graphic vivacity, which it maintained with the ancients, has gained much more in the amount of useful knowledge, and the lessons of sound philosophy, which it inculcates.

There is no writer, who in his productions exhibits more distinctly the full developement of the principles of modern history, with all its virtues and defects, than Gibbon. His learning was fully equal to his vast subject. This, commencing with expiring civilization in ancient Rome, continues on until the period of its final and perfect resurrection in Italy, in the fifteenth century; and thus may be said to furnish the lights which are to guide us through the long interval of darkness, which divides the old from the modern world. The range of his subject was fully equal to its duration. Goths, Huns, Tartars, and all the rude tribes of the north, are brought upon the stage, along with the more cultivated natives of the south, the Greeks, Italians, and the intellectual Arab; and as the scene shifts from one country to another, we behold its population depicted with that peculiarity of physiognomy, and studied propriety of costume, which belong to dramatic exhibition. For Gibbon was a more vivacious draughtsman, than most writers of his school. He was moreover deeply versed in geography, chronology, the study of antiquities, verbal criticism, in short, in all the sciences in any way subsidiary to his art. The extent of his subject permitted him to indulge in those elaborate disquisitions, so congenial to the spirit of modern history, on the most momen-

tous and interesting topics. While his early studies enabled him to embellish the drier details of his narrative, with the charms of a liberal and elegant scholarship.

What then was wanting to this accomplished writer? Good faith. His defects were precisely of the class, of which we have before been speaking, and his most elaborate efforts exhibit too often the perversion of learning and ingenuity to the vindication of preconceived hypotheses. He cannot, indeed, be convicted of ignorance, or literal inaccuracy, as he has triumphantly proved in his discomfiture of the unfortunate Davis. But his disingenuous mode of conducting the argument, leads precisely to the same unfair result. Thus, in his celebrated chapters on the 'Progress of Christianity,' which he tells us were 'reduced by three successive revisals, from a bulky volume to their present size,' he has often slurred over in the text such particulars as might reflect most credit on the character of the religion, or shuffled them into a note at the bottom of the page; while all that admits of a doubtful complexion in its early propagation, is ostentatiously blazoned, and set in opposition with the most amiable features of Paganism. While by a style of innuendo, that conveys 'more than meets the ear,' he has contrived, with Iago-like duplicity, to breathe a taint of suspicion on the purity, which he dares not openly assail. It would be easy to furnish examples of all this, were this the place for it. But the charges have no novelty, and have been abundantly substantiated by others.

It is a consequence of this scepticism in Gibbon, as with Voltaire, that his writings are nowhere warmed with a generous moral sentiment. The most sublime of all spectacles, that of the martyr, who suffers for conscience' sake, and this equally whether his creed be founded in truth or error, is contemplated by the historian with the smile, or rather sneer, of philosophic indifference. This is not only bad taste, as he is addressing a Christian audience, but he thus voluntarily relinquishes one of the most powerful engines for the movement of human passion; which is never so easily excited as by deeds of suffering, self-devoted heroism.

But although Gibbon was wholly defective in moral enthusiasm, his style is vivified by a certain exhilarating glow, that kindles a corresponding warmth in the bosom of his reader. This may, perhaps, be traced to his egotism, or, to speak more liberally to an ardent attachment to his professional pursuits,

—and to his inextinguishable love of letters. This enthusiasm appears in almost every page of his great work, and enabled him to triumph over all its difficulties. It is particularly conspicuous whenever he touches upon Rome, the Alma Mater of science, and whose adopted son he may be said to have been from his earliest boyhood. Whenever he contemplates her fallen fortunes, he mourns over her with the fond solicitude that might become an ancient Roman. And when he depicts her pristine glories, dimly seen by us through the mist of so many centuries, he does it with such vivid accuracy of conception, that the reader, like the traveller who wanders through the excavations of Pompeii, seems to be gazing on the original forms and brilliant colors of antiquity.

To Gibbon's egotism,—in its most literal sense,—to his personal vanity may be traced some of the peculiar defects for which his style is conspicuous. The 'Historian of the Decline and Fall,' too rarely forgets his own importance in that of his subject. The consequence, which he attaches to his personal labors, is shown in a bloated dignity of expression, and an ostentation of ornament, that contrast whimsically enough with the trifling topics and commonplace thoughts, on which, in the course of his long work, they are occasionally employed. He nowhere moves along with the easy freedom of nature, but seems to leap, as it were, from triad to triad, by a succession of strained, convulsive efforts. He affected, as he tells us, the light festive raillery of Voltaire. But his cumbrous imitation of the mercurial Frenchman may remind one, to make use of a homely simile, of the ass in Æsop's fable, who frisked upon his master in imitation of the sportive gambols of the spaniel. The two first octavo volumes of Gibbon's History were written in a comparatively modest and unaffected manner, for he was then uncertain of the public favor. And, indeed, his style was exceedingly commended by the most competent critics of that day, as Hume, Joseph Warton, and others, as is abundantly shown in their correspondence. But when he had tasted the sweets of popular applause, and had been crowned as the historian of the day, his increased consequence becomes at once visible in the assumed stateliness and magnificence of his bearing. But even after this period, whenever the subject is suited to this style, and when his phlegmatic temper is warmed by those generous emotions, of which, as we have said, it was sometimes susceptible, he exhibits his ideas in the most splendid and imposing forms, of which the English language is capable.

The most eminent illustrations of the system of historical writing, which we have been discussing, that have appeared in England, in the present century, are the works of Mr Hallam; in which the author, discarding most of the circumstances that go to make up mere narrative, endeavors to fix the attention of the reader on the more important features of constitutional polity, employing his wide range of materials in strict subordination to this purpose.

But while history has thus been conducted on nearly the same principles in England for the last century, a new path has been struck out in France, or rather an attempt has lately been made there to retrace the old one. M. Barante, still better known as an elegant literary critic, than as an historian, in the preliminary remarks to his 'Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne,' considers the draughts of modern compilers as altogether wanting in the vivacity and freshness of their originals. They tell the reader how he should feel, instead of making him do so. They give him their own results, instead of enabling him by a fair delineation of incidents to form his own. And while the early chroniclers, in spite of their unformed and obsolete idiom, are still read with delight, the narratives of the former are too often dry, languid, and uninteresting. He proposes, therefore, by a close adhesion to his originals, to extract, as it were, the spirit of their works, without any affectation, however, of their antiquated phraseology; and to exhibit as vivid and veracious a portraiture, as possible, of the times he is delineating, unbroken by any discussions or reflections of his own. The result has been a work in eleven octavo volumes, which, notwithstanding its bulk, has already passed into four editions.

The two last productions of our countryman, Mr Irving, undoubtedly fall within the class of narrative history. To this, indeed, he seems peculiarly suited by his genius, his fine perception of moral and natural beauty, his power of discriminating the most delicate shades of character, and of unfolding a series of events, so as to maintain a lively interest in the reader; and a *lactea ubertas* of expression which can impart a living eloquence even to the most commonplace sentiments. Had the 'Life of Columbus' been written by an historian of the other school of which we have been speaking, he would have enlarged with greater circumstantiality on the system adopted by Ferdinand and Isabella for the administration of their colonies, and for the regulation of trade; nor would he have neglected to

descant on a topic, worn somewhat threadbare it must be owned, so momentous as the moral and political consequences of the discovery of America; neither would such a writer, in an account of the conquest of Granada, have omitted to collect such particulars as might throw light on the genius, social institutions, and civil polity of the Spanish Arabs. But all these particulars, however pertinent to a philosophical history, would have been entirely out of keeping in Mr Irving's, and might have produced a disagreeable discordance in the general harmony of his plan.

Mr Irving has seldom selected a subject better suited to his peculiar powers, than the conquest of Granada. Indeed, it would hardly have been possible for one of his warm sensibilities to have lingered so long among the remains of Moorish magnificence, with which Spain is covered, without being interested in the fortunes of a people, whose memory has almost passed into oblivion, but who once preserved the 'sacred flame,' when it had become extinct in every corner of Christendom, and whose influence is still visible on the intellectual culture of Modern Europe. It has been found no easy matter, however, to compile a satisfactory and authenticated account of the Arabians, notwithstanding that the number of their historians, cited by D'Herbelot and Casiri, would appear to exceed that of any European nation. The despotic governments of the East have never been found propitious to that independence of opinion so essential to historical composition; 'ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet.' And their copious compilations, prolific in frivolous and barren detail, are too often wholly destitute of the sap and vitality of history.

The social and moral institutions of Arabian Spain experienced a considerable modification from her long intercourse with the Europeans; and she offers a nobler field of research for the chronicler, than is to be found in any other country of the Moslem. Notwithstanding this, the Castilian scholars, until within late years, have done little towards elucidating the national antiquities of their Saracen brethren; and our most copious notices of their political history, until the late posthumous publication of Conde, have been drawn from the extracts which M. Cardonne translated from the Arabic Manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris.

The most interesting periods of the Saracen dominion in Spain, are that embraced by the Empire of the Omeyades of

Cordova, between the years 755 and 1030,—and that of the Kingdom of Granada, extending from the middle of the thirteenth to the close of the fifteenth century. The intervening period of their existence in the Peninsula offers only a spectacle of inextricable anarchy. The first of these periods was that in which the Arabs attained their meridian of opulence and power, and in which their general illumination affords a striking contrast with the deep barbarism of the rest of Europe. But it was that, too, in which their character, having been but little affected by contact with the Spaniards, retained most of its original Asiatic peculiarities. This has never been regarded, therefore, by European scholars, as a period of greatest interest in their history, nor has it ever, so far as we are aware, been selected for the purposes of romantic fiction. But when their territories became reduced within the limits of Granada, the Moors had insensibly submitted to the superior influences of their Christian neighbors. Their story, at this time, abounds in passages of uncommon beauty and interest. Their wars were marked by feats of personal prowess and romantic adventure, while the intervals of peace were abandoned to all the license of luxurious revelry. Their character, therefore, blending the various peculiarities of Oriental and European civilization, offers a rich study for the poet and the novelist. As such, it has been liberally employed by the Spaniards, and has not been altogether neglected by the writers of other nations. Thus Florian, whose sentiments, as well as his style, seem to be always floundering midway betwixt the regions of prose and poetry, has made out of the story of this people his popular romance of 'Gonsalvo of Cordova.' We have also met with a commendatory notice of an Italian Epic in Tiraboschi, entitled 'Il Conquista di Granata,' though we have never seen the original. The ground, however, before the appearance of Mr Irving, had not been occupied by any writer of eminence, in the English language, for the purposes either of romance or history.

The conquest of Granada, to which Mr Irving has confined himself, so disastrous to the Moors, was one of the most brilliant achievements in the most brilliant period of Spanish history. Nothing is more usual than overweening commendations of antiquity; the 'good old times,' whose harsher features, like those of a rugged landscape, lose all their asperity in the distance. But the period of which we are speaking, embracing the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella at the close of the fifteenth and begin-

ning of the sixteenth centuries, was undoubtedly that, in which the Spanish nation displayed the fulness of its moral and physical energies, when, escaping from the license of a youthful age, it seems to have reached the full prime of manhood, and the perfect developement of those faculties, whose overstrained exertions were soon to be followed by exhaustion and premature decrepitude.

The remnant of Spaniards, who, retreating to the mountains of the north, escaped the overwhelming inundation of the Saracens at the beginning of the eighth century, continued to cherish the free institutions of their Gothic ancestors. The 'Fuero Juzgo,' the ancient Visi-Gothic code, was still retained by the people of Castile and Leon, and may be said, indeed, to form the basis of all their subsequent legislation. While in Aragon the dissolution of the primitive monarchy opened the way for even more liberal and equitable forms of government. The independence of character, thus fostered by the peculiar constitutions of these petty states, was still further promoted by the circumstances of their situation. Their uninterrupted wars with the infidel,—the necessity of winning back from him inch by inch, as it were, the conquered soil, required the active coöperation of every class of the community, and gave to the mass of the people an intrepidity, a personal consequence, and an extent of immunities, such as were not enjoyed by them in any other country of Europe. The free cities acquired considerable tracts of the reconquered territory with rights of jurisdiction over them, and sent their representatives to Cortes, near a century before a similar privilege was conceded to them in England. Even the peasantry, so degraded, at this period, throughout the rest of Europe, assumed under this state of things a conscious dignity and importance, which are visible in their manners at this day;—and it was in this class during the late French invasions, that the fire of ancient patriotism revived with greatest force, when it seemed almost extinct in the breasts of the degenerate nobles.

The religious feeling, which mingled in their wars with the infidels, gave to their character a tinge of lofty enthusiasm. And the irregular nature of this warfare suggested abundant topics for that popular minstrelsy, which acts so powerfully on the passions of a people. The 'Poem of the Cid,' which appeared, according to Sanchez, before the middle of the twelfth century, contributed in no slight degree, by calling up the most inspiring

national recollections, to keep alive the generous glow of patriotism. This influence is not imaginary. Heeren pronounces the 'poems of Homer to have been the principal bond which united the Grecian States.' And every one knows the influence exercised over the Scottish peasantry by the Border minstrelsy. Many anecdotes might be quoted to show the veneration universally entertained by the Spaniards, broken, as they were, into as many discordant states as ever swarmed over Greece, for their favorite hero of romance and history. Among others, Mariana relates one of a king of Navarre, who, making an incursion into Castile about a century after the warrior's death, was carrying off a rich booty, when he was met by an Abbot of a neighboring convent, with his monks, bearing aloft the standard of the Cid, who implored him to restore the plunder to the inhabitants from whom he had ravished it. And the monarch, moved by the sight of the sacred relic, after complying with his request, escorted back the banner in solemn procession with his whole army to the place of its deposit.

But while all these circumstances conspired to give an uncommon elevation to the character of the ancient Spaniard, even of the humblest rank, and while the prerogative of the monarch was more precisely as well as narrowly defined, than in most of the other nations of Christendom, the aristocracy of the country was insensibly extending its privileges, and laying the foundation of a power that eventually overshadowed the throne and well nigh subverted the liberties of the state. In addition to the usual enormous immunities claimed by this order in feudal governments (although there is no reason to believe that the system of feudal tenure obtained in Castile, as it certainly did in Aragon), they enjoyed a constitutional privilege of withdrawing their allegiance from their sovereign on sending him a formal notice of such renunciation, and the sovereign, on his part, was obliged to provide for the security of their estates and families, as long as they might choose to continue in such overt rebellion. These anarchical provisions in their constitution did not remain a dead letter, and repeated examples of their pernicious application are enumerated both by the historians of Aragon and Castile. The long minorities, with which the latter country was afflicted, moreover, contributed still further to swell the overgrown power of the privileged orders; and the violent revolution, which, in 1368, placed the house of Trastamarre upon the throne, by impairing the revenues, and consequently

the authority of the crown, opened the way for the wild uproar, which reigned throughout the kingdom during the succeeding century. Alonso de Palencia, a contempory chronicler, dwells with melancholy minuteness on the calamities of this unhappy period; when the whole country was split into factions of the nobles, the monarch openly contemned, the commons trodden in the dust, the court become a brothel, the treasury bankrupt, public faith a jest, and private morals too loose and audacious to court even the veil of hypocrisy.

The wise administration of Ferdinand and Isabella could alone have saved the state in this hour of peril. It effected, indeed, a change on the face of things as magical as that produced by the wand of an enchanter in some Eastern tale. Their reign it is true, wears a more glorious aspect from its contrast with the turbulent period which preceded it, as the landscape glows with redoubled brilliancy when the sunshine has scattered the tempest. We shall briefly notice some of the features of the policy, by which they effected this change.

They obtained from the Cortes an act for the resumption of the improvident grants made by their predecessor. By which means an immense accession of revenue, which had been squandered upon unworthy favorites, was brought back to the royal treasury. They compelled many of the nobility to resign, in favor of the crown, such of its possessions, as they had acquired by force, fraud, or intrigue, during the late season of anarchy. The son of that gallant Marquis Duke of Cadiz, for instance, with whom the reader has become so familiar in Mr Irving's Chronicle, was stripped of his patrimony of Cadiz, and compelled to exchange it for the humbler territory of Arcos, from which the family henceforth derived their title. By all these expedients the revenues of the state, at the demise of Isabella, were increased twelve fold beyond what they had been at the time of her accession. They reorganized the ancient institution of the 'Hermandad,'—a very different association under their hands from the 'Holy Brotherhood,' which we meet with in Gil Blas. Every hundred householders were obliged to equip and maintain a horseman at their joint expense; and this corps furnished a vigilant police in civil emergencies, and an effectual aid in time of war. It was found, moreover, of especial service in suppressing the insurrections and disorders of the nobility. They were particularly solicitous to abolish the right and usage of private war, claimed by this haughty order, com-

pelling them, on all occasions, to refer their disputes to the constituted tribunals of justice. But it was a capital feature in the policy of the Catholic sovereigns to counterbalance the authority of the aristocracy, by exalting, as far as prudent, that of the commons. In the various convocations of the national legislature, or Cortes, in this reign, no instance occurs of any city having lost its prescriptive right of furnishing representatives, as had frequently happened under preceding monarchs, who, from negligence or policy, had omitted to summon them.

But it would be tedious to go into all the details of the system, employed by Ferdinand and Isabella, for the regeneration of the decayed fabric of government;—of their wholesome regulations for the encouragement of industry; of their organization of a national militia, and an efficient marine; of the severe decorum, which they introduced within the corrupt precincts of the court; of the temperate economy, by which they controlled the public expenditures; and of the munificent patronage, which they, or rather their almoner on this occasion, that most enlightened of bigots, Cardinal Ximenes, dispensed to science and letters. In short, their sagacious provisions were not merely remedial of former abuses, but were intended to call forth all the latent energies of the Spanish character, and with these excellent materials, to erect a constitution of government which should secure to the nation tranquillity at home, and enable it to go forward in its ambitious career of discovery and conquest.

The results were certainly equal to the wisdom of the preparations. The first of the series of brilliant enterprises was the conquest of the Moorish kingdom of Granada;—those rich and lovely regions of the Peninsula, the last retreat of the infidel, and of which he had continued in possession for nearly eight centuries. This together with the subsequent occupation of Navarre by the crafty Ferdinand, consolidated the various principalities of Spain into one monarchy, and, by extending its boundaries in the Peninsula to their present dimensions, raised it from a subordinate situation to the first class of European powers. The Italian wars, under the conduct of the 'Great Captain,' secured to Spain the more specious, but less useful acquisition of Naples; and formed that invincible infantry, which enabled Charles the Fifth to dictate laws to Europe for nearly half a century. And, lastly, as if the old world could not afford a theatre sufficiently vast for their ambition, Columbus gave a new world to Castile and Leon.

Such was the attitude assumed by the nation under the Catholic Kings, as they were called; it was the season of hope and youthful enterprise, when the nation seemed to be renewing its ancient energies, and to prepare like a giant to run its course. The modern Spaniard, who casts his eye over the long interval that has since elapsed, during the first half of which, the nation seemed to waste itself on schemes of mad ambition, or fierce fanaticism, and in the latter half to sink into a state of paralytic torpor,—the Spaniard, we say, who casts a melancholy glance over this dreary interval, will turn with satisfaction to the close of the sixteenth century, as the most glorious epoch in the annals of his country. This is the period, to which Mr Irving has introduced us in his late work. And if his portraiture of the Castilian of that day wears somewhat of a romantic and, indeed, incredible aspect to those who contrast it with the present, they must remember that he is only reviving the tints which had faded on the canvass of history. But it is time that we should return from this long digression, into which we have been led by the desire of exhibiting in stronger relief some peculiarities in the situation and spirit of the nation, at the period from which Mr Irving has selected the materials of his last, indeed, his two last publications.

Our author, in his 'Chronicle of Granada,' has been but slightly indebted to Arabic authorities. Neither Conde nor Cardonne has expended more than fifty or sixty pages on this humiliating topic. But ample amends have been offered in the copious prolixity of the Castilian writers. The Spaniards can boast a succession of Chronicles from the period of the great Saracen invasion. Those of a more early date, compiled in rude Latin, are sufficiently meagre and unsatisfactory. But from the middle of the thirteenth century, the stream of history runs full and clear; and their Chronicles, composed in the vernacular, exhibit a richness and picturesque variety of incident, that give them inestimable value as a body of genuine historical documents. The reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella were particularly fruitful in these sources of information. History then, like most of the other departments of literature, seemed to be in a state of transition,—when the fashions of its more antiquated costume began to mingle insensibly with the peculiarities of the modern; when, in short, the garrulous graces of narration were beginning to be tempered by the tone of grave and philosophical reflection.

We will briefly notice a few of the eminent sources from which Mr Irving has drawn his account of the 'Conquest of Granada.' The first of these is the Epistles of Peter Martyr, an Italian *savant*, who, having passed over with the Spanish ambassador into Spain, and being introduced into the court of Isabella, was employed by her in some important embassies. He was personally present at several campaigns of this war. In his 'Letters,' he occasionally smiles at the caprice which had led him to exchange the pen for the sword; while his speculations on the events passing before him, being those of a scholar, rather than of a soldier, afford in their moral complexion a pleasing contrast to the dreary datails of blood and battle. Another authority is the Chronicle of Bernaldez, a worthy ecclesiastic of that period, whose bulky manuscript, like that of many a better writer, lies still ingulphed in the dust of some Spanish library, having never been admitted to the honors of the press. Copies of it, however, are freely enough circulated. It is one of those good-natured, gossipping memorials of an antique age, abounding equally in curious and commonplace incident, told in a way sufficiently prolix, but not without considerable interest. The testimony of this writer is of particular value, moreover, on this occasion, from the proximity of his residence, in Andalusia, to those scenes, which were the seat of the war. His style overflows with that religious loyalty, with which Mr Irving has liberally seasoned the effusions of Fray Antonio Agapida. Hernando del Pulgar, another contemporary historian, was the Secretary and Counsellor of their Catholic majesties, and appointed by them to the post of national Chronicler; an office familiar both to the courts of Castile and Aragon, in which latter country, especially, it has been occupied by some of its most distinguished historians. Pulgar's long residence at court, his practical acquaintance with affairs, and above all, the access which he obtained, by means of his official station, to the best sources of information, have enabled him to make his work a rich repository of facts relating to the general resources of government, the policy of its administration, and, more particularly, the conduct of the military operations in the closing war of Granada, of which he was himself an eye-witness. In addition to these writers, this period has been illumined by the labors of the most celebrated historians of Castile and Aragon, Mariana and Zurita; both of whom conclude their narratives with it; the last expanding the biography of Ferdinand alone into two

volumes folio. Besides these, Mr Irving has derived collateral lights from many sources of inferior celebrity, but not less unsuspicious credit.* So that, in conclusion, notwithstanding a certain dramatic coloring which Fray Agapida's 'Chronicle' occasionally wears, and notwithstanding the romantic forms of a style, which, to borrow the language of Cicero, seems 'to flow, as it were, from the very lips of the Muses,' we may honestly recommend it as substantially an authentic record of one of the most interesting, and, as far as English scholars are concerned, one of the most untravelled portions of Spanish history.

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* Neither of Mr Irving's late writings could have been compiled from materials existing in any or all of the public libraries in this country; and this independently of the manuscript authorities used by him, which may be supposed not easily met with out of Spain. The same remark is predicable of most of the historical works, which daily appear in France, Germany, and England. One cause of our deficiency in such original documents, and, indeed, in all but the more obvious and classical productions of literature, has been the difficulty of meeting with an intelligent agent in Europe, competent to the selection and purchase of such works. Whatever impediment, however, has been occasioned by this circumstance is now removed. Mr. O. Rich, the late American Consul at Madrid, whose valuable library furnished Mr Irving with some of the most important materials for his 'Life of Columbus,' has transferred his residence to London; where he devotes himself to the execution of such commissions for the purchase of books as he may be entrusted with by his countrymen. He has been employed in making extensive purchases for Harvard College Library and the Boston Athenæum, as well as several smaller ones for individuals of this city; and he has uniformly executed his orders with promptness, sagacity, and great economy. His accurate bibliographical knowledge, and his extensive correspondence through all the principal cities of the continent, afford such facilities for literary acquisitions, as we hope will be improved by public institutions and private individuals. We feel that we are doing a service to the cause of letters in recommending this gentleman, whose useful labors have well entitled him to this public testimony. Mr Rich's address in London is 12 Red Lion Square.

ART. II.—*Junius Unmasked, or Lord George Sackville proved to be Junius. With an Appendix, showing that the Author of the Letters of Junius was also the Author of the 'History of the Reign of George III.' and Author of 'The North Briton,' ascribed to Mr Wilkes.* 12mo. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1828.

THE first letter under the signature of Junius was printed in 'The Public Advertiser,' in the month of January, 1769. From that period no erring politician was suffered to remain in peace, no guilty one to escape with impunity. The supporters of arbitrary power, the ministers of secret corruption, all who sought in any manner to trample on the liberty of the people, trembled at that name, even long after it had ceased to electrify the kingdom by its appearance in the public journals. While the letters continued in quick succession to hurl forth their bold denunciations, there was not an individual of sufficient eminence to attract the notice of their burning eloquence, if his conscience convicted him of a single act of treachery, no matter how secret, who did not shudder lest the next exertion of Junius should be to drag that crime from its secrecy and lay it open to the whole world's view. From the security of an impenetrable concealment this invisible accusing demon looked out upon the struggle going on between the friends and the enemies of freedom, and marked the individuals against whom he might point his vengeance with the most blasting intensity, and deliberately scattered firebrands, arrows, and death amidst the terrified victims of his hatred. 'Kings, Lords, and Commons were but the sport of his fury.' No forms of reverence, no usages of forbearance, though sanctified from the remotest antiquity, could have the slightest influence to shield the hapless object of his burning indignation. The long established and unviolated maxim, that 'the King can do no wrong,' together with other observances, which had always invested his name with a solemn awe and his person with a consecrated impunity, were of no avail in protecting royalty itself from the daring shafts of this invisible and reckless censor. With a keenness of sarcasm and a venom of satire, compared to which even the pointed verses of Juvenal seem lifeless, he probed the vices and scourged the personages of the public administration, till the most hardened, and hoary, and shameless of the guilty in-

dividuals shrunk back in despair from the agony of his tortures. To fly from his wrath or contend with his censure was equally hopeless. The endeavor to refute his accusations in most cases only rendered their truth more evident, and their power more sure. An expedient to destroy the force of his satire acted in the hands of its inventor like a sword of steel opposed to the forked lightning of heaven ;—it gave a steadier direction and a more burning intensity to the angry flash. Truth itself was no shield from the attacks of such a writer, whose ingenuity could weave assertion into argument, whose sophistry entangled fact with falsehood, whose very impudence of accusation was overwhelming, and whose silence passed for dignified contempt.

These letters were published at the commencement of an epoch, to an American at least, the most interesting of all English history. It was at this period that the secret cabinet, of which Burke has given us in his surpassing eloquence so impressive and severe a sketch, was first constituted at the court of St James. In the chapters of history we see only the external consequences of its movements. Junius introduces us to its most secret consultations. He lays bare the springs of action, the nerves, the heart, the muscles. This period was one of anxiety and dismay to every true patriot in England. The influence of the crown had become so alarming and its prerogative stretched to so unbounded an extent, that the freest government in Europe put on for a time the semblance, and seemed to have imbibed the spirit of despotism. Though not so apparent, the danger was almost as imminent, as it was from different causes during the first blaze of the French Revolution. Every lover of the English constitution trembled for its safety, when he beheld a venal House of Commons overleaping its boundaries, and trampling on its authority, to such an extent as even arbitrarily to reject the representative elected by the people, and substitute, by an outrageous violation of their dearest rights, the very man whom they had refused. Their sternest and steadiest defenders began to despair, when they beheld the sovereign regardless of the voice of the people, when they saw old obnoxious measures persisted in, and new ones continually invented, to subvert the government from its broad basis of popular control, and fix it for ever on the narrow foundation of regal prerogative and ministerial influence. It was therefore a most favorable conjuncture for the appearance of a writer like Junius. There was no want of topics on

which he might kindle into vivid flashes the spirit even of the coldest patriot. Two of these, the extraordinary and illegal expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons, and the equally extraordinary and illegal charge of Lord Mansfield to the jury, in the trial of Woodfall for the publication of Junius' letter to the King, were brought forward on every possible occasion, were examined, exposed, and refuted in every possible shape. His writings on these events constitute a great portion of his volumes. There was, however, no subject of importance, which he did not instantly seize upon. What public question have I declined? what villain have I spared? was his indignant interrogation. Whatever the motives might have been which impelled him to the task, there was need of a scrutiny like that which Junius undertook, and there can be no doubt that his writings, though sometimes bitterly false and rancorous, were attended with great and immediate benefit to the nation. They rang like an alarm bell through the kingdom; they roused the people from their sluggishness, and called them to watch narrowly the conduct of their rulers, to look vigilantly on the dangerous posture of the public interests, to examine for themselves questions, on which the lives and property of every individual in Great Britain depended. They convey to us at this time a fund of information in regard to the eminent public characters and political events of that day; and for this alone they merit the attention of every student in biography and human nature, as well as in political and general history.

Some persons may be disposed to regard the question concerning the authorship of these letters as of little interest or utility. We have a different opinion. We cannot but look upon it as a useful and important object to ascertain who wrote those compositions, which discover so intimate an acquaintance with the great characters and events of the time; which breathe such a Roman fire of liberty, and are clothed in a style so highly finished, pure, and energetic, that Dr Johnson declared he knew no man capable of writing them but Edmund Burke; and which called forth in opposition the talents of such men as Sir William Draper, John Horne Tooke, Caleb Whitefoord, Dr Johnson, Sir William Blackstone, and we know not how many of the eminent lawyers and political individuals of the kingdom. While we are ignorant of their author, the publication of these letters looks to us like an anomaly in

the history of the human mind. We have an event, solitary, unconnected, unaccountable. That a sincere and highminded patriot, without any personal malice towards the distinguished individuals, who are so fiercely and sometimes so causelessly attacked, should have commenced those terrible Philippics in the calm determination of honest, upright, and disinterested motives, and continued them with intense assiduity for years, without any other purpose than the purest good of his country, is totally beyond the limits of credibility. Junius himself confessed, that should he ever set up such a claim, his countrymen would not believe him. We are anxious to know the motives, which could have actuated a soul of such power. We are curious to learn whether his fiery zeal for the liberties of his country was sincere, or whether it was only assumed to cover the purposes of a private, selfish, and criminal ambition. We wish to discover if the purity of his own life, public and private, corresponded with the lofty tone of his written sentiments. It is good to follow the intricate windings of human passion, especially when they lead to such remarkable results.

The much agitated inquiry who wrote 'Eikon Basilike,' or even 'Gil Blas,' we regard as of far less importance than the question who wrote 'Junius.' If it should prove to be Sir Philip Francis, it would certainly stand out as one of the most extraordinary and unaccountable occurrences in the world, that a man on the green side of thirty, immersed in the duties of a daily and arduous employment, with no personal enmities to rouse up and sustain his bitterness, and no objects of personal ambition, which could possibly be gained by so hazardous a course, should apply himself for years to the secret, laborious, dangerous, and yet indefatigable composition of the most unsparing, intemperate, and malignant invectives on all the members of his country's government. If it should prove to be Lord George Sackville, we have the instructive history of a man of powerful abilities but strong passions, burning with indignation on account of his degraded and wounded honor, thirsting for revenge against those whom he considered as the authors of his disgrace, plotting the overthrow of his enemies, and contriving an intricate plan to raise his own fortunes on their ruins, and yet concealing all this under the specious garb of pure patriotism and using the loftiest feelings of his countrymen as auxiliaries in the prosecution of his own selfish and ambitious designs.

We suppose most persons at the present day believe that the authorship of the letters in question belongs to one of these two celebrated individuals. The pretensions of the host of persons besides them, whose names have all in turn been brought forward as the substance of the 'Stat nominis umbra,' are in most cases so very futile as to be destroyed by a single glance at the character and circumstances of those for whom they have been advanced. They are made up of conjectural and hypothetical reasoning, mingled sometimes with a few singular though very slight coincidences. We shall now endeavor to lay before our readers what we conceive to be a fair statement of the arguments and objections involved in the claims of each of the two persons, between whose titles the verdict of the public seems to be divided. When they have been impartially compared, we think the decision cannot any longer remain doubtful.

The pretensions of Sir Philip were set forth a few years ago in a volume entitled, 'Junius Identified,' with all the strength which ingenuity and skill in reasoning could give them. This book was really an excellent specimen of inductive argument, and to a superficial reader, at first view, the evidence which it presents appears absolutely overwhelming. This is owing to the art of the writer in spreading a few casual coincidences over a great number of pages; in presenting the same argument in different situations and under different shapes, so as to give it apparently the force of many distinct proofs; in keeping totally out of view the most important objections against his theory, and in making facts and circumstances bend to suit the train of his reasoning. The evidence which at first sight appeared so overpowering, becomes very insignificant on a close, scrutinizing examination and comparison. It will give some idea of the manner in which the book is made up, when we say that more than sixty pages are occupied with a comparison between the letters of Junius and a speech of Lord Chatham, said to have been reported by Sir Philip Francis. It would be entirely superfluous at this time to expose the sophistry and contradictions of this work, but we will mention one instance of misrepresentation as a specimen of the rest. In arguing from the alleged similarity of Sir Philip's political views with those of Junius, the author quotes from one of Sir Philip's speeches a sentiment in regard to the royal prerogative. He says, 'Sir Philip next observes, "The prero-

gatives of the crown are not vested for his own sake in the person who wears it, but to ensure the execution of his office; and then I ask, what power has the constitution reserved to any set of men to strip the crown of those prerogatives?"' He then goes on to assert, that 'Junius takes the same view of the subject under the following figure; "The feather that adorns the royal bird supports his flight. Strip him of his plumage and you fix him to the earth."' Now it happens, as any one may see on a reference to the context, and as would have appeared evident if but the two previous sentences had been quoted, that Junius, in using this simile, does *not* 'take the same view of the subject' in any sense, that he is not even speaking of the king's prerogative at all, and far less attempting to define its firmness or extent. He is speaking of the royal honor and the public credit. He says, 'The king's honor is that of the people. Their real honor and interest is the same. I am not contending for a vain punctilio. A clear, unblemished character comprehends not only the integrity that will not offer, but the spirit that will not submit to an injury; and whether it belongs to an individual or to a community, it is the foundation of peace, of independence, and of safety. Private credit is wealth; public honor is security. The feather that adorns,' &c.

The character of Sir Philip Francis is in every respect that of an honorable, energetic, and highminded patriot. His talents are undoubtedly of a very elevated kind. Had we no other reason for the esteem with which we regard him, the eloquent encomiums passed upon him by Fox, and by one of the greatest of statesmen, Edmund Burke, would alone be sufficient to justify our admiration. He served the interests of his native kingdom long and faithfully in India, and escaped, with but one or two companions, the moral corruption which seemed like an element in the very atmosphere of that oppressed and degraded country. Amidst the universal rapacity of the servants of the East India company, he preserved his integrity unimpeached, and his humanity undiminished; and became of course the object of peculiar jealousy to Mr Hastings, and of hatred to all who were partakers in that gentleman's bribery and extortion. To so great a degree was the enmity of the kingdom excited against him, that, when he returned to England, it is said not a man would speak with him but the king and Edmund Burke.

1. The first argument brought forward in proof that he was

Junius, is, that during the years in which the letters were written he held the post of an under-secretary in the war office, and thus possessed opportunities to gain that minute and accurate knowledge relating to that department, which is displayed so remarkably by Junius. So far as it goes, this argument is of force, but it does not account for the equally wonderful knowledge, which Junius exhibits, of the management, both external and internal, in the other departments of state ; nor does it weigh exclusively for Sir Philip ; the situation and circumstances of Lord Sackville being equally favorable for the attainment of all the information communicated in the letters.

2. The enmity of Junius to Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War, and his eager and animated defence of that gentleman's clerks, Mr D'Oyley and Mr Francis, evidently betray a personal interest. This fact is declared to be well accounted for on the supposition that Sir Philip was Junius, he having quarrelled with Lord Barrington and been dismissed by him from his employment. But the truth is, that this quarrel and dismission did not take place till 1772, and therefore will not account for the writer's enmity, which is apparent from the very commencement of the letters, and began to be violently so, as early as 1769. Supposing this, however, a valid argument, it would not be exclusive, since Lord Sackville is supposed to have entertained a personal friendship for Mr D'Oyley. Mr Chamier, the individual who was elevated to the post from which Mr D'Oyley was dismissed, is treated in the letters of Junius with bitter slander and insolent contempt. From the character which is there given of him, we should be led to suppose that he was one of the most despicable of human beings. Let us see how this description comports with the truth. Mr Chamier was not 'a mere broker in the Alley, preferred only for the chicanery which may be learned there.' He was selected by Dr Johnson as one of the nine who composed originally his club at the Turk's Head, in Gerard Street. It is sufficient to say that he was the companion of Johnson, Reynolds, Burke, Goldsmith, and Dyer, and an esteemed member of the club, of which they were the distinguished ornaments. The character of Sir Philip Francis would not permit him to praise himself in such unmeasured eulogium, or from private, selfish motives, to traduce the name of a worthy and respectable man. How unworthy an honorable mind to detract from the merits and blast the reputation of a deserving individual, merely be-

cause he happened to be the rival and successful candidate for an office of four hundred pounds per annum. No one, under the idea that Sir Philip was Junius, can read his letters of slander on the character of Chamier, without despising the feelings that could dictate so detestable and criminal a course.

3. It is asserted that the circumstances, in which Mr Francis was placed by his dismission from the war office, account for the silence of Junius; inasmuch as his personal interest was gone and the sources of information no longer in his power. We need not remark on the absurdity of supposing that the personal interest of Junius depended on the possession of an office of four hundred pounds per annum. Was this the man 'whose rank and fortune placed him above a common bribe? whose views of personal advantage were neither in themselves little, nor could by any possible conjecture be collected from his writings?' Besides, it is certain that the information exhibited in the letters must have come from sources, to which an under-secretary in the war office could hardly have had access; the knowledge which we may suppose such a person could command from his own situation being but a portion, and that not a large one, of the astonishing, various, and minute acquaintance displayed by Junius with every department of state, and every political transaction, private or public, throughout the kingdom. All speculation in regard to the reasons, which might have induced Junius at any particular moment to finish his task, is worse than useless, since it is known that so early as 1769 he had nearly resolved to write no more. And any argument drawn from the coincidence mentioned is annihilated by the declaration of Junius, Nov. 8th, 1771, that his writings were ended; and again, Nov. 27th, 1771, in a private letter to Woodfall, 'David Garrick has literally forced me to break my resolution of writing no more.'* Now whatever might have been his reasons for ceasing to write, it is very evident that they existed antecedent to November, 1771. But Mr. Francis' dismission from the war office (which is given as the

* Garrick had been confidentially informed by Woodfall of the probability that Junius would stop writing, and immediately informed the king. Junius knew this the very next morning, and sent Garrick a most severe and threatening letter. How Sir Philip Francis should have obtained this knowledge, as it were so intuitively, is totally inexplicable; but Lord Sackville's situation as privy-counsellor, and his habits of familiarity with the king, may account for it satisfactorily.

cause of Junius' silence) did not take place till the 23d of March, 1772, almost four months after Junius had signified his determination to withdraw.

4. An argument is drawn from the manner in which Junius designedly spared Lord Holland and his family. This singular fact is explained on the supposition, that Sir Philip was Junius, he having been appointed by Lord Holland, in 1756, to a little place in the Secretary of State's office. This would be an argument of some weight, if the circumstance on which it is founded were not inconsistent with the animosity of Junius towards other friends of Sir Philip, to whom he owed far greater acknowledgments of gratitude than to Lord Holland.

5. A circumstance which favors the pretensions of Sir Philip is Junius' selection of Mr Woodfall for his printer, and the kind, familiar style of his correspondence with that individual. Mr Francis had been the schoolfellow of Mr Woodfall, and continued friendly to him through life.

6. An argument is attempted to be formed out of the conjecture, resting on the authority of an anecdote of the day, that Sir Philip was discovered by the administration, in 1772, to be Junius, and that they gave him the lucrative appointment to India, to get him out of the way; an event, it is said, otherwise inexplicable. Now we are under no obligation to explain any singular circumstance in Sir Philip Francis' life, and the absurdity that the author of Junius should have been discovered so early as 1772, by several members of the administration, and by the king himself, and yet that the authorship should have remained a profound secret to the present day, seems to us too great to be dwelt upon.

7. An argument is drawn from the similarity of Sir Philip's political views to those of Junius. This similarity is proved to exist in one or two instances, but there are also cases of marked disagreement. Sir Philip was an advocate for a more equal representation in the House of Commons. Junius, in a letter to Wilkes, condemns the projects for that purpose. In speaking of the Revolutionary contest, Sir Philip declared in the House of Commons, 'on the principles and in the language of Lord Chatham, that he rejoiced that America had resisted. If this be a concession, these gentlemen are welcome to it. I do not believe it will avail them. I rejoice that America resisted with success, because it was a triumph of unquestionable right over outrageous wrong, of courage and virtue over tyran-

ny and force.' How do these sentiments agree with the opposition of Junius to Lord Chatham's language, principles, and conduct on this very subject, and with his unqualified assertions that the noble Lord and those who acted with him were encouraging rebellion in the colonies? How do they comport with what Junius says of the Stamp Act? 'The people who were most clamorous against it either never understood or wilfully misrepresented it.'

8. The similarity between some passages in Junius' letters and certain speeches in the House of Lords reported by Sir Philip, is mentioned as an argument in his favor. It is merely a casual coincidence. Any other person might have been present at those debates, and taken notes as well as Sir Philip; and it is certain that Junius quotes from speeches which Mr Francis is not known to have heard or reported.

9. The style of Sir Philip Francis bears a great resemblance to that of Junius. Still there are some very essential differences, the former being far less polished and pointed than the latter, less equal in its movement and exhibiting less intense compression in its character. The similarity is not more striking than that of Sackville's, and even if it were, the argument loses almost all its force, when we remember that the writings of Sir Philip were not composed till long after the publication of the letters, which he undoubtedly studied with eagerness and attention. In either case we rely far less upon any argument which may be gathered from the comparison of style, than upon the other circumstantial evidence. It is a method of proof very apt to be fallacious, especially when we have on one side, as in both the present instances, short extracts, to be compared with whole volumes on the other. In this way we could prove twenty different writers to have been incontrovertibly the authors of the letters of Junius.

The objections which lie against the claims of Sir Philip seem to us insurmountable. But it is important to remember, that the objections to his claims constitute in almost every case arguments equally strong in favor of the pretensions of Lord Sackville; although the considerations urged in proof of the pretensions of the former do not interfere in any sense with those of the latter. For instance, the fact that Junius appears to have been a member of the House of Commons and the probability that he was a person of age and experience, which are very powerful objections to the title of Sir Philip, consti-

tute arguments of equal weight in favor of the pretensions of Lord Sackville. But the personal interest which Junius exhibited on occasion of the discharge of Mr Francis and Mr D'Oyley from the war office, which is urged in favor of Sir Philip's claims, may be urged with equal plausibility for those of Sackville, since it is rendered quite certain that he entertained a personal friendship for Mr D'Oyley. We begin the list of objections with perhaps the strongest, his youth. Sir Philip Francis was born in 1740. The letters of Junius were commenced 1767. Sir Philip Francis could therefore have been but little more than twenty-six years old when Junius began to write. Even if no external evidence existed as to the actual age of the author of the letters, we should look upon it as almost incredible that they could ever have been composed by an individual on the younger side of thirty. There is a bare possibility of it, and that is all. When we consider the greatness, boldness, originality, and hazard of the undertaking; the vast and manifold and minute knowledge which it called for; the activity, the energy, and the intense labor which it must have required,—it seems to us impossible that a mind destitute of the grave purposes and resolute determination of manhood should ever have engaged in such a task.

The letters display a knowledge of the world and an acquaintance with human nature, beyond the years of Sir Philip. They often exhibit a profound acuteness of thought, a depth and originality of observation, which have hardly been surpassed even by the beautiful and discriminating wisdom of Edmund Burke.

The legal knowledge which they manifest is likewise so profound, that Lord Eldon declared in the House of Peers that their author must either have been a lawyer, or written in concert with the ablest and best of lawyers. It is such as no man could have acquired without much leisure for the study, and a long attention to the principles and workings, of the English Constitution. Now what were the opportunities of this nature which Sir Philip enjoyed? What was the course of his early life and studies? So far from being favorable to the attainment of those profound acquisitions which every page of Junius shows that he possessed, it must have been in its tendency opposed to such a result. At the boyish age of sixteen, he was appointed to a place in the Secretary of State's office; at eighteen, he was appointed secretary to General Bligh; at twen-

ty, he was secretary to the Earl of Kinnoul, ambassador at Lisbon; at twenty-three, he was appointed to that post in the war office, which he held till 1772.

A similar remark may be made in regard to the extensive acquaintance with the classics, manifested in the letters of Junius. Sir Philip Francis, who finished his academical education at the age of sixteen, and whose subsequent occupations could have left him but little leisure to pursue his literary studies beyond the limits of his native tongue, cannot be supposed, although his father was the powerful translator of Demosthenes, to have acquired that profound acquaintance with the ancient classics, and that ready habit of applying them to practical illustration, which is evident in the writings of Junius. Accordingly, we are unable to trace it in any of his speeches or acknowledged written compositions.

Besides the presumption against the claims of Sir Philip from his inadequacy between the years of twenty-six and thirty-one to the accomplishment of such a task, the internal evidence in regard to the actual age of the author affords a strong proof of the fallacy of Mr. Francis' pretensions. In the first place, the whole general style of Junius is that of a man, whose age and experience, not less than his rank and abilities, entitle him to speak with authority, and to claim for his opinions a more than common deference and respect. Whatever he writes wears the air of easy, dignified, habitual superiority and confidence, which are altogether different from the hasty, petulant, presumptuous assurance of youth. No one can rise from the perusal of these letters, with the belief that they were the work of a youthful mind. In our opinion, this feeling amounts to a decided conviction. Junius speaks directly, in many instances, of the youth of those persons whom he scourges with his satire, and he habitually does it with a manner full of superiority and deep-felt contempt. Whenever he charges upon any member of the administration 'the atrocious crime of being a young man,' the charge is conveyed in the most sarcastic, reproachful language, and in a style which none but a man of years would have adopted. Some of his remarks on the errors, which young men are apt to fall into, and the feelings which they commonly cherish, exhibit a knowledge that could have been gained only from much reflection and experience. The following is a forcible instance. Junius says of the Duke of Grafton, 'An obstinate, ungovernable self-sufficiency plainly points out to us

that state of imperfect maturity, at which the graceful levity of youth is lost, and the solidity of experience not yet acquired. It is possible the young man may in time grow wiser and reform,' &c. This, with what immediately follows, is one of those original and masterly remarks on human nature, which no one but a man of long experience and penetrating sagacity could have struck out.

In a letter, 1768, Junius says, 'I *remember seeing* Bassambaum, Suarez, Molina, and a score of other Jesuitical books burnt at Paris for their sound casuistry, by the hands of the common hangman.' If this event happened when the order of Jesuits was abolished in France, in 1764, it is impossible that Sir Philip could have witnessed it, since he did not leave England from 1763 to 1772. If, which is more probable, it took place many years before, he was either an infant or not yet in existence. Lord Sackville was at Paris in 1738. In a letter, 1767, speaking of Lord George Townshend and his brother the Hon. Charles Townshend, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Junius says, 'I am not a stranger to this *par nobile fratrum*. I have served under the one, and been forty times promised to be served by the other.' Now unless we suppose this to be an absolute falsehood, a sheer fabrication, Sir Philip could not have written it. He had never served as a soldier, which Junius undoubtedly meant, and as to political service we have every reason to suppose that he was not even acquainted with Lord Townshend. Lord Sackville served *with* Lord Townshend in 1743, at Dettingen, and it is not improbable that he might have served *under* him previously. In a private letter to Mr Woodfall, 1771, Junius says, 'After long experience of the world, I affirm before God, that I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy.' The Editor of Woodfall's Junius, considering that this moral axiom gleaned from long experience, was addressed to a man more than thirty years of age, thinks it absurd to suppose that the writer could have been less than fifty, or that he feigned a character which he did not really possess. In a letter, June, 1769, Junius says, '*I am an old reader* of political controversy. I remember the great Walpolean battles; and am not a little diverted with the combats of party at this time. They are still carried on with ability and vigor. *Long habit* has taught me to pass by all the declamation with which the champions parade. I look upon it as no better than the flourishes of the back sword,

with which the great masters of my time in the amphitheatre entertained the spectators,' &c. This letter was not given to the public under the signature of Junius, so that he could have had no object in affecting an age which was not real. It is extremely improbable, not to say impossible, that Sir Philip Francis could have written it. In a private letter to Wilkes, 1771, Junius says, 'Many thanks for your obliging offer;—but alas! my age and figure would do but little credit to my partner.—I acknowledge the relation between Cato and Portia, but in truth I see no connexion between Junius and a minuet.'

Mr. Francis' station in life and employment in the war office constitute a powerful objection to his claims. His connexions were not extensive, and the only fortune he possessed consisted in the four hundred pounds per annum, the salary of his secretaryship. In a letter, April, 1769, Junius says, 'It is true, I have refused offers, which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm that I am in earnest; because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry are driving this country to destruction; and you, I think, Sir, may be satisfied, that my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe.' In one of his private letters, after refusing the request, repeatedly urged by Mr Woodfall, that he would receive half the great profits of the first genuine edition of his letters, he writes, 'As for myself, be assured that *I am far above all pecuniary views*, and no other person I think has any claim to share with you,' &c. The editor of Woodfall's Junius observes in regard to his connexions at court, 'That Junius moved in the immediate circle of the court, and was intimately and confidentially connected, either directly or indirectly, with all the public offices of government, is, if possible, still clearer than that he was a man of independent property; for the feature that peculiarly characterized him at the time of his writing, and that cannot even now be contemplated without surprise, was the facility with which he became acquainted with every ministerial manœuvre, whether public or private, from almost the very instant of its conception.' The particularity of this extraordinary knowledge is not confined to the war office; it extends equally to every department of administration and every scene of political transactions. The opportunities of Mr Francis were therefore totally inadequate to its attainment.

The intimate and almost unlimited acquaintance which Junius must have possessed with the noblest families and greatest personages in the kingdom is an objection equally strong to the claims of Sir Philip. Young as he was, much of that short life had been spent at a distance from England, and he had neither rank nor fortune to give him access to the circle in which Junius evidently moved.

Besides all this, it is sufficiently manifest from the letters themselves, that Junius was not, like Mr Francis, encumbered with the business of any official employment whatever. In one of his long and excellent letters to Mr Wilkes, in 1771, he observes, 'I offer you the sincere opinion of a man, who perhaps has more leisure to make reflections than you have, and who, though he stands clear of all business and intrigue, mixes sufficiently for the purposes of intelligence in the conversation of the world.' In another letter, 1771, he says, that 'almost the whole labor of the press is thrown upon a single hand, from which a discussion of every public question whatsoever is unreasonably expected. He is not paid for his labor, and certainly has a right to choose his employment.'

It is moreover impossible to reconcile the fact of Sir Philip's engagements in the war office with the very frequent absences of Junius from the city. These are often noticed in his private and in some of his public letters, insomuch that the editor of Woodfall's Junius remarked that we might compose from them a little journal of his various excursions of pleasure.

Sir Philip Francis was not a member of either house of Parliament. But it is evident from the letters that Junius was a member of the House of Commons. In a letter, 1770, he says, 'The Speaker began with pretended ignorance, and ended with deciding for the ministry. *We* were not surprised at the decision; but he hesitated and blushed for his own baseness, and every man was astonished.' Again, 1771, 'Yet *we have seen him in the House of Commons* overwhelmed with confusion, and almost bereft of his faculties.' Again, '*My vote* will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension or a seat in the cabinet.' Again, 'I willingly accept of a sarcasm from Colonel Barré or a simile from Mr Burke. Even the silent vote of Mr Calcraft is worth reckoning in a division.' There are many such instances as these. He moreover exhibits so intimate, so peculiar a knowledge of its customs, its duties, and limits; of every measure which is agitated within its walls, from its

commencement to its end; of the character and manners and sentiments of its members, and of the distinct nature of their individual eloquence, as could not well be possessed by any but one of their own number.

Junius declared that he was not personally acquainted with George Grenville; but Sir Philip must have been so, since he served with him a short time in office. He possessed, likewise, the personal favor of Lord Egremont, Mr Grenville's brother-in-law.

The friendships and connexions of Sir Philip, with but one exception, are another objection to his claims. There are innumerable cases in which Sir Philip cannot be shown to have entertained those personal enmities, which Junius evinces, and which alone can account for the fierce hate and scurrilous malignity that burn in so many of the letters. Nor have any motives been ascribed to him, but such as are totally inadequate to have impelled their author in his hazardous and difficult undertaking.

We may now proceed to consider the claims of Lord George Sackville, otherwise Lord George Germain, in doing which we shall only present our readers with a short abstract of the arguments, which have been set forth with much force by the author of the work entitled 'Junius Unmasked.'

Lord Sackville was a son of the Duke of Dorset, and born in 1716. At the age of fourteen, after having spent some time at Westminster school, he accompanied his father to Ireland, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, with a high reputation for his literary attainments. At the age of twenty-one, he held a commission in the army. In 1740, he was Lieutenant Colonel. In 1742, he went with George the Second to Hanover. From that period till 1759, he was distinguished, in many engagements, for his courage and military skill. He was at the battle of Culloden in Scotland, 1746, and in 1758 was appointed Lieutenant General. In 1759 the battle of Minden was fought, at which he was accused of disobeying the orders of Prince Ferdinand, and for that reason was degraded by a court martial and abused by the king. In 1765, he was restored to favor and appointed Privy Counsellor and Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. He was in the House of Commons from 1760 to 1782, when he received the dignity of the peerage and was called to the House of Lords. In 1775, he was made Secretary for the American department, and appointed Richard Cumberland his

under-secretary and Mr D'Oyley his confidential secretary. He took the title of Germain in consequense of the will of a lady of that name, who bequeathed to him 20,000 pounds, besides valuable estates.

As a general consideration it may be noticed that the situation of Privy Counsellor, which Lord Sackville held during ten years from 1765, rendered his opportunities for information of the most secret nature in regard to every department of the government very far superior to those of any other individual, who has ever been suspected as the author of Junius. His friendship for Mr D'Oyley reveals the source of Junius' knowledge in regard to the war office, and his situation as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland accounts for the very surprising and intimate acquaintance, which Junius manifested with the most secret deliberations in regard to the affairs of that kingdom. His age and experience; his long and intimate acquaintance with the history of his country, and especially that of his own times; his familiarity with every family of rank in England; his service as a soldier, his interest in the army and his practical knowledge of every thing connected with it; his personal acquaintance with the king; his legal and political learning, acquired not only from the study of the English constitution, but from the practice of its forms and the observation of its workings in the House of Commons; his attainments as a scholar and a man of the world; in fine, all the circumstances of his life and character, rendered him well fitted for a task like that of composing the letters of Junius. We shall arrange the arguments in his favor in the same order as they have been summed up by the author of 'Junius Unmasked.'

1. The suspicion of the times. This rested more generally on Sackville than on any other person. Sir William Draper believed him to have been Junius. Mr Woodfall suspected him. Some of the writers who opposed Junius intimated that he was Sackville. Very many entertained the same belief. It is a just remark that this general suspicion is of much weight, since many reasons for it might then have existed, which are now lost, and since contemporaries were the best judges of talents, motives, and all the probabilities in the case.

2. Sackville possessed the necessary abilities and learning. We have seen what his education had been, and as to his powers of intellect the testimony is very ample. The Gentleman's Magazine, among other instances, calls him 'a man of extraor-

dinary talent;' as to his pen, 'all-powerful;'—'he had the art of painting in words to a very eminent degree, and which afforded the finest ornaments in either poetry, history, or elocution.' Bisset says of him, 'This nobleman, after his retirement from military life, had devoted himself to political affairs; he was an acute reasoner and a respectable speaker, distinguished for closeness of argument, precision and neatness of language.—He had shown himself extremely inimical to the Grafton administration. From that circumstance, *together with his reputed abilities*, he was by many deemed the author of Junius.' No man can doubt his powers of mind, who has seen any of his speeches, or has read his 'Short Address' to the public on occasion of his disgrace, contained in Smollet's Continuation of Hume.

3. Lord Sackville felt the influence of those strong motives which only are adequate to account for the letters of Junius. Bitter personal hostility, keen indignation, together with eager ambition and 'views of future honor and advantage,' displayed in his persevering attempts to overthrow the ministry, and betrayed in his private notes, are the marked characteristics of his letters. Sackville's temper was naturally irascible, and after his unjust military disgrace he was keenly indignant towards all whom he looked upon as it authors. Now it happens that the very families and persons most violently attacked by Junius were either the agents in that disgrace, or succeeded to the places which Sackville held, or gained the offices which he might well expect; the Duke of Grafton, whose brother, Colonel Fitzroy, was the principal witness against him, the Marquis of Granby, another important witness against him, Lord George Townshend, Lord Charles Manners, the Duke of Bedford, on whom was bestowed an office in Ireland, of which Sackville was deprived, and some others. The ambition of Lord George Sackville is evident from his whole history; and we believe he resorted to the letters of Junius as the surest means by which he might secretly remove the obstacles to his own advancement, wreak vengeance on his enemies, overthrow the ministry of which they constituted the greater part, and raise his own family upon their ruins.

4. Sackville had been a soldier; so had Junius, as we have already seen from a passage in one of his letters. The frequent military illustrations and allusions in others are additional proof of this point.

5. Lord Sackville had the friendships and animosities, manifested in the letters of Junius. Several of Junius' letters prove that he was the friend of Sir Jeffery Amherst. Now Sackville and Amherst were intimate from childhood; lived together in Ireland; and when Sackville came into power it was through his influence that Sir Jeffery was appointed commander in chief and created a baron. Junius was an admirer of Mr Grenville; so was Lord Sackville. From Junius' letters to Wilkes it is most evident that he was the friend of Mr Sawbridge; Sackville was likewise. Their estates were contiguous, and Sackville, in 1768, resigned his right to the representation of a borough in favor of Mr Sawbridge, and procured for him his election.

Junius, in February, 1772, mentions 'General Fowke as a brave and worthy man.' Sackville was the friend of the General.

Junius was at first, as we have seen, extremely hostile to Lord Chatham. Sackville and Lord Chatham had been mutually offended.

Junius was evidently hostile to the princess Dowager and Lord Bute. After his unmerited disgrace, Sackville was prevented by those individuals from seeing the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Third, with whom he had previously been familiar.

Junius was excessively bitter towards the Scotch; a majority of the officers in the court martial which condemned Sackville were Scotchmen. He had moreover served a year in Scotland against the friends of the Pretender.

The enmity of Junius towards Lord Mansfield was truly malignant. It was almost demoniacal. In his private notes we meet with such expressions as these. 'We have got the rascal *down*, let us strangle him if it be possible.' Again. 'I will never rest till I have destroyed or expelled that wretch. The fellow truckles already.' In his public letters he writes thus. 'Our language has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation, which has not already been happily applied to you and exhausted.—Ample justice has been done, by abler pens than mine to the separate merits of your life and character. Let it be *my* humble office to collect the scattered sweets, till their united virtue tortures the sense.' Sackville was likewise inimical to Lord Mansfield. That celebrated judge was his legal adviser before his trial, and assured him that he could

not be condemned. He was mistaken; and the author of 'Junius Unmasked' thinks that Lord Sackville might even suspect him of treachery. Be this as it may, Sackville's animosity towards Lord Mansfield is beyond a doubt, and there is a circumstance of coincidence between the threats of Junius and the conduct of Sackville in relation to the judge, which is very extraordinary. Junius sternly asserted the duty of impeaching Mansfield, and Lord Sackville more than intimated the same in a powerful speech in support of a motion to inquire into the administration of criminal justice. We make the following extract from this speech, that we may at the same time exhibit the sentiments of the author on this subject, and present our readers with a fair specimen of his style.

'Consider, gentlemen, what will be the consequence of refusing this demand, this debt, which you owe to the anxious expectation of the public. The people seeing his [Lord Mansfield's] avowed defenders so loth to bring him forth on the public stage, and to make him plead his cause before their tribunal, will naturally conclude, that he could not bear the light, because his deeds were evil; and that, therefore, you judged it right to screen him behind the curtain of a majority. Though his conduct was never questioned in parliament, mark how he is, every day and every hour, pointed out in print and conversation, as a perverter of the law and an enemy of the constitution. No epithet is too bad for him. Now he is the subtile Scroggs, now the arbitrary Jeffries. All the records of our courts of law and all the monuments of our lawyers are ransacked, in order to find sufficiently odious names, by which he may be christened. The libellous and virulent spirit of the times has overleaped all the barriers of law, order, and decorum. The judges are no longer revered, and the laws have lost all their salutary terrors. Juries will not convict petty delinquents, when they suspect grand criminals go unpunished. Hence libels and lampoons audacious beyond the example of all other times; libels, in comparison of which, the North Briton, once deemed the *ne plus ultra* of sedition, is perfect innocence and simplicity. The sacred Number Forty-five, formerly the idol of the multitude, is eclipsed by the superior venom of every day's defamation; all its magical and talismanic powers are lost and absorbed in the general deluge of scandal, which pours from the press. When matters are thus circumstanced, when the judges in general and Lord Mansfield in particular are there hung out to public scorn and detestation, now that libellers receive no countenance from men high in power and in the public esteem, what will be the consequence when it is universally known, that they have been arraign-

ed, and that their friends quashed the inquiry, which it was proposed to make upon their conduct? The consequence is more easily conceived than expressed. I foresee that the imps of the press, the sons of ink, and the printer's devils will be all in motion, and they will spare you as little as they will the judges. Like the two thieves in the Gospel, both will be hung up and gibbeted, with the law crucified between you, for the entertainment of coffee-house politicians, greasy carmen, porters and barbers in tippling-houses and night-cellars. I cannot help thinking that it is the will of Lord Mansfield himself to have his conduct examined; nay I collect as much from the language of a gentleman who may be supposed to know his sentiments. What foundation then is there for obstructing the inquiry? None at all. It is a pleasure to me to see my noble friend discovering such symptoms of conscious innocence. His ideas perfectly coincide with my own. I would never oppose the minutest scrutiny into my behavior. However much condemned by the envy or malice of enemies, I would at least show that I stood acquitted in my own mind. *Qui fugit judicium, ipso teste, reus est.*'

A few days after this speech was delivered, Junius said in reference to it, 'Let it be known to posterity, that when Lord Mansfield was attacked with so much vehemence in the House of Commons, not one of the ministry said a word in his defence.'

This speech affords instances of that profane levity in Scriptural allusions, which is often to be met with in Junius.

6. Junius was, as we have already seen, a member of the House of Commons. So was Lord Sackville.

7. Lord Sackville entertained the political sentiments exhibited by Junius. Junius was an advocate for triennial parliaments; so was Sackville. Junius supported the stamp act; so did Sackville. Junius was in favor of repealing the duty on tea, 'as an impolitic act, not an oppressive one.' Sackville supported this measure, and for precisely the same reasons. Junius was opposed to a reform in parliament by cutting away the rotten boroughs. So was Lord Sackville, who represented a borough he had purchased.

8. Junius was a man of rank and possessed an independent fortune. In addition to the proofs already exhibited of this point, it may be remarked that no other than a man of high rank, and one personally acquainted with George the Third, could have spoken as Junius did of that monarch. 'I know that man much better than any of you. Nature intended him only for a good-humored fool. A systematic education with

longpractice has made him a consummate hypocrite.'—'As to the satirical part, I must tell you, *and with positive certainty*, that our gracious ——— is as callous as stockfish to everything but the reproach of cowardice. That alone is able to set the humors afloat. After a paper of that kind he won't eat meat for a week.' Lord Sackville's rank and situation gave him access to the person of the king; and having been familiar with him from his youth, he was intimately acquainted with his habits and disposition.

9. It is a singular fact that one of Junius' letters, signed *Arthur Tell-truth*, was dated near the signature, with the words 'Pall Mall,' the name of the street in which Lord Sackville resided. This noblemen is shown to have been in the habit of dating his letters in the same manner, and it was doubtless through inadvertence that he thus, in this instance, betrayed the place of his residence.

10. In a private letter Junius says of a correspondent of the printer, 'That Swinney is a wretched but dangerous fool. He had the impudence to go to Lord Sackville, *whom he had never spoken to*, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of Junius;—take care of him.' This is a remarkable circumstance. If the writer of this letter was not Sackville, how could he know that Swinney had never spoken to him? It was penned very shortly after the event, and proves an intimacy with his Lordship's connexions, family, and sentiments, which is unaccountable on any other supposition.

11. All the internal evidence which the letters contain in regard to the age and experience of Junius, comports exactly with that of Lord Sackville.

12. The strong anxiety which Junius manifested for concealment, and the resolution that his secret should die with him, and the fact that after nearly seventy-five years his name has not been declared, are all explained by the life and character and circumstances of Sackville.

13. Cumberland, in his Memoirs, observes, 'I never knew that my friend, Lord George Germain, was amongst the suspected authors, *till he told me so by way of jest a few days before his death.*' It is singular that an aged man just going to his grave, with many objects of importance to absorb his time and attention, should thus recur to a suspicion of his having written the letters of Junius nearly twenty years before, and be disposed to make it an occasion of jest. Looking upon him as

their real author, it was perhaps natural that he should thus cautiously mention the grand secret, which was laboring in his bosom and occupying his thoughts.

14. Sackville, just before his death, requested an interview with Lord Mansfield. In the account which Mr Cumberland gives of this scene, his conduct appears truly mysterious. In a singular speech he begged Lord Mansfield's forgiveness '*if* he had ever appeared in his eyes unjust to his great merits.' Lord Mansfield made a becoming and satisfactory reply and retired; but he must have been astonished at such a reception from the dying man, if he had no suspicion of his being the author of Junius' Letters. Sackville performed this act to quiet the demands of his conscience. When reminded by Cumberland of the nearness of his death, and the propriety of receiving the sacrament, 'he declared himself ready, and at peace with all mankind; in one instance only, he confessed it cost him a hard struggle.'

15. Sackville's style bore a great similarity to that of Junius, as the author of 'Junius Unmasked' has proved from a close comparison of some of his writings with the letters.

The objections to the claims of Sackville are the following.

1. A letter of his, inserted in the first volume of Woodfall's Junius, which is so miserably written, that, if indeed it be his own composition, it constitutes a most singular anomaly, not only when compared with the letters of Junius, but with his Lordship's own writings, and with his known and acknowledged talents.

2. Junius, in one of his miscellaneous letters consisting of a dialogue between five members of the administration, and entitled 'Grand Council upon the affairs of Ireland, after eleven adjournments,' accuses Lord Sackville of a want of courage. 'I believe the best thing I can do, will be to consult with my Lord George Sackville. His character is known and respected in Ireland as much as it is here; and I know he loves to be *stationed in the rear* as well as myself.' This is supposed to be uttered by Lord Townshend. Sackville might have feared lest the intimate knowledge, discovered in this letter, of the affairs of Ireland, and the sentiments of the administration, would betray its author, and so might have introduced that insinuation for the purpose of an impenetrable disguise. On the whole we are disposed to adopt the opinion of the author of 'Junius Unmasked' that the beautiful set of his Letters, 'bound

in vellum, gilt and lettered,' which Junius requested of Mr Woodfall, 'might be found, if they have not been destroyed, in a secret cabinet of the present Duke of Dorset, the son of Lord George Sackville.'

For a greater number of arguments, and a more satisfactory exposition of them, we must refer our readers to the work from which the preceding summary is principally drawn. It contains an interesting memoir of the life of Lord Sackville, with many excellent remarks upon his moral and religious character. Its author has reasoned in a fair and candid, and, what is equally uncommon, a concise manner, without attempting to alter facts or give an undue coloring to circumstances, or to draw out a few arguments in a long and imposing array. He has added an Appendix to prove that the 'History of the Reign of George the Third, to the Conclusion of the Session of Parliament ending in May, 1770,' published at London in the latter part of the same year, was written by the author of Junius; and also that Junius was author of the 'North Briton.' He has made both cases appear probable, though no certain conclusion can be drawn in regard to either. In two of Junius' letters we meet with some rather singular coincidences in respect to the first case, which go to confirm the opinion of our author. In a letter to the Duke of Grafton in 1769, Junius intimates an intention of composing a history of that nobleman's administration. 'These observations, general as they are, might easily be extended into a faithful history of your Grace's administration, and perhaps may be the employment of a future hour.' In a note to his letter to the king written also in 1769, he observes of Lord Townshend, 'the history of this ridiculous administration shall not be lost to the public.' If the opinion of our author be correct, Junius was not in these instances, speaking of a mere possibility, but referred to a work which he must have already commenced, and which received when it came forth to the public eye, the high encomiums of Edmund Burke.

In arguing from the comparison of style, the author often draws conclusions from the mere recurrence of the same words. For instance; he compares this sentence of Lord Sackville, 'If from *reasoning* we refer to *facts*,' with the following from Junius, 'It depends upon a combination of *facts* and *reasoning*.' Ten thousand such instances would not add an iota to his argument. In examining an author's style, it is not the use of particular, solitary words, that we are to look to, as if his work

were a mere spelling-book; it is the march and structure of his sentences, the ease, dignity, vigor, and beauty which they may display,—it is the general features which characterize him, the grand impression which whole pages leave upon the mind, that ought to be regarded.

Our author's estimate of the moral character of Junius, though severe, is strictly just. In the blaze of his intellectual glory, the world has long suffered the moral faults of this terrible satirist to remain concealed. In the little volume before us they are brought out to view, and treated with the stern censure which they deserve. The irreverent use which Junius makes of the name of God is noticed in several instances. We recollect another which is too remarkable to be passed over. It occurs in a letter to Wilkes. 'The facts are as I understood them, and *with the blessing of God*, I will pull Mansfield to the ground.' Our author observes, 'Whether a man, accustomed to speak and write in this manner, as unhappily is the case with too many *gentlemen*, can be an habitual worshipper of God, and daily influenced in his conduct by the fear of the Almighty, or by a regard to his approbation,—the only stable principle of morals,—I leave it to the intelligent reader to judge.' There is one striking coincidence between the moral principles of Sackville as exhibited in his conduct, and those of Junius as displayed in his writings, which we cannot but notice. Sackville was a duellist. Junius declares, 'The man who receives a blow and does not return it, whether he be a king or a private person, from that moment stands degraded from his natural rank and condition. If he be a young man, his infamy is immortal.'!! 'In that mind,' says our author, 'which dreads the laugh of a mortal more than the displeasure of the Almighty, there must be a miserable perversion of intellect and of passion. There may be a claim to worldly honor; but the pretension to virtue, to morals, to principle, is ridiculous.'

As the finest model in the English language of that style which combines energy with polished ease, the letters of Junius will never cease to be studied. But we hope they will be read with a just discernment of their moral deformity, and a deep disapprobation of their rancorous malice. While we resort to them for the intellectual gratification and discipline which they afford, let us be cautious not to imbibe or imitate their malignant and revengeful spirit. We may use his bow and quiver, but let us not, like Junius, dip our arrows in poison.

We deprecate the prevalence of that bitterness and hatred, either private or political, which these letters are but too well adapted to foster; which regard not the falsehood, the injustice, or the unfeeling cruelty of a sentence, if it do but carry an agonizing pang to the heart.

ART. III.—*Cours de Littérature Grecque Moderne, donné a Genève par* JACOVAKY RIZO NEROULOS, Ancien Premier Ministre des Hospodars Grecs de Valachie et de Moldavie; publié par JEAN HUMBERT. Genève, 1828. 8vo. pp. 204.

THE deep interest taken by the people of this country in the fate of Greece, and the universal wish for the emancipation of that oppressed nation, have made us well acquainted with the political and military events of the war recently waged by the cross against the crescent. But in regard to the intellectual condition, or, in other words, the literature of Modern Greece, very little is known either in the United States or Europe. Few, indeed, of the most eminent Greeks themselves understand the great points of difference between the language of Demosthenes and that of Coray. In the present article we propose to sketch a brief outline of modern Greek literature, drawing our facts chiefly from the work of M. Rizo, of whom it is slight praise to say, that he appears to be an enthusiast in his subject, and has treated it with a master's hand.

As introductory to our chief purpose, a few remarks on the ancient Greek language and literature will be sufficient. The earliest poetry, which has come down from antiquity, is the mystical or religious, and has its origin in the theocratic form of government. It was introduced into Greece by the founders of the first colonies, who established oracles to speak according to their caprice by the mouth of priestesses. These were probably aided by the invention of hexameters, ascribed to the Pythian Phemonoe; and hence it has been said, out of compliment to the fair half of creation, that, since Greek poetry owes its origin to a female, we are no longer to wonder at its surpassing beauty and sweetness. Then came the age of heroes and of wild deeds of war and prowess. Poetry tells us of the acts of Hercules, Perseus, Jason, Theseus. It escapes from the pupilage of the priestesses, and goes abroad upon the

earth, celebrating feats of arms, and describing man and nature. Homer carried this kind of poetry to its highest elevation. He has been followed by imitators, but by no equals. To him, or rather to his poems, Greece was indebted for many of the great men, who were the glory and boast of their country. The age of Homer, content with having produced the father of poetry, presents us with nothing else remarkable, unless it be the confederation of the Ionian colonies to resist the growing and menacing power of the kings of Lydia; a confederation not unlike that of the Swiss, or of the Hanseatic towns. Liberty, the mother of great men, was not parsimonious of her bounties under this republic; in proof of which it is enough to cite the names of Pythagoras, Thales, Hippocrates, Herodotus, and Simonides. This confederated republic declined at length under the reiterated attacks of the Medes and Persians, and Liberty fled for an asylum to Sparta and Athens, where she received the protection of the laws and institutions of Solon and Lycurgus. During this period the sages of Greece were occupied with the science of governing and the principles of public right, and abandoned the language of images and the rhythm of poetry for the more severe and simple style of prose, in which they explained the reciprocal duties of men in society. The most ancient prose writers wrote in the Ionic dialect, of whom Herodotus is an example. After these came the Attic prose writers, at the head of whom is Pericles, whose funeral Oration for the Athenians that died in the first year of the Peloponnesian war, is the most ancient fragment of Attic prose known to exist.

The victories of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians over the Persians raised these two nations above the rest of Greece. Athens surpassed Sparta in literature, the sciences, and the fine arts. By her political preponderance, and by the moral ascendency of her great writers, she became the arbitress of good taste, and the Attic dialect was everywhere the language of polished society. After having exhausted various kinds of versification, the poetic genius of Greece invoked Melpomene, and on the theatres of Athens were represented the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. This was the age of Grecian glory, when the language and the arts had attained their greatest perfection. Pericles and Alcibiades began a change that proved fatal; they aspired to govern, and their ambition could only be satisfied by corrupting the people. Let the

death of Socrates, and the applause with which the populace received the impudent railleries of Aristophanes, bear witness to the degradation that followed. Here ended the brilliant period of Greek literature. No more was seen that noble, harmonious, simple, elegant, and nervous style, which characterized the writers of former times. The Greek language, spread over an immense space by Alexander and his successors, disfigured and corrupted by foreign mixtures, lost by degrees its character and originality. The battle of Chæronea, where the independence of Greece expired; the universal monarchy of Alexander, his premature death, the interminable wars of his successors; Rome, the conqueror and tyrant of the world;—all these disastrous events gave a mortal blow to Grecian art and literature. The school of Alexandria, with a few exceptions, formed only plagiarists in poetry, insipid grammarians, sterile commentators, and dialecticians fruitful in unintelligible abstractions. The domination of Rome was not less pernicious. Mendicant sophists, charletans in literature, and philosophers without knowledge, inundated Rome, Alexandria, Syria, and Greece. Now and then a superior genius appeared, but eminent writers were rather imitators than inventors. Polybius, Lucian, Plutarch, Pausanias, are examples of high name, but still they are examples in point.

The seat of the Roman empire was transferred to Byzantium, and then the Latin tongue assumed a dominant influence. The court, the military, and the higher ranks affected to speak the language of their conquerors. Thus the Greek was corrupted anew; but the Eastern Church, always free, and always above political vicissitudes, preserved the original language of the Evangelists. It produced such men as Basil, Gregory, Cyril, and Chrysostom. In these models of Christian eloquence the Greek language seemed approaching its former purity and force, when all at once a host of sects sprang up, and spread darkness over the Church. Morals and the duties of men in society ceased to be preached, and deep and subtile points of theology were discussed in their stead. Of this jargon of obscure terms and vague ideas, the people could understand nothing. Constantinople was a centre, which drew together strangers and soldiers from all nations; and in this great city all sorts of barbarous dialects were spoken, and the purity of the Greek became more and more corrupted.

Constantinople at length fell into the hands of Mahomet the

Second, and many Greeks distinguished for talents and merit, passed into Europe, where they excited a taste for studying their language and literature. But a language cultivated in a foreign country, says Rizo, is like an inanimate body, a mummy artificially embalmed, whole in all its parts, and capable of being preserved for ages, but without the hope of its ever giving the least sign of life. So it was with the ancient Greek in the hands of these teachers. It is time for us to leave this branch of the subject, therefore, and to speak of the origin, progress, and formation of the modern Greek idiom. In its great features, indeed, this is no other than the ancient language, which has undergone such modifications as time and circumstances have introduced in the manner of conceiving and expressing ideas. The chief alterations have been confined to the introduction of various words, mostly from the Turkish and Italian, and to certain forms of nouns and verbs growing out of long usage. It may be said, that the difference between the two dialects consists rather in the style, than in the basis of the language. In short, this new dialect partakes of the genius and color of the modern idioms, without losing anything of the ductility, the opulence, or variety of the ancient.

The Ottoman power, rooted at Constantinople, threatened to exterminate not only the political existence, but the religion, language, and manners of the Greeks. Providence favored them in the midst of these perils; for Mahomet the Second, fearing the influence of the West, gave countenance to the Greek Church, and protected its patriarch. Gennadius Scholarius, the first patriarch elected by Mahomet after the taking of Constantinople, was a distinguished ecclesiastic, a friend of the Muses, and well understood the value of education. By his order the clergy of Constantinople wrote their polemic works in ancient Greek. He established a school near the patriarchal church; by degrees a large and valuable library of manuscripts was collected from different quarters and preserved here with great care; and the college, although not recognised by the government, acquired great renown.* Ancient Greek, philoso-

*'It was Theotoky who long afterthis period suggested to Gregory Ghika, secretary and interpreter to the Ottoman Porte, the idea of visiting the remains of the library of the last Greek Emperors preserved in the interior of the seraglio. Ghika, being on terms of intimacy with the person who guarded the treasures of the Ottoman empire, obtained permission to examine the library. The only thing he found

phy, and literature were studied with ardor, and the honor of a professorship in this college was sought by the most eminent men.

During the interval between the taking of Constantinople and the end of the seventeenth century, other schools were established in different parts of Greece, as at Mount Athos, Jannina, Smyrna, Patmos, Corfu, Larissa. These seminaries from time to time sent out several distinguished men, as Corydalæus of Athens, Notara, Zygomalas, Dositheus patriarch of Jerusalem, Sebastos, Basil of Smyrna, and others. But it is nevertheless true, that till the beginning of the eighteenth century modern Greek was stationary, for it was not till after that period that the new literature assumed a separate form. Until then the learned men wrote in the ancient dialect, affecting to despise their spoken language, much in the same way as in some of the countries of Europe, where the scholars till very recently have communicated their ideas to the world in a barbarous Latin.

The space of time between the epoch when modern Greek began to be written, and the present day, that is, about a century and a quarter, may be divided into three distinct periods. The first comprehends the dawn of modern Greek literature, and extends from the commencement to the middle of the last century. The Turkish government accorded important privileges to the Greeks in choosing from among their numbers interpreters and the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia. The credit of these princes with the ministry was the means of meliorating the condition of the nation. Under their auspices letters were cultivated anew, schools established, and light extended. An-

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worth taking away was a series of commentaries on the Old Testament. He took a copy of it and returned the manuscript.

'Notwithstanding this ill success of Ghika, it was always believed that there existed in the library of the seraglio lost works of the Latin and Greek classics. But General Sebastiani confirmed the testimony of Prince Ghika. This ambassador of France at Constantinople, esteemed by the Sultan, and enjoying an extraordinary influence with the Ottoman ministry, asked as a signal favor the permission of visiting the library in the seraglio. Selim not only granted this request, but ordered the guardian of the imperial treasure to show the ambassador the whole library, to give him time to examine it, and to offer him, as a present from the Sultan, such books as he might choose. Sebastiani examined scrupulously all the books contained in the imperial library, but he found only parchments on ecclesiastical matters, and he chose a manuscript of the New Testament.' *Cours de Littérature*, &c. p. 176.

cient Greek was also studied with particular assiduity. The second period, which extends from the middle to the end of the century, was characterized by the introduction of the scientific knowledge of Europe into Greece. Many works on history, ethics, and philosophy were translated, and schools increased, several of which rose to be lyceums and universities. Numerous Greeks, after having studied in Europe, returned to their own country and devoted themselves to the honorable employment of public instruction. The third and most recent period has owed its success to the spirit of the analytical philosophy, which has been introduced into the systems of instruction, and above all, into the study of the Greek language. A noble and patriotic ambition has inspired the public teachers with a desire to raise their country from its degradation; men of superior qualifications have labored to establish the modern and most improved methods of teaching, to infuse liberal and elevated ideas into their compatriots, to form the new language on regular principles, and in short to render the Greek people worthy to hold a place among the civilized nations of Europe.

The first period was rendered illustrious by the families of Mavrocordato, Mourouzi, Ypsilanti, and others, who prepared the way for the second and third. Eugene Bulgaris was among the number of those, who attained eminence in the second period. Catharine, in the midst of her ambitious views, confided to his charge the education of the Grand Duke Constantine, and it was by her order that he translated into Homeric verse the Æneid of Virgil. His example was followed by Nicephorus Theotoky, who wrote a treatise on Physics and a complete course of Mathematics. Discontented in his own country he retired to Russia, where he was well received, and where he ended his days. Soon afterwards the irresistible force of the French arms, and the new ideas which the French revolution spread everywhere, were near producing their full effect in Greece. M. Negris, alluding to this subject in an unpublished discourse addressed to the Americans, observes,

Ἡ ἐπανάςασις τῆς Γαλλίας, ἥτις παρηκολούθησε τὴν ἰδικήν σας, ἐπανάςασις ἀπαραδειγμάτιστος εἰς τὸ εἶδός της, καὶ ἧς τὰ κατὰ περίςασιν ἐπιθόντα φρικτώτατον εἰς ὅλα τὰ ἔθνη ἔδωκαν τιναγμὸν, δὲν ἔλειψεν ὁμοίως νὰ κάμῃ ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

'The revolution in France, which followed closely upon yours,—a revolution without example in its character, and the incidents of which gave a terrible shock to all nations,—hardly failed to be equally felt in Greece.'

It was at this time that Riga, a native of Velestin in Thessaly, conceived the great project of freeing his country from the yoke of its oppressors. Attached to the service of Prince Michael Soutzo, hospodar of Wallachia, he suddenly quitted that principality in 1796, and repaired to Vienna, where he associated himself with several other Greeks, who partook of his enthusiasm and united in his plan. But the project was whispered in the ears of the Austrian police before it was matured, and the unfortunate Riga was seized at Trieste just as he was ready to embark for the Peloponnesus. He was given up to the Turks and executed at Belgrade, a martyr to liberty, as his countrymen say, and the victim of a mean and cruel policy. Riga was the author of a work, in modern Greek, forming a popular course of Physics, and also of a geographical chart of Greece. These were his only scientific works; deserting Euler and Newton, he courted the muse of Tyrtæus, and composed patriotic songs, which he hoped one day to sing at the head of his Greek battalions. 'Correctly written in modern Greek,' says Rizo, 'and embellished with the charms of heroic poetry, these songs gained a still wider influence by the music in which they were sung. Throughout Greece nothing was heard but the songs of Riga; the young people repeated them everywhere in their little circles and their festivities; in the winter by the fireside, in the summer under the shade of the olive and plane trees. These songs braved the ears of the barbarians even in the capital of the Sultan. In the parties of pleasure given by the Turkish ministers, I have myself heard them order the Greek musicians to sing the air,—*Come on, sons of Greece!* The air of this song afforded great pleasure to the Turks, who only knew by heart the first words, without having any curiosity to ascertain their sense. It is an imitation of the *Marseilles Hymn.*'

The spirit and purpose of this song will be seen by the following literal translation of the two first stanzas.

'Come on, sons of Greece, sons of renowned men! The day of glory is arrived. Bones of the illustrious dead, come forth, spring from your tombs and resume life anew; behold your country in groans and tears. To arms, Greeks, to arms! Let the blood of our enemy flow in rivers at our feet!

'Brave Greeks! Sons of Spartans! All those who are united to us by a common faith, approach, let us embrace as brothers, and with our sword in hand take this solemn oath,—"In the name of my faith, in the name of my country, in the name of my hope

in God, I draw the sword, and I will not return it to its scabbard, till the oppressive race of cruel Mussulmans shall be extinct." To arms, Greeks! to arms; let us cleave the heads of the infidel Turks!'

The fate of Riga was a signal of mourning throughout Greece, and it kindled in his countrymen the desire of vengeance. It taught them also the necessity of concerting future projects with more caution. At this epoch a better mode of instruction was adopted. Hitherto the classic authors had been studied chiefly for their style, their rhetoric, or their eloquence. A different system began now to come into use, by which the professors taught the youth not merely to detect the beauties of the composition and charms of diction, but led them to look more deeply into the characters, manners, principles of politics, and usages of society unfolded in these immortal works of antiquity. They taught them to trace out there the deeds of their ancestors, and to perceive the causes of the ancient prosperity and subsequent decline of Greece. Among the most conspicuous professors, who taught in this manner, were Lambros Photiades, Philippides, Constandas, Benjamin, Psalidas of Jannina, Proïus, Stephen Duncas, and above all Coray. Lambros was a native of Jannina, and for some time held the chair of Belles Lettres in the Lyceum of Bucharest. One of his principal pupils was Neophyte Doukas of Epirus, who now occupies the first chair in the same college. Doukas has translated Thucydides into modern Greek with notes, and has also given an edition of the Athenian Orators, and the Histories of Arrian and Herodotus. There are Dialogues on moral and literary subjects from his pen. It is told to his praise, that he distributed gratuitously copies of his works to different schools in Greece and to necessitous students.

Philippides was a native of a small village at the foot of Mount Pelion. Deeply versed in ancient Greek, which he had studied in the colleges of Greece, he went to France, where he became master of the exact sciences. Constandas, the friend and fellow townsman of Philippides, studied in Italy. They both returned together to their native country, where they taught the knowledge they had acquired, and where one of them translated the Logic of Condillac, and the other the Institutes of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics of Soave. Constandas translated Millot's General History. Philippides returned to France, and passed thence to Germany, where he

still resides far advanced in age. He has translated and published in modern Greek, De Brisson's Physics, Fourcroy's Chemistry, and Lalande's Astronomy. His most recent work is a learned History of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia. Another name of great merit is Benjamin of Lesbos. He founded the college of Cydonia, where he taught fifteen years, drawing around him a large number of young men, many of whom have held and still hold important stations in the provisional government of Greece. Driven from this favorite retreat by jealousy and intrigue, he repaired to Constantinople, whence he was called to a chair in the college of Bucharest. But when the hospodar was compelled to escape from his political troubles by taking refuge in Europe, the professor was deprived of his friend and patron, and thrown again upon the world. 'Benjamin, who understood the proceedings of the *Hetærea*,* and knew that the great scene of the insurrection was not far distant, desired to act a part, and share in the perils of his fellow citizens. At the beginning of this bloody

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* The Greek word *Hetærea* signifies *a society*, of which Rizo speaks as follows. 'Riga was its first founder. It was a secret association, the basis of which was religion, and the object of which was the freedom of Greece. One of the principal articles of the *Hetærea* was its isolation from all the other secret societies in Europe. The members were obliged to take an oath, that they would not have the least connexion whatever with any foreign society. The *Hetærea*, founded by Riga, received afterwards many modifications. It had gradations to which men of merit alone could attain; the common people were initiated only in the first degree. Love of religion and country was recommended, as also implacable hatred of the Turks, and a desire to throw off their yoke. The greater part of the enlightened men of the nation were members of the *Hetærea*. It became important and more regularly combined in 1814, when the allied sovereigns had beat down the colossal power of France. Since that time the *Hetærea* has gone on daily increasing by the secret encouragement it has received from the Bible societies, from the society for the abolition of the slave trade, and from the philanthropic principles diffused throughout Europe, preached by wise men, and even by cabinets.' *Cours de Littérature*, &c. p. 179.

'It was Benjamin, who first discovered, or at least first developed the hypothesis of an ethereal substance, which penetrates all bodies, fills all voids, and moves perpetually in every manner and all directions; which is the unique cause of the principal phenomena of nature, as of light, fire, electricity, magnetism, galvanism, sensations, vegetation, and the rotation of bodies in the planetary system. This ethereal substance he calls by a name, which he has made for the purpose, παντακχηκίνητον, or *se mouvent partout*.' p. 178.

contest he found himself in the theatre of events. Simple as a pastor of the primitive church, unmoved by the prospect of the greatest dangers, he went through the Isles of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, and traversed in every direction the Peloponnesus and eastern Greece, preaching courage and contempt of death in the name of religion and of patriotism. His exhortations breathed the eloquence of the heart; multitudes were carried away by his example; he was of that rare number, who speak little, and leave to their character and their conduct the task of convincing and persuading. Borne up by his own energy under the heaviest fatigues and severest privations, doing all for his country and nothing for himself, he was like the lamp which is consumed in emitting its light. At length his noble career was terminated by the terrible epidemic, which in 1824 made such ravages at Napoli di Romania.' Psalidas of Jannina, a disciple of the celebrated Kant, occupied for a long time the chair of philosophy in the college of Jannina, and by his address contrived to hold his place in safety under the wily and ferocious Ali Pasha. After Ali's death Psalidas took refuge in Corfu, where he still lives.

The island of Scio has produced its full share of men of letters. Among these were Vardalachos, the author of a work, in modern Greek, on experimental Physics, and of another on Rhetoric, at one time professor at Bucharest, afterwards in his native city, and lastly at Odessa; Dorotheus Proïus, who held a chair in the college of Couroutzesme on the Bosphorus for three years, was then successively made archbishop of Philadelphia in Asia Minor and of Adrianople, and finally became a victim to the rage of the barbarians in the first days of the insurrection; Plato, who succeeded him in the college, was afterwards bishop of Scio, and was also massacred. Stephen Dunkas of Thessaly followed Plato in the college of Couroutzesme. He had studied in the Universities of Halle and Göttingen. He wrote a complete course of Mathematics, a treatise on Physics, and one on Ethics. Dunkas possessed a considerable fortune, part of which he expended in purchasing philosophical, chemical, and astronomical instruments, which he caused to be transported to Ambelakia, a town at the foot of Mount Pelion, where in union with the poet Christopoulo, Constandas, and the brothers Capetanaky, he had conceived the project of founding a university. These instruments were dispersed by the Turks, when they destroyed the larger part of the towns and villages in Thessaly.

Time would fail us, were we to attempt to name all the men of letters, who contributed to form the second period of which we have spoken. We shall pass on, therefore, to the third and last period, during which men of distinguished talents, in forming and fixing the language according to the principles of sound logic and the methods of modern instruction, have contributed at the same time to accelerate the regeneration of Greece. This period is also the most interesting as well on account of the number of works that have appeared in modern Greek, as of the schools established under the special auspices of the *Fanariotes*, or Greek princes, whose influence with the Turkish government enabled them to hide from the eyes of the tyrant in some degree the rapid progress made in the acquisition of new ideas, and in the true interests of the Greek nation. The great political questions, which agitated Europe, operated powerfully towards the emancipation of Greece. The protection afforded by Russia in the letters patent, which she profusely granted, and which the Sultan was obliged to recognise, gave to the Greeks extraordinary facilities of commerce during the war with Spain. The intrepid mariners of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara went to the ports of the Black Sea to load their ships with grain; which they transported and sold at a very high price in the blockaded ports of Spain. With their Russian protections, as soon as they left the Hellespont, they hoisted the Russian flag, which was then neutral. By the aid of this circumstance and many others, commerce was extended, national wealth was increased, and relations were formed with foreign nations. The Greeks soon possessed a mercantile marine, which was able at length to contend with advantage against the naval forces of the Sultan; and in a word it may be said, that commerce ought to be accounted among the principal causes of the restoration of Greece, since commercial enterprise awakens industry, forms a marine, promotes the arts and sciences, and augments the productions and wealth of a country.

The different commercial houses, established by Greeks in almost all the mercantile cities of Europe, have been of great service in aiding the literary progress of the nation, as well by the facilities thus offered for the communication between the Greeks frequenting the universities of Europe and their countrymen at home, as by their contributions to every kind of enterprise, which had for its object the intellectual advancement of the nation. The prospectus of a Greek work

was hardly announced, when a sufficient number of subscribers was obtained to carry through an impression. To some it may be surprising to learn, that during the first twenty years of the present century *more than three thousand new works* were printed in modern Greek, a large part of which consists of translations made by the most distinguished literary men speaking that tongue. Four journals circulated in Greece, of which the *Telegraph*, Τηλέγραφος, a political journal, and the *Mercury*, Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος, a literary journal, both printed at Vienna, were conducted by men of eminent abilities and learning. At Odessa, Bucharest, Jassy, and Corfu, theatres were established, where tragedies written in the modern idiom were represented. In short, the national progress has been rapid, beyond what could have been imagined. Happy they, who contributed to this result, whether by their labors, their intelligence, or their ardor in the cause to which they have devoted themselves. Among these is *Coray*, and indeed so much better is he known in the literary world than the others, that the period in question may properly be called after his name.

Coray, born in Smyrna of a family originally from Scio, after having finished his Greek education at Smyrna, went to Montpelier in France where he studied medicine. He commenced his literary career by publishing a French translation of Theophrastus and Hippocrates; but he was not known in Greece till he published in modern Greek Beccaria's treatise on *Crimes and Punishments*, accompanied with notes and prolegomena, and dedicated to the republic of the Seven Isles, then under the protection of France. Travellers and superficial observers, with as much injustice as severity, had defamed Greece by painting her in false colors, and blackening her pretended faults, which existed only in appearances induced by her temporary political condition. Coray, in a memoir written in French, and entitled *De l' Etat actuel de la Civilization de la Grèce*, made known the reviving spirit of the nation, which was represented to be plunged in the most profound lethargy. This work, translated and circulated in Greece, acquainted his countrymen with their growing strength.

Coray undertook the publication of his *Grecian Library* by a selection of authors as judicious as it was analogous to his honorable views in regard to his country; and he was powerfully seconded in bringing out the work by the brothers Zosimas, Greek merchants in Moscow, enjoying an immense

fortune, which they consecrated to the noblest of purposes, the regeneration of their country. Copies of this noble work, printed at the expense of these brothers, were distributed by their order gratis throughout all the schools of Greece, to such students as had not the means of purchasing it. The notes and prolegomena, joined to the editions of all the works published by Coray, breathe the spirit of a philosopher, a man of letters, and a citizen. His counsels were not without fruit. At his instigation was commenced a Dictionary of ancient Greek, with definitions in modern Greek, and examples taken from classic authors.* In the preliminary discourses prefixed to some of his editions of the classics, Coray treats of many important subjects, such as the improvement of which modern Greek is susceptible, the best method of constructing grammars and of teaching youth, the manner of reading with the greatest prospect of benefit, the light derived from experimental and positive philosophy, and the duties which every Greek owes to his country. The views of Coray on these subjects, expressed with an eloquent simplicity, supported by solid arguments, and sustained by the European reputation of their author, produced a remarkable effect on all the reading population of Greece. Many Greeks from the different colleges were drawn to Europe, and especially to France, by the fame of Coray, and have since become conspicuous in their own country. We may mention Coumas, Vamvas, Economos, Piccolo, Asopius. A long and honorable list might be added.

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* 'The physician Vlastos labored for many years in the composition of a dictionary. Charles Ghika also undertook to translate the great dictionary of Henry Stephens, and to add a large number of words, which were wanting in this *chef-d'œuvre* of the erudition of the sixteenth century. Mourouzy, profiting by the labors of the two philologians, Ghika and Vlastos, formed a society of learned men, procured for them all the Greek dictionaries then published, and furnished the expenses of the great undertaking. In this dictionary is explained in modern Greek all the words of the ancient language; the age of each word is marked and a comparison is made of the senses in which each term has been used during the different periods of Greek literature. The impression of this dictionary (entitled Κιβωτὸς, *Ark of the Greek Language*) was commenced in 1817 at the patriarchal press of Constantinople. One volume only has appeared, coming down to the letter Δ, in large folio, and a beautiful character. Besides the dictionary of Gazis, the Greeks possess at the present day a dictionary of the ancient language, composed from the labors of the German philologians. It is that of Constantine Michael Coumas, printed in Vienna, 1825.' p. 185.

Until the time of Coray no one had dreamed of any regular system of purifying and refining the modern Greek language. Every writer had followed his particular fancy, without regard to fixed principles, and in accordance with the greater or less degree of knowledge he had of ancient Greek. At the beginning of the present century the most enlightened Greeks perceived the necessity of studying their language more philosophically, and much attention was directed to this subject. Opinions soon became divided, and nearly at the same time three systems sprang up, which were attacked and defended by the different parties with much warmth.

The first system had for its basis a vague idea of enriching the modern idiom, by introducing into it the words and grammatical forms, which had been gradually altered, or totally lost, during the long decline of the Greek language. Upon this principle the style would be a medley of ancient terms and trivial or corrupted expressions of modern origin. Some writers of name adopted this method, at the head of whom was Neophyte Doukas. After him came Meletius, Theotoky, and Eugene. Their doctrine was attacked in due form by Coray, both with the weapons of solid reasoning and of ridicule. He called this species of writing the *macaronic* style.

The characteristic of the second system was to write modern Greek just as it is spoken, without the slightest change either in the acceptation of the words, their variations, or their forms. Its founder was the lawyer Catardzy. Possessing a highly enlightened understanding, he wished to render popular the means of instruction by placing them within the reach of the whole Greek nation; and with a view of aiding his purpose he composed two treatises and a grammar. Philippides was an upholder of this system, and in conformity with it he wrote his translations of Condillac and Lalande. But the person, who contributed the greatest share towards bringing it into vogue, was the lyric poet Athanasius Christopoulo. He adopted all the ideas of Catardzy. Not content to defend the use of the vulgar Greek, he attempted to show that this idiom was one of the numerous dialects of the ancient language, and composed an *Æolico-Dorian Grammar*, in which by an ingenious selection of examples he strove to prove, that the apparent alterations of modern Greek were only forms derived from the ancient Doric and Ionic dialects. Amiable, and endowed with a fine imagination, Christopulo, by the charm of his verse, drew the

whole world after him. The lighter kind of poetry, which loves simplicity and natural expressions, and which rejects artificial and labored diction, was well suited to his purpose. His Anacreontic odes, written in the most familiar style, were themes of admiration and delight throughout Greece. The ladies, says our author, were staunch supporters of this system, not by learned dissertations, but by the pleasure they expressed in reading the fugitive pieces of the favorite poet of the nation. The following ode, taken at random, will give some idea of the style and manner of Christopoulo.

Ὦ Ἔρωτ᾽ ἀνθηρότατε,	Oh Love, who, brightest, gayest,
Γλυκὲ καὶ ἱλαρώτατε,	With bland dominion swayest
Τοῦ κόσμου κυβερνήτη·	The universe of things;—
Ἐσέν᾽ ὁ νοῦς, τὸ σῶμα μου,	Mind, body, heart proclaim thee,
Τὸ στῆθος, καὶ τὸ στόμα μου,	My tongue delights to name thee,
Λατρεύει καὶ κηρύττει.	And thee adoring sings!
Ἐσὺ θεοὺς κ᾽ αἰθέρια,	To thee all power is given,
Οὐράνια κ᾽ι ἀέρια,	And through earth, air, and heaven,
Κρατεῖς καὶ βασιλεύεις·	Thy rule all spirits own;
Καὶ ἕως τὰ αἰώνια	And e'en where glooms eternal
Τῆς γῆς μας καταχθόνια,	Fold Night's old realms infernal,
Τὰ βέλη σου τοξεύεις.	Thy conquering shafts have flown.
Τὸ βλέμμα σου τὸ ἥμερον,	That glance, beneath whose beaming
Ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον σήμερον,	Life's joyous tide is streaming,
Στιγμὴ σχεδὸν ἂν λείψῃ·	Let that but cease to burn,—
Ἡ φύσις ὅλη σβύνεται,	See Nature's frame decaying—
Καὶ καταντᾷ καὶ γίνεται	See all her bright arraying
Κατήφεια καὶ θλίψη.	To sombre sadness turn!
Ἀμίμητα τὰ κάλλη σου,	Thy charms, above comparing,
Ἡ δύναμη μεγάλη σου,	Thy power, beyond declaring,
Μεγάλη σου ἡ δόξα·	Glory, all thought above;—
Λατρεύω τὴν αἰώνιαν	Thy darts, which time assails not,
Καὶ θαυμαστήν σου πρόνοιαν,	Thy providence, which fails not,
Καὶ τ᾽ ἄφθαρτά σου τόξα.	I worship, mighty Love!

It is to be observed, that notwithstanding the success of this poet in his lighter effusions and the high admiration they have excited, yet he has had few imitators. In his case, the vulgar idiom is ennobled by the genius and delicate taste of the writer, but it becomes insipid and coarse, when flowing from the pen of a less gifted genius. Christopoulo would have been a poet in any language, which he had cultivated enough to express his own warm feelings, and describe the simple beauties of nature.

Such was the state of uncertainty in the modern Greek language, which existed without any fixed rules, any character as a whole, or any universal principles. Violent disputes arose, much ink was spilled, and the war of the quill waxed fierce and alarming. Coray perceived the danger that threatened the language, in the midst of this confusion, and interposed the weight of his authority and zeal to avert the mischief. He sought a middle ground, and devised a plan, which should cause the language to be written correctly and intelligibly, at the same time it should satisfy both the learned and the common people. He laid it down as a principle, that the modern tongue should be gradually purified and elevated, avoiding, however, such ancient forms, as no longer accord with its genius; that foreign words should be discarded, and their place supplied as far as possible by judicious drafts on the treasure of ancient Greek; and that foreign idioms should be banished, such as Gallicisms, Italicisms, and Germanisms, which had been introduced by the numerous translations. This system, of which Coray was the originator, soon gained attention. Hereupon a new contest arose, and the followers of Coray, in the height of their fanaticism and the fire of their zeal, came near overthrowing and destroying all that their master had built up before them. Greece was inundated with the works of these pretended *Κοραϊσταὶ*, *Corayists*, written in an unintelligible style, filled with fantastical and new-coined expressions found in no author anicent or modern. The contagion spread daily, till the writers themselves could hardly comprehend each other, or decipher their own writings. In this state of things (1812), Rizo wrote a comedy entitled, *Κορακιστικὰ*, *The New Jargon of the Learned*, in which his object was, not to attack the system of Coray, but to expose the extravagances of those who had disfigured it. This weapon of ridicule had some effect in arresting the progress of the epidemic. Time consolidated the system of Coray; in all its essential points it was approved by intelligent men; and from that period the language has been shown susceptible of much beauty in style, and of elegance and purity in conversation.

Coray spent his life in a foreign and distant land, but he saw the day approaching when the call to arms, sounding from the bosom of the lyceums of Greece, would mingle with the echoes of the cry of vengeance and liberty. 'In spite of his great age,' says the author, 'this venerable patriot wrote night and

day for his country, urged the multiplication of new colleges, and directed the formation of them in a manner the best suited to extend their light and influence. The colleges of the first rank were then those of Cydonia, Smyrna, Scio, Couroutzesme, Bucharest, Jassy, Jannina, and Athens. All these schools, judiciously organized, were under the direction of skilful professors; but the lyceum of Scio surpassed them all; it had fourteen professors, of whom the best known were Vardalachos, Vamvas, Celepy, Nicolas Piccolo, and Julius David, son of the painter of that name. Already public liberality, on the registers of which was always the name of the generous Varvaky, had endowed the university of Scio with a rich library and a printing press; already many works had seen the light; already were preparations making to establish literary journals; already were realized the hopes of the Sciotes and their fellow countryman Coray, when suddenly the insurrection broke out. Scio disappeared and all was destroyed; the barbarians devastated the richest, most populous, most civilized, and most beautiful of the isles of the Archipelago.' Besides the colleges in Greece, there are other establishments in foreign countries for the education of Greek youth. In Venice, Trieste, Leghorn, Vienna, Odessa, Jassy, and Bucharest, are Greek schools more or less considerable. In Venice are a Greek church, printing establishment, and college; and Spyridion Blandis, one of the professors, is known by his Italian, French, and Modern Greek Dictionary. From very early times similar establishments have existed in Vienna under the control of able men, such as the brothers Capetanaky, Gobdella, Athanasius of Stagira, and several others, well known by their works, and accounted among the first men of letters in the nation. At Jassy a Lancastrian school was founded, and confided to the direction of Cleobulus of Philippopoli. Full of patriotic feelings he afterwards returned to Greece, where he applied himself to the task of extending this mode of instruction. He lately died much regretted at Syra.

It remains for us to say a few words of the Ionian University, first founded in 1807, when France for the second time was assured of the possession of the Seven Isles by the treaty of Tilsit. At that period several French officers of the engineer corps were professors of the physical sciences and mathematics, with whom were united Greek professors to make the system of instruction complete. The vicissitudes of war threw these

islands by the treaty of Paris into the hands of the English, or what the Greeks averred was ironically called the *protection* of England. The college made no progress under the first Lord High Commissioner, Maitland; but when his successor, Sir Frederic Adam, was appointed in 1823, Lord Guilford, always friendly to the Greeks, was nominated Chancellor of the University by the express interposition of Mr. Canning. From that moment to this it has flourished, and a large number of students has been drawn there by the zeal of Lord Guilford, who took much care to find out and appoint able professors. This generous patron of the arts and sciences has lately died, deeply lamented by all Greece. He bequeathed to the University his library, in which he was at great pains to collect whatever related to modern Greek literature, and on this topic it is the most complete collection of books in existence. The Ionian Isles have produced some eminent literary men, as Foscolo and Mustoxidi, both of Corfu, but who have rather adorned Italian than Greek literature. Count Capo d'-Istria, renowned for his diplomatic rank in Russia, and for his present station as President of Greece, is a native of Corfu.

Notwithstanding the din of arms and the ravages of war, the Greeks have not ceased to think of the interests of literature, and the college of Missolonghi, the journals printed and the works published, as well there as at Athens and other places, are testimonies to this fact; but all is to be commenced anew; since professors, colleges, libraries, everything has disappeared and become a prey to the barbarians.

Having thus glanced at some of the chief points in M. Rizo's book, we shall close with a word respecting the author himself. He was born at Constantinople, in 1778, of a Fanariote family distinguished in the ranks of letters and diplomacy. An orphan at four years of age, his education devolved on his uncle Samuel, Archbishop of Ephesus. At the age of twenty he entered the service of Alexander Ypsilanti, and married his grand-daughter. He filled divers stations, and was prime minister to Michael Soutzos, prince of Moldavia, when the revolution broke out. On this occasion he sacrificed all his fortune in the cause of liberty, and after the defeats in the provinces, he retired with his numerous family to Kischneff in Bessarabia. In 1823 he took his two eldest sons to Geneva, where he left them to study military tactics, and went himself to Pisa, in which place he met some of his intimate friends. Thus separ-

ated from his family and his country, the Muses and his lyre became his only solace; but having suddenly lost his eldest son, and overcome with many other afflictions, he determined at the solicitation of Capo d' Istria to return and rejoin him at Geneva. It was then that he drew up his *Cours de Littérature Grecque Moderne.* Rizo has since accompanied Capo d' Istria into Greece, where he was appointed commissioner of the Isles of the Archipelago.

The reputation of Rizo in Greece is particularly high as a poet. His first attempt was the tragedy of *Aspasia*, an edition of which in the original modern Greek has lately been published in this country. In this edition many errors of the preceding, printed at Vienna and Leipsic have been corrected. Next came his *Polyxenes*, a tragedy in five acts, the plot of which is managed with great art. The comedy *Κορακιστικά*, or *Patois des Savans*, we have already noticed. The *Κούρκας Ἁρπαγή*, or *L' Enlèvement du Dindon*, is a humorous poem, of which three cantos only have appeared. Its object is a general satire upon the faults and follies of the Greek nation. Several other fugitive pieces have been printed at different times. His style is clear, elegant, and harmonious; a fair specimen of which we give in the following ode, *To Himself*, written during his residence at Pisa.

Ποῦ εἶν' ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς, ὅταν κ' ἐγὼ εὐδαίμων,
Ἀπ' αὔρας βοηθούμενος τῶν εὐμενῶν ἀνέμων,
Ἀκύμαντον διέπλεα τὸ πέλαγος τοῦ βίου,
Καὶ εἰς τοὺς κόλπους ἔμβαινα λιμένος γαληνίου!
Λιμὴν ἦτον ὁ οἶκός μου· 'ς ἐκεῖνον καθ' ἡμέραν,
Συμπαίζων μὲ τὰ τέκνα μου, περίπαιζα τὴν σφαῖραν·
Συμπάρεδρον 'ς τὴν τράπεζαν λαμβάνων τὴν ὑγείαν,
Τὴν ἄπαλήν των ἔτρεφα κ' ἰ ἀθῴαν ἡλικίαν.

* * * * *

Ἀλλ' ὦ πατρίς! ὦ ὄνομα παμφίλτατον καὶ θεῖον!
Φεῦ! σὲ προφέρω σήμερον μετὰ πικρῶν δακρύων!
Ὦ γλυκυτάτη μου πατρίς! τὰ τέκνα σου καθένα
Ὁπόταν σὺ προσκάλεσες, σὺ μ' ἔκραξες κ' ἐμένα.
Τί τέκνον σου εἰλικρινὲς, μ' Ἑλληνικὴν καρδίαν,
Πρὸς τὴν φωνήν σου ἔμελλε νὰ μέν' εἰς ληθαργίαν;

* * * * *

Διέβην γῆν τὴν εὔανδρον τῆς ἄνω Γερμανίας,
Τὴν γῆν τὴν φίλην τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας·
Διῆλθα τὴν καλλίλημνον γενναίαν Ἑλβετίαν,
Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτριαν μὲ μεγαλοψυχίαν.

Ἐθαύμασα κ᾽ ἠγάπησα τὴν σώφρονα Γενέθην,
Καὶ, εὐχηθεὶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερέβην . . .
Κατέβην ᾽ς τὰ ἡλύσια Ἰταλικὰ πεδία,
Φιλομμειδὴς, φιλόξενος μ᾽ ἐδέχθ᾽ ἡ Τυῤῥηνία.
Τὰς θέσεις τὰς ποιητικὰς, τὰ ἄλση της, τοὺς κήπους,
Ὅπου ἐμβαίνει ὁ χειμὼν μὲ σέβας καὶ βραδύπους,
Τὰ εἶδα· πλὴν, ἀλλοίμονον! παυσίλυπα πρὸς ἄλλους,
Σ᾽ ἐμένα λύπας γέννησαν καὶ στεναγμοὺς μεγάλους.

* * * * *

Ἐνίοτε πλανώμενος ᾽ς τὴν παραθαλασσίαν,
Μὴν ἔχων ἄλλον σύντροφον παρὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν,
Ὁπόταν πλοῖα ἔβλεπα τὴν θάλασσαν νὰ σχίζουν,
"Μακάριοι," ἐφώναζα, "ὁπόσοι ἁρμενίζουν!
Πότε, πτηνὰ θαλάσσια, νὰ φέρητε κ᾽ ἐμένα
Μὲ τὰς λευκάς σας πτέρυγας ᾽ς τῆς Ὕδρας τὸν λιμένα!"

* * * * *

Πρὸ ἡμερῶν πλῆθος νεφῶν, ἀπὸ ἀτμῶν πληθώρας
Ἐξογκωμένα, ἔβρεχαν σχεδὸν ἑξῆντα ὥρας . . .
Μετὰ τὴν παῦσιν τῆς βροχῆς, ἐγὼ κ᾽ ἕνας μου φίλος,
Ἀργᾶ περιπατούσαμεν ᾽ς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος.
Ἐκεῖ παρετηρήσαμεν, μετὰ φρυγάνων ἄλλων,
Κ᾽ ἕνα παρασυρόμενον κορμὸν δρυὸς μεγάλον.
Στραφεὶς τότε ᾽ς τὸν φίλον μου· "Ἴδε," τὸν εἶπα, "᾽κείνην
Τὴν δρῦν, πῶς παραφέρεται ᾽ς τὴν ποταμίαν δίνην.
Ἴτον κ᾽ι αὐτὴ πυκνόφυλλος, μὲ κλῶνας πολλοὺς πρῴην,
Μὲ τὴν σκιάν της δρόσιζε τὴν ὑποκάτω χλόην,
Σ᾽ τοὺς κλάδους της λιγύφθογγα πτηνὰ ἐκελαδοῦσαν,
Σ᾽ τὴν ῥίζαν της τὰς σύῤῥιγγας ποιμένες ἐφυσοῦσαν·
Ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξερρίζωσε τῆς καταιγίδος βία,
Σ᾽ τὸν Ἄρνον τὴν ἐκρήμνισε, καὶ σύρεθ᾽ ἡ ἀθλία.

"Μὲ τοῦτον, φίλε, τὸν κορμὸν κ᾽ ἐγὼ παρωμοιώθην,
Ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἀπὸ τὸν οἰκόν μου χωρίσθην κ᾽ ἐμονώθην."

Oh! where 's the time—the joyous time—when, in my spirit's glee,
I urged my bark across the breast of life's untroubled sea,
And, hurried onward by the breath of free, propitious gales,
Within the tranquil haven's bosom furled at last my sails?
My home that peaceful haven was—and therein, day by day,
I sported with my children, and I shared each childish play;
I nursed their tender, unstained youth, and, at my humble board,
I drank in health, and cared not what the world might else afford.

* * * * *

But oh my country! name most dear and sacred to my ears!
Alas, I now pronounce thy name with bitter, bitter tears!

Oh country sweetest to my heart! I hear thy thrilling plea
Appeal, as to thy other children, so alike to me;
And what true-minded child of thine, that bears a Grecian heart,
Will not from torpid slumber, at thy cry of anguish, start?

* * * * *

I traversed Upper Germany, that land of glorious men,
Where Art her cherished altar hath, Philosophy her fane;—
Helvetia's generous soil I trod, the beautiful of lakes,
The high-souled benefactress of the persecuted Greeks;—
I paused, with fond, admiring love, on wise Geneva's sod,
And, with her farewell blessing, then the Alpine summits trod;—
Descending thence, to Italy's Elysian plains I sped,
And hospitable Tuscany in gladness round me spread;
Her scenes so steeped in poetry, her gardens, and her groves,
Where Winter comes but tardily, and timorously moves;—
All these I saw—but oh! what brought to others sweet relief,
In me moved only stifling sighs, and wakened deepest grief.

* * * * *

Sometimes, with wandering steps, I tracked the sea's resounding shore,
With no companion, save the grief I ever with me bore,
And when I saw the gallant ships, that proudly stemmed the sea,
'Oh! happy ye, who sail therein,' cried I, 'thrice happy ye!
When, birds of Ocean, will ye bear me, with your snowy wings,
Where open wide her arms of welcome Hydra's haven flings!'

* * * * *

The multitude of clouds, that first the heavens with beauty spread,
By gathering vapors swelled, a long and drenching torrent shed;
And when the clouds had rolled away, and the tempest's rage was o'er,
I, with a single friend, slow paced along fair Arno's shore;
And there we saw, 'mid many shrubs, an undistinguished throng,
An oak uptorn, of hugest trunk, on the current drift along.
Then turning to my friend, I said, 'Behold that lordly stem
Now shivered, tost by whirling waves, the plaything of the stream!
Once girt by numerous verdant boughs, with leafy honors crowned,
In its broad shade the springing grass refreshing coolness found;
The liquid-throated birds among its spreading branches sang,
And, at its root, the shepherd's pipe, in tuneful murmurs, rang;
But the tempest, in its wasting wrath, the noble tree hath torn,
And to the wild waves given it, of all its glories shorn.

'And now, my friend, in this wave-tost and tempest-shattered tree,
Since I became a homeless exile, view a type of me!'

In the preface to the work before us, there is a hint that Rizo is now engaged in preparing a history of the Greek Revolution. We hope his new public duties will not defeat nor retard this undertaking. Few men are better informed on this interesting subject, or better qualified to do it justice.

Art. IV.—1. *Analysis of the Egyptian Mythology; to which is subjoined a Critical Examination of the Remains of Egyptian Chronology.* By J. C. Prichard, M. D. London, 1819.

2. *Aperçu des Résultats Historiques de la Découverte de l'Alphabet Hiéroglyphique Egyptien*, par M. Champollion Jeune. Paris, 1827.

3. *Den Gamle Ægyptiske Tidsregning, efter Kilderne paa ny bearbejdet, af* R. Rask, &c. Copenhagen, 1827.

The new light thrown upon the antiquities of Egypt by the hieroglyphic discoveries of Champollion and others has revived the interest of scholars in the history of that wonderful land, where the arts of civilized life, and, above all, the most important of them the gift of letters, were cultivated, whilst Greece and Italy were still covered with forests and filled with wild beasts and savage hordes. These countries were unquestionably indebted to the Egyptians for the elements of their religion and philosophy, however these may have been modified by the peculiar national genius of the Greeks. Still the extravagant claims to antiquity supposed to be set up by the Egyptian priests, and the apparent confusion in the fragmentary history which is all that is left of their early annals previous to the Persian conquest, brought the whole into doubt and discredit with other ancient nations, and have justly excited the suspicion of modern critics. Herodotus, who travelled into Egypt during the reign of Artaxerxes the First, the third in descent from Cambyses, about sixty-five years after the conquest, has furnished us with an authentic list of the native kings of Egypt and a connected chronology before the conquest and up to the reign of Psammeticus the First, from whose time the Greeks had a constant and active intercourse with Egypt. All chronologists agree that the conquest was in 525 B. C. This then is a fixed point of departure, from which we ascend the

stream of time, and from which Herodotus has set down the succession of kings with an exact computation of years back to the reign of Psammeticus, 670 or 671 B. C. Beyond this there is a long tract of ages filled by the national annalists with successive dynasties until we arrive at a very remote period, when the whole or a part of Egypt was conquered by an invasion of Nomadic hordes from Asia, who were called, or whose kings were called the *Hycksos*. The national tradition represents the country to have been ruled by the Shepherd kings for five centuries until they were expelled by the native Pharaohs of the Diospolite dynasty; and as all the existing monuments and records are said to have been destroyed by these barbarians during their long sway, and the devastating wars which accompanied their establishment and expulsion, all inquiry beyond this period would seem to be hopeless. But the dynasty immediately succeeding the Shepherd kings is reckoned the eighteenth by Manetho, and other national authorities; two or three dynasties are assigned by him to the Shepherd kings; and thus we have left at least fifteen dynasties of princes, who reigned before the period of authentic history commences, and whose existence, if admitted, with the computation of years assigned to them, carries the Egyptian annals back to a period far beyond what the Mosaic chronology has assigned for the renovation of the world after the deluge.

The writer or compiler of the book of Genesis may be considered as an authority, and the earliest foreign authority, for the ancient history of Egypt. The author of that book must have used, for its historical portions, such traditions and documents as were extant in his time respecting the genealogies and family histories of the various tribes of mankind. The labors of Eichhorn and other biblical critics have been directed to analyze and distinguish the different original documents handed down by the patriarchs, and used by Moses in the composition of the Pentateuch; but this analysis has not in the least tended to diminish the credibility of these books as histories of the earliest transactions of mankind, and still less to shake our confidence in such parts of them as ought to be considered as inspired and intended for our religious instruction.

Herodotus, although certainly not free from the credulity, superstition, and other weaknesses of his age and nation, is entirely trustworthy in everything which depended upon his own personal observation, and in the fidelity with which he tells us

what he derived from the information of others. Our modern travellers to this day admire the graphic fidelity and minute accuracy of his descriptions; and as the bounds of human knowledge become enlarged, many of the most startling facts related by the Father of History have proved to be correct, though his physical explanations of these phenomena may justly provoke a smile from the philosopher of our more enlightened age. He himself distinguishes with great accuracy between the results of his own personal observations and researches, and what he learned from the priests and others; and in respect to the latter sources again, what rested merely in tradition, and what might be considered as supported by the unanimous concurrence of the native authorities. It does not appear that he was acquainted even with the ordinary spoken language of the country, and still less with that of the hieroglyphics with which its monuments were covered. His intercourse with the priests must have been carried on through the medium of the Greek interpreters, the descendants of those who had been settled in Egypt since the time of Psammeticus; and had he been able to read the history of the country inscribed on its temples, obelisks, and other public monuments, he would have had the means of *testing* the accuracy of what the priests of Memphis and Thebes thought fit to tell him. He does not therefore pretend to give even an outline of Egyptian history previous to the time of Psammeticus, but only to mark some of its more prominent points, beginning with *Menes*, who is said to have been the first king, and running over three hundred and thirty others who succeeded, but whom he does not even name, 'among whom are eighteen Ethiopians and one Egyptian woman; all the rest were Egyptians, *men and not Gods*,' (thus indicating that this was subsequent to the mythic age) 'not one of whom had rendered himself celebrated by any great work or remarkable action, except *Moïris*, the last of these.' (Lib. II. § 99—101.) 'Now,' says Herodotus, 'at the time the priests spoke to me thus, there had not elapsed nine hundred years since the death of Moïris.' (§ 13.) As Herodotus journeyed into Egypt in 460 B. C., this fixes the death of Moïris, according to the priests at about 1360 B. C. He declares that he shall pass over these obscure princes to *Sesostris*, who came after them, and, 'according to the priests,' was the first, who, sailing from the Arabian Gulf in long barks, subdued the inhabitants on the shores of the Erythrian Sea, and on his return into Egypt raised

an immense army, with which he marched by the main land into Asia, subjugating all in his way, and even advancing from Asia into Europe, where he vanquished the Scythians and Thracians. On his return he left a colony of stragglers on the banks of the Phasis, and the people of Colchis must be Egyptians, says Herodotus, because they have a black skin, curled hair, (μελάγχροές εἰσι καὶ οὐλοτρίχες,) practice the rite of circumcision, &c. Sesostris left everywhere remarkable monuments of his victories, some of which the historian had seen in Syria. Escaping from an ambuscade which had been laid for him by his brother on his return to Egypt, this great conqueror employed his numerous captives in constructing immense works for the improvement and embellishment of the country, erecting dykes and cutting canals, &c. To Sesostris succeeded his son Pheron, and after him 'a citizen of Memphis, whom the Greeks call *Proteus* in their language, who entertained Menelaus after the Trojan war.' Then followed Rhampsinit, celebrated for his prodigious wealth, and Cheops, who tasked his people to build the great pyramid of Djizé. He reigned fifty years; and after him succeeded his brother Cephrenes, who reigned fifty-six years, and next Mycerinus, the son of Cheops and Asychis. All these princes built pyramids and other monumental works. Anysis succeeded them, and in his reign Egypt was invaded and subdued by the Ethiopian *Sabaco*, who was master of the country for fifty years, Anysis having fled into the marshes of Lower Egypt, from which he ultimately returned and recovered his crown. He was followed by *Sethon*, a priest of Vulcan or *Ptha*, of whom Herodotus tells a marvellous story, which, as we shall hereafter see, probably relates to the defeat of Sennacherib, the Assyrian king, on the frontiers of Egypt by Tarakos or Tirhakah, the last prince of the twenty-fifth dynasty (of Ethiopians) with whom Sethon was probably co-regent. Herodotus here enters the domain of accurate history, and he says; 'Now I am about to relate what came to pass in Egypt according to the unanimous accounts of the Egyptians and other nations, and I will subjoin those things of which I have been an eye-witness.' He then goes on to relate the period of anarchy which followed the reign of Sethon, when the land was divided among twelve petty kings, who were finally supplanted by Psammeticus.

Diodorus Siculus appears to have copied the imperfect list given by him of the regal successions of Egypt partly from Herodotus and partly from native chronicles.

The earliest national authority for the ancient chronology of Egypt is *Manetho*, a native of the Sebennytic *nome*, who held the office of high priest and sacred scribe in the temple of Heliopolis during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He compiled an Egyptian history or chronicle in three books, containing an account of the succession of kings from the supposed commencement of the monarchy under Menes down to the Macedonian conquest. This work, in its complete form, is believed to have long since perished, and the only fragments of it now remaining are contained in the works of Josephus and Syncellus. The fragment preserved by Josephus in his epistle to Apion is entire, as far as it goes, but comprises only a small portion of the dynasties. The chronological compiler known under the name of *Syncellus* was a monk of Constantinople, who flourished in the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, cotemporary of Charlemagne. The original work of Manetho was lost even in the time of Syncellus, or at least was unknown to him, and all that he has preserved of it was extracted from the compilations of previous collectors, namely, Julius Africanus and Eusebius. The works of Syncellus also contain the substance of another Egyptian document, called the *Old Chronicle*, which terminates with Nectanebo, one of the short dynasty of native kings (the thirtieth), who broke the Persian yoke and liberated their country for a season from this foreign dominion. This appears to be a document, as far as it goes, of the highest authority, and it was probably composed or completed about the time of the last Egyptian monarch, who is mentioned in it, that is, in the second year of the hundred and seventh Olympiad. *Eratosthenes*, a celebrated mathematician and astronomer, who was born 276 B. C., formed by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the then reigning sovereign, a list of the succession of Egyptian kings, called the *Laterculus*, which has also been considered one of the essential materials to be used in the adjustment of this chronology. But his work no longer exists in its original form, and all that remains of it was extracted by the diligent compiler Syncellus from the chronology of Apollodorus. This fragment is a mere dry catalogue of thirty-eight kings, who reigned one thousand and thirty-seven years, beginning with Menes, and ending in the year 1524, B. C. according to the computation of Syncellus.

There are some other scattered notices in ancient Greek and Latin writers besides Herodotus and Diodorus, but they are not

very extensive or important; so that previous to the hieroglyphic discoveries of Champollion and others, we were reduced to these copies of copies of fragments of the works of Egyptian historians and chronologists, without any precise knowledge of what traditions, monuments, or documents they used in the compilation of works, the mutilated remains of which only have been preserved.

All the Egyptian chronicles, like the early histories of most nations claiming a very high antiquity, commence with a mythic period, in which the gods and demi-gods reigned for a long space of time—thousands upon thousands of years. Thus the *Old Chronicle* comprises in the whole the prodigious period of thirty-six thousand, five hundred and twenty-five years; but thirty-four thousand, two hundred and one of these are included in the mythic period before the dynasties of mortal kings commenced. This entire period of thirty-six thousand, five hundred and twenty-five has reference to the fabulous *apocatastasis* or renovation of the zodiac; and therefore the first part of it containing the reigns of the gods and demi-gods may be at once laid out of the question, as they seem rather to be the supplements of an astronomical cycle than chronological dates. After this mythic period follow what are called the fifteen generations of the Cynic Circle, to which succeed fifteen dynasties, with the number of generations or kings belonging to each dynasty and the total number of its years, but without the names of the kings, or any other elucidations. The chronology of Manetho begins, in the same way, with the fabulous reigns of the gods and demi-gods. Then follow the dynasties of mortal kings, beginning with Menes, and specifying them by name. The list of mortal kings begins with fifteen dynasties which are not particularized at all in the *Old Chronicle*, but which evidently correspond to the fifteen generations of the Cynic Circle in that document. To these succeed the subsequent dynasties, which are represented with considerable discrepancies (many of these doubtless arising from the errors of copyists) by Africanus and Eusebius (always professing to transcribe from Manetho) both as to the names of the kings and the number of years they reigned.

The following tabular view will enable the reader to form a comparison between these two schemes, and will be found necessary in order to comprehend the elucidations which we shall attempt to give of this intricate subject.

Old Chronicle.	Years.	Manetho, according to *Africanus.*	Years.	Manetho, according to *Eusebius.*	Years.
1st generation of the Cynic Circle . .		1st Dynasty, of Thinites	253	1st Dynasty, of Thinites	252
2d generation		2d of Thinites	302	2d of Thinites	297
3d		3d of Memphites	214	3d of Memphites	198
4th		4th of Memphites	274	4th of Memphites	448
5th		5th of Elephantines	248	5th of Elephantines	248
6th		6th of Memphites	303	6th of Memphites	203
7th		7th of Memphites	70 ds.	7th of Memphites	75 ds.
8th		8th of Memphites	146	8th of Memphites	100
9th		9th of Heracleots	409	9th of Heracleots	100
10th		10th of Heracleots	185	10th of Heracleots	185
11th		11th of Diospolites	43	11th of Diospolites	43
12th		12th of Diospolites	160	12th of Diospolites	245
13th		13th of Diospolites	184	13th of Diospolites	453
14th		14th * * *		14th of Xoites	184
15th		15th of Shepherds	284	15th of Diospolites	250
Sum total of the 15 generations	443				
16th Dynasty, of Tanites	190	16th of Shepherds	558	16th of Thebans	196
17th of Memphites	103	17th of Shepherds and Thebans	253	17th of Shepherds	308
18th of Memphites	348	18th of Diospolites	263	18th of Diospolites	348
19th of Diospolites	194	19th of Diospolites	208	19th of Diospolites	194
20th of Diospolites	228	20th of Diospolites	135	20th of Diospolites	178
21st of Tanites	121	21st of Tanites	130	21st of Tanites	130
22d of Tanites	48	22d of Bubastites	120	22d of Bubastites	49
23d of Diospolites	19	23d of Tanites	89	23d of Tanites	44
24th of Saïtes	44	24th of Saïtes	6	24th of Saïtes	44
25th of Æthiopians	44	25th of Æthiopians	40	25th of Æthiopians	40
26th of Memphites	177	26th of Saïtes	150	26th of Saïtes	168
27th of Persians	124	27th of Persians	124	27th of Persians	120
* * * * * *	* *	28th of Saïtes	6	28th of Saïtes	6
29th * * *	39	29th of Mendesians	20	29th of Mendesians	21
30th of Tanites	18	30th of Sebannytes	38	30th of Sebannytes	20
	2,146				

Besides the work of Perizonius and other modern chronologers, an elaborate attempt to explain these obscure and contradictory authorities was made by Sir John Marsham, in 1672, in a very learned work on the subject, entitled '*Canon Egyptiacus.*' This writer seeks to reconcile the *Old Chronicle* and that of Manetho, by supposing that Egypt in the earliest ages was divided into several independent states, and that these documents contain several distinct cotemporaneous successions of kings; that the dynasties of Diospolites, for instance, give a succession of princes, who ruled over the Thebaïd, and were coëval with other dynasties of Memphites, Elephantines, and Thinites. This supposition is countenanced by historical anal-

ogy in the process of the formation of great states in early times, which has usually been produced by the gradual aggregation of lesser tribes into one national body. When we speak of the foundation of a great monarchy as if it were the work of a day, we speak of that which never had any existence in fact. The geographical and natural features of Egypt render it highly improbable that its early history, if it were fully and accurately known, would form an exception to this general law which has uniformly governed the progress of human society. All its traditions concur in proving that Egyptian civilization must have descended the Nile. The glory of Thebes preceded that of Memphis; the capitals and states of Lower Egypt were not founded until a later period, and did not probably begin to flourish until the Delta was effectually redeemed from the waters of the Nile and the sea by means of those prodigious works which were the objects of wonder and admiration to Herodotus and other Greek travellers. Menes may have been a mythological personage, or a mortal king; but he who turned the course of the Nile, and founded the city of Memphis in its ancient bed—who excavated the immense lake to the north and west of that capital—who built a magnificent temple to the god *Phtha*,—could not have been the petty king of a savage tribe, and his reign must have been preceded by other conquerors and legislators. However this may be, still it is evident from the history of Joseph as given by Moses, that the kingdom of which Memphis was the capital, where Joseph appears to have resided, embraced, at the least, the whole of Middle and Lower Egypt, and constituted a compact and powerful monarchy, with a splendid court, the division of castes and hierarchy of ranks as they subsequently existed, together with considerable advancement in learning and all the arts of civilized life. This flourishing state of things was followed by the renewed incursions of the pastoral tribes, the *Hycksos*, from the East. But as the dynasties of Egyptian princes, the native Pharaohs, still continued to reign in Upper Egypt, it would seem probable that a considerable retrenchment ought to be made from the earlier lists when the monarchs of the Thebaïd reigned cotemporaneously with the Shepherd kings in the Delta.

A work was published in 1752, by Dr Jackson, in three quarto volumes, under the title of 'Chronological Antiquities,' in which the author attempts to reconcile the *Old Chronicle* with that of Manetho, and both of them with the Jewish Scriptures, by reducing the Egyptian years to lunar years of a month.

A more successful and ingenious endeavor to estimate the chronology of Egypt is that contained in the recent treatise of Dr Prichard on Egyptian mythology. The hypothesis assumed by him supposes that Manetho derived his information from the sacred registers kept in the Egyptian temples in the different *nomes* or provinces, some at Memphis, some at Diospolis and elsewhere. Here is an obvious source of discrepancy in documents compiled by different historians or annalists, whose materials were thus drawn from various sources. Memphis was for some time subject to the yoke of the *Hycksos*, whilst Diospolis or Eliphantine was occasionally under the sway of the Ethiopians. Hence great variations might arise in the successions of kings at such distant places, whilst, as it often happens in the history of the East, usurpers, from being mere governors of provinces, *nomarchs*, or satraps, would assume the ensigns and substantial prerogatives of royalty. Their names might be interpolated into the regular lists, and even in the names of the legitimate monarchs great discrepancies would occur from the variety of surnames and high-sounding titles given to the same sovereigns. In short, the sources of confusion were abundant, so that although Memphis and Diospolis were in general subject to the Pharaohs, whose sceptre extended over the rest of Egypt, yet the series of kings as exhibited in the sacred registers of Thebes might differ materially from that of the Memphite records. Syncellus remarks that Manetho must have had before him the *Old Chronicle* when he undertook to compile his chronological table, which he modelled upon the plan of that document. The Old Chronicle professedly contains thirty dynasties; but the first half of that number consists, as we have seen, of fifteen generations of the Cynic Circle. With the view of supplying this apparent chasm or imperfection in the series, Manetho probably filled up the first fifteen places with dynasties under similar titles to those which are comprised in the remainder of the table. For the purpose of obtaining materials to supply these fifteen lists, he collected the old records from the different nomes, and thus formed dynasties of Memphite kings from the registers of Memphis, and of Diospolitan from those of Thebes. That the first fifteen dynasties of Manetho were constructed in this manner is supposed to be proved by internal evidence drawn from a minute comparison which Dr Prichard has instituted of these lists with those of the Old Chronicle and Eratosthenes, which discloses the most remarkable coincidences of names and repetitions of his-

torical facts inexplicable on any other hypothesis. Thus the name *Sesostris* is found as the third king of the twelfth dynasty, in the extracts from Manetho by Eusebius, with the same historical elucidations which are contained in the fragment of Manetho preserved by Josephus, and the same circumstances which are attributed to that conqueror by Herodotus and Diodorus. But he is generally supposed to be the same with the remarkable king *Sethos*, or *Sethosis*, the son of Amenophis the Third, and the founder of the nineteenth dynasty; and Dr Prichard infers that he has been thus transposed and thrown back to an era far more remote than the Greek authorities seem to place him.

The work of Professor Rask, the title of which is quoted at the head of this article, is principally founded upon that of Prichard; but the learned Dane has corrected many of the errors and inconsistencies of that author, who often wanders from one authority to another, sometimes following Eusebius, sometimes Africanus, and at others Eratosthenes, without sufficient reasons for preferring one to another. Professor Rask, on the contrary, has endeavored to reconcile the *Old Chronicle* to Eusebius, because the Old Chronicle appears to him to be entitled to the highest credit and Syncellus to scarcely any; so that he has laid that chronicle at the foundation as to the extent and number of reigns in every dynasty and period, and applied to other sources merely to supply the names and years of the particular kings. Hence, though the difference between his computations and those of Prichard is but small at the outset, differing only a single year in the commencement of the reign of Psammeticus the First, he hardly agrees with that writer in any number throughout, and at last arrives at a very different result in respect to some of the principal epochs of the most ancient Egyptian history. He has also made great use of the *Paros Chronicle*, or the Arundel marbles, which Prichard has entirely neglected, but which carries back the Grecian chronology with certainty almost as far as the Hebrew, and of course is of the greatest utility and importance in determining its synchronisms with that of Egypt.

The Egyptian chronicles have been somewhat elucidated, and their authority has received great confirmation from the recent discoveries of Champollion and others respecting the nature of the characters with which the public monuments of Egypt are covered, and in which the most ancient manuscripts

of that country are written. So long as the mistaken notion prevailed that these characters consisted of merely symbolical signs of ideas, and not the signs of sounds also, every effort to penetrate the secrets of this mysterious language proved utterly vain and fruitless. Yet it seems strange that the remarkable passage in Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromat.* V. 657.) should have been so long overlooked, in which he clearly describes the different modes of writing practised by the Egyptians, dividing them into the epistolographic, the hieratic, and hieroglyphic; and subdividing the last into, 1. Hieroglyphics representing the objects by letters, κυριολογικὴ διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων; and, 2. Hieroglyphics representing the objects by symbolical signs, συμβολική. This last sort of hieroglyphics he again divides into three species; first, that representing the objects by proper imitation, κυριολογικὴ κατὰ μίμησιν; second, that representing them tropically, τροπικῶς γράφεται; third, that representing them by means of certain enigmatical allegories, κατά τινας αἰνιγμούς. M. Champollion has accordingly shown that there were three different species of writing used among the Egyptians from very early times; first, the common writing used in the ordinary transactions of life, which he calls, after Herodotus, *demotic;* secondly, the sacerdotal writing, called *hieratic;* and, thirdly, the hieroglyphic, combined of characters *symbolical* and *figurative*, or representative of ideas, and *phonetic*, or those representative of the sounds of letters. By means of this great discovery, he has been able to read upon the still existing monuments of Egypt—its palaces, temples, obelisks, and tombs,—the names and attributes of the sovereigns of Egypt, from the native Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, to the Ptolemies and the Roman emperors, expressed in characters representing the sounds of the Egyptian, Ethiopian, Persian, Greek, and Roman alphabetical letters of the different periods. The same means have rendered intelligible other inscriptions on the public and private monuments of Egypt, as well as various public and private writings on papyrus in the demotic, hieratic, and hieroglyphic characters, referring to the epoch of each sovereign in whose reign they were written, and some of them unquestionably more than three thousand years old. There has also been recently found in the museum at Turin a papyrus manuscript of the time of the Ptolemies, which contains in hieratic characters an abridgment of the Egyptian chronicles with the successions of kings, and

which may perhaps prove to be one of the documents, from which Manetho compiled his history.

The hieroglyphical proper name of the Persian conqueror of Egypt, Cambyses, *(Kamboth)* has been found in an inscription upon the statue of a Saïte priest in the museum of the Vatican. The name of his immediate successor, Darius, *(Ntarionsch)* is sculptured upon the great temple of the Oasis *El-Khardjéh*, and there are several private contracts and grants of land dated in his reign in the museums of Paris and Turin. That of Xerxes has also been discovered by M. Champollion upon a beautiful vase of oriental alabaster in the collection of the king of France. This name is formed of seven phonetic hieroglyphic characters, rendering the true Persian name of this monarch, *Khschéarscha*. This reading is confirmed by another inscription on the same vase in the arrow-headed character of the ancient Persian language, as seen in the inscriptions upon the ruins of Persepolis, in which is found the name of *Khschéarscha*, with the epithet *Iéré*, which is also repeated in the hieroglyphic legend in five phonetic characters forming a word which may be pronounced *Iérina*, or *Iriéno*, which in the Zend signifies *Iranian*, that is, Persian, the well known ancient name of Persia being *Iran*. The name of Artaxerxes *(Artakhschèssch,)* is also to be found upon several Egyptian monuments, together with the names of the patriot Pharaohs, who struggled during a period of forty years to shake off the Persian yoke rendered hateful to the natives by religious persecution as well as civil oppression.

We have already stated that the epoch of the conquest of Egypt by the Persians under Cambyses, 525, B. C., is a well ascertained date in which all chronologers are agreed, and serves as a fixed point from which to ascertain other dates more remote from the acknowledged region of authentic history. The twenty-sixth Egyptian dynasty, the last before the Persian conquest, commenced in 702, B. C., under *Ammeris*, and comprised a succession of ten monarchs including *Psamminit*, the infant successor of Amasis or Amósis. This succession is brought into a tabular form by Professor Rask as follows;

Names.	*Years.*	*B. C.*
Ammeris	11	702
Stephinatés	7	691
Nekepsós	6	684

Nechaó the First	8	678
Psammeticus	54	670
Nechaó the Second	16	616
Psammúthis	6	600
Vaphris	25	594
Amósis	44	569
Psamminit	½	525

All the Pharaohs of this dynasty, with the exception of the last, the unfortunate prince Psamminit, have left splendid monuments of their munificent patronage of the arts. The beautiful obelisk of Monte Citorio at Rome, and the colossal columns in the first court of the palace of Karnack at Thebes, attest the munificence of Psammeticus the First (*Psamétèk*), whose long reign was spent in quelling the internal disorders consequent upon the anarchy which had followed the Ethiopian dominion, and in opening a liberal intercourse with other nations. Nechao the Second, who is the same alluded to by Herodotus under the name of *Nechos*, is the Pharaoh *Nechoh*, who defeated and slew Josiah the king of Judah, at the battle of Megiddo, or Magdolum, after which he gained possession of Jerusalem, and raised Jehoiakim to the vacant throne. (2 Kings, xxiii. and 2 Chron. xxxv.) His legend is to be read in hieroglyphic inscriptions upon several monuments of Upper Egypt. Edifices erected by Psammúthis, or Psammeticus the Second, are to be found in the island of Philæ. Several portions of the buildings found in the same sacred island, as well as the obelisk of Minerva at Rome, date from the reign of his successor Vaphris, Apriés, or Ouaphris. He is the same who is mentioned in the Jewish Scriptues under the name of *Hophra*, and is the Pharaoh, upon whose assistance Zedekiah the last king of Judah relying, revolted against Nebuchadnezzar. Jerusalem was destroyed by that Assyrian monarch in 588, B. C., which date falls within the reign of Vaphris as computed by Herodotus and Manetho. The scattered fragments of sculpture found in the ruins of Saïs bear the royal legend of Amósis, or Amasis, who also dedicated to the goddess *Néith*, the Egyptian Minerva, the monolithic chapel of rose-colored granite, now in the museum of the Louvre.

The concurrence of historical testimonies establishes the fact of the conquest of Egypt by the Ethiopians at a period not very long preceding the reign of Psammeticus the First. The

dynasty of these conquerors is reckoned the twenty-fifth. The Jewish Scriptures prove that Egypt was about this period in possession of the Ethiopians, for we read in them that Sennacherib the Assyrian carried on war with the Ethiopian king called *Tirhakah* (2 Kings, xix. 9.), and there is no probable way in which their arms could come in contact, unless the latter had conquered Egypt and sought to subdue Palestine. The last prince of the Ethiopian dynasty was *Tarakos*, and his reign, if we compute upwards from the well ascertained date of the accession of Psammeticus the First (670, B. C.), coincides with the epoch assigned in the Scriptures to Tirhakah. This war was signalized by the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem from the meditated attack of the Assyrian king, which is probably the same event alluded to by Herodotus in the account which he gives of the defeat of Sennacherib on the frontiers of Egypt. It is true, he relates that this happened during the reign of an Egyptian prince called *Sethon*, a priest of Vulcan, who was hated by the military caste, and being deserted by his army was miraculously delivered by his god. It is probable that from motives of policy this high-priest was suffered to play the nominal part of king under the Ethiopians, whose sway over Egypt was extremely mild; but there can be scarcely a doubt that he was cotemporary with Tarakos. The predecessor of this monarch was Sevéchos, who seems to be the same sovereign mentioned in Scripture by the name of *So*, with whom Hosea king of Israel entered into a secret alliance against the Assyrians, in consequence of which the latter besieged Samaria and carried the ten tribes of Israel into captivity. Calculations derived from these synchronisms carry back the conquest of Egypt by the Ethiopians to 746, B. C., and the twenty-fifth dynasty will stand thus;

Names.	*Years.*	*B. C.*
Sabbakón	12	746
Sevéchos	12	734
Tarakos	20	722

The mildness of the Egyptian government under this foreign dynasty, in comparison with the oppression the nation afterwards suffered from the Persian yoke, must be attributed to the similarity of the language, institutions, and manners of the Ethiopians and Egyptians. The researches of Calliaud and other recent travellers in Wulia have shown that the monuments of the ancient Meroë are covered with the same hieroglyphics,

are constructed in the same taste, and indicate the same progress in letters, arts, and manners as those of Egypt. A great number of the monuments still existing in Ethiopia and Upper Egypt are inscribed with the legends of the three kings of this dynasty, in phonetic hieroglyphics, under the names of *Schaback, Sĕvekôthph, and Tahrak.* The ruins of the fine edifice of Soleb, upon the banks of the Nile about one hundred leagues south of Philæ, the extreme southern frontier of Egypt, are the most remote monuments in that direction which bear the royal legends of the native Pharaohs. But still further south ascending the Nile into the heart of the ancient Ethiopia, more than eight degrees from the tropic of Cancer, there are scattered over the space of more than one hundred leagues the ruins of colossal monuments in the same style and covered with the same mysterious characters as those of Egypt and Nubia, but presenting names and royal legends varying from those of the former countries, thus indicating the existence in a very remote period of antiquity of a great civilized empire in that quarter independent of the kingdoms of Thebes and Memphis, but whose inhabitants evidently belonged to the same family of mankind established from the earliest times in the northeast of Africa and having scarcely anything in common with the Asiatic tribes. This family had also planted its colonies in the various Oases, or islands in the desert, to the south and west of Egypt, all of which present the vestiges of the same peculiar race of men.

The four dynasties, preceding the Ethiopian conquest, are the twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth. As the variations between Dr Prichard and Professor Rask, and the ancient authorities they have respectively followed, here begin to be most conspicuous, we shall exhibit them in parallel columns as follows :

Twenty-first Dynasty, (*of* Tanites.)

Prichard.			Rask.		
Names.	*Years.*	*B. C.*	*Names.*	*Years.*	*B. C.*
Smendes	26	1012	Smendes	26	978
Psousennes I.	41		Amenopthis	9	952
Nephercheres	4		Osorchor	6	943
Amenopthis	9		Psinachés	9	937
Osorchor	6		Psúsennés II.	50	928
Psinaches	6		Sesenchósis	21	878
Psousennes II.	35				
Total	130		Total	121	

	Twenty second Dynasty, (*of* Boubastites.)			
Sesonchosis	21	Osóróth (Osórthón I.)	15	878
Osorthon I.	15	Takellóthis	13	842
Takellothis	13	Petubastés	20	829
Total	49	Total	48	
	Twenty-third Dynasty, (*of* Tanites.)			
Potonbastes	25	Osorchó (Osórthón II.)	9	809
Osorthon II.	9	Psammús	10	800
Psammos	9			
Total	44	Total	19	
	Twenty-fourth Dynasty, (*of* Saïte.)			
Bocchoris	44	Bocchóris	44	790
Total	267	Total	232	

The founder of the twenty-first dynasty, *Smendes*, is supposed by Dr Prichard, after Syncellus, to be the Shishak, or Súsakim, who is mentioned in Scripture (1 Kings, xiv, xv, and 2 Chron. xii,) as having invaded Palestine and sacked Jerusalem in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, who ascended the throne of David thirty-six years after the foundation of Solomon's temple. By computing upwards from the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, which is ascertained to have happened in 588, B. C., and reckoning the successive reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, Archbishop Usher has calculated the interval between the foundation and the destruction of the temple at four hundred and twenty-four years, and thus dates its building in 1012, B. C. To this period Dr Hales has added fifteen years, on grounds which seem to be solid, and thus the building of the temple is dated in 1027, B. C. It results from these dates that the invasion of Judea and sack of Jerusalem by Shishak must have happened in 985, B. C. But Professor Rask, without contesting this chronology, has proved that the *Shishak* mentioned in Scripture is the Egyptian king Sesyachoris or Psúsennés the First, who was doubtless a cotemporary of Rehoboam; and as he reigned from 1028 to 982, B. C., the sack of Jerusalem occurred during his reign. According to Professor Rask, the name of this monarch, together with that of Nephercheres, ought to be transferred from the twenty-first to the twentieth dynasty, and of course their reigns must be subtracted from 1012, B. C.,

which Dr Prichard assigns as the commencement of the twenty-first. Besides, there is a difference in their respective computations of the dynasties interjacent between this and the last preceding the Persian conquest, as Prichard places the beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty at 701, B. C. instead of 702,

twenty-fifth " 745, " 746,
twenty-fourth " 789, " 790,

which number, 701, however, is without the least foundation in his own calculation, though the basis of his whole chronology; for it is established (page 57, note) by a strange inadvertency in this manner; 'Now since 33+671=701, the end of the reign of Tarakos and of the Ethiopian dynasty happened in the year B. C. 701, and their accession in 721.' In the twenty-third dynasty, he has followed closely Eusebius and Syncellus, neglecting the authority of the *Old Chronicle*, to which, as already mentioned, Professor Rask has adhered throughout.

M. Champollion supposes Sesonchósis to have been the Shishak or Súsakim of Scripture. But his reign cannot possibly be made to synchronize with that of Rehoboam upon any rational and approved scheme of chronology. That Osoróth, or Osórthón the First, was the son as well as successor of Sesonchósis, appears from a hieroglyphic manuscript on papyrus engraved in the work of M. Denon (*Voyage dans la Haute et Basse Egypte*, pl. 137). It is one of those funerary tablets filled with figures and hieroglyphic legends, forming a sort of picture-writing carelessly executed in point of art, and commemorative of the decease, obsequies, and apotheosis of the kings and other illustrious personages of Egypt. In this tablet, an embalmed body or mummy is received in the outstretched arms of the creative god Ptha, who is characterized by a scarabæus placed upon his head. This mummy again appears on the opposite side of the scroll, lying on a sort of sarcophagus, upon which reposes the symbolical image of a *male* soul (the hawk with a human head bearded); by its side is a sacred ensign, and one of those long and broad fans borne in token of supremacy before gods and kings as figured in Egyptian basreliefs. Near it sits couchant upon a rich pedestal the figure of a black jackal, the usual emblem of the god Anubis, one of the ministers of his father Osiris in the Egyptian Tartarus. On the right is the image of the god Amon-Rê, represented standing in a barque. Above this groupe is a hieroglyphic legend which may be rendered as follows;

'*The pure by* AMON-RE, *King of the Gods,* 'OSORKON, *son of* SHESCHONK, *king, vivifier, approved by* ANEBÔ' [Anubis.]

This legend is arranged so that the column containing the name of the god Amon-Rê, is placed above the head of that deity, and the column containing the head of the god Anubis is above the head of the jackal, by which he is typified. On the lower part of the same papyrus the mummy of the king Osorkon is again seen lying upon a barque, above which terminates a long hieroglyphic legend in perpendicular columns as follows :

'*The purified by* AMON-RE, *king of the Gods,* OSORKON, *defunct, son of the purified by Amon-Rê, king of the gods,* SCHESCHONK, *defunct king,* '*born of the Lord of the World, the cherished of Amon,* OSORKON, *vivifier like to the Sun for ever.*'

M. Champollion has also read upon various monuments the royal legends of Petubastés, *Ptahfteh;* of his son and successor Osórthón the Second, *Osortasen;* and of the son and successor of this last, Psammus, *Psjam.* The name, surname, and titles of Osórthón the First, the son of Sesenchosis, are also engraved upon a beautiful vase of oriental alabaster, which from its hieroglyphic inscription appears to have been consecrated by this Pharaoh, to the god 'Sovereign of the Regions of the World, the Supreme Lord, Amon-Rê.' The history of this vase is very curious. It was transported from Egypt to Rome, where an illustrious member of the Claudian family converted it into his funeral urn. The epitaph of this patrician is engraved in Latin letters opposite to the hieroglyphic dedication of the Egyptian monarch. It is now in the royal museum of France.

The twentieth dynasty (of Diospolites) is entirely lost in the extracts of Africanus and Eusebius from the original of Manetho, and the number of years assigned to the collective reigns of these compilers cannot be verified with absolute certainty. Dr Prichard, following Africanus, assigns them one hundred and seventy-eight years, and thus fixes the accession of the dynasty at 1147, B. C. This number one hundred and seventy-eight years is right, but (according to Professor Rask) does not comprehend the whole dynasty; the two last kings, Sesynchoris or Psúsennés the First, and Nephercherés, having been transposed by some mistake in Africanus and placed in the twenty-first dynasty, from which he has recalled them

as already mentioned, and vindicated their title to be placed in the twentieth dynasty ; first, by the extent of their reigns, fifty years, which added to one hundred and seventy-eight makes two hundred and twenty-eight, the number in the Old Chronicle ; secondly, because the first of them, Sesynchoris or Psúsennés, coincides in name and time with the *Súsakim* of the Septuagint version, which is not the case with Smendes. Professor Rask thus fixes the duration of this dynasty at two hundred and twenty-eight years, and consequently dates its commencement in 1206, B. C. This is somewhere near the epoch of the war of Troy, according to the general concurrence of the best chronological authorities, and it becomes an object of great interest to determine with accuracy so important a synchronism. Dr Prichard assumes the old calculation of Eratosthenes, which rests on the authority of the Olympiad chronology, and fixes the fall of Troy at 1183, B. C. This is more secure ground (according to this writer) than any of the conjectural computations founded on the supposed average length of regal successions, the fallacy of which method has been exposed by Dr Musgrave in his 'Dissertations on the Chronology of the Olympiad.' The line of English kings from William the Conqueror to George the Third, gives us twenty-three generations, and the period elapsed from the Norman conquest in 1066 to 1820, is seven hundred and fifty-four years, which number divided by twenty-three gives about thirty-two years and a half for each generation. This shows that the length of reigns in a regular lineal succession may be nearly as long as the usually assigned average of generations, namely, three to a century. If we take an average of the reigns of the kings of France from the time of Henry the Fourth, we shall find that they contained upwards of forty years one with another. The number of reigns of the Roman emperors from Augustus Cæsar to Augustulus was sixty-two ; the latter prince fell in the year 456 ; and calculating on the average above deduced, Augustus must have begun his reign upwards of two thousand years before the Christian era ! And even if we adopt Sir Isaac Newton's average of 20 years, we shall place this emperor a thousand years before his real time.

Professor Rask, on the other hand, whilst he concedes the fallacy of chronological computations derived from averages of reigns, insists that as we are left in entire ignorance of the grounds on which Eratosthenes placed the fall of Troy at an

epoch answering to the year 1183 before the Christian era, it is safer to rely upon the authority of the Arundel marbles, or Paros Chronicle, which determines this great event precisely on the twenty-fourth day of the month Thargelion, in the nine hundred and forty-fifth year before Diognetes was archon in Athens, which was 264, B. C. Thus, Troy fell, 945+264= 1209, B. C., about the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth Egyptian dynasty.

These two dynasties are arranged by Professor Rask as follows;

The nineteenth Dynasty (*of* Diospolites.)

Names.	*Years.*	*B. C.*
Sethós	55	1400
Rapsés	66	1345
Ammenepthés	40	1279
Ammenemmés	26	1239
Thúóris	7	1213
Total	214	

The twentieth Dynasty, (*of* Diospolites.)

Names.	*Years.*	*B. C.*
Ketés (Próteus)	20	1206
Rampsinit (Remphis)	9	1186
Cheops (Chembés)	50	1177
Chephrén (Chabryis)	56	1127
Mykerinos	27	1074
Ammenemés (Asychis)	16	1044
Psúsennés the First	46	1028
Nephercherés	4	982
Total	228	

Dr Prichard considers Thúóris, the last king of the nineteenth dynasty, as the prince who, according to Homer, entertained Menelaus, (Odyss. iv. 126,) and who is called *Polybus* by the poet and *Proteus* by Herodotus, and that Troy was taken during the reign of his second antecessor Rameses, who was the fourth king of the nineteenth dynasty according to Africanus. But Professor Rask has shown by a careful comparison of the authorities that Thuoris reigned in the time of the Trojan war, that Ketes or Proteus was the prince who entertained Menelaus during his wandering after the siege, and that the Rameses of Africanus is by a mistake transposed hither from the eighteenth dynasty, where he is wanting in Africanus. Polybus and Proteus are confounded by Herodo-

tus, but rightly distinguished by Homer. Now the reign of Thuoris falls between 1213 and 1206. Of course the conquest of Troy (1209) happened during his reign, according to Manetho, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ Ἴλιον ἑάλω, and it was his successor Ketes or Proteus whom Menelaus visited on his return during the eight years of his wandering.

The names, order of succession, and length of the reigns of the first five kings of the twentieth dynasty, which are wanting in all the Egyptian documents, are obtained from Herodotus and Diodorus. The sixth king Ammenemés is the same with the Asychis of Herodotus, and is mentioned by Manetho at the end of his first *tome* in the extracts of Africanus and Eusebius, as if (but evidently by mistake) in connexion with the eleventh dynasty of that author. The two last kings, Psúsennés the First and Nephercheres are restored to this dynasty from the twenty-first, upon grounds which have already been mentioned.

The nineteenth dynasty is established by the general concurrence of authorities for the names of the kings, except Ramesés, who has been by mistake transferred hither from the eighteenth, where he properly belongs according to Manetho (apud Josephum), and for the sum total of the years of all the reigns by the *Old Chronicle*, with which agrees Eusebius.

The eighteenth dynasty (of Diospolites) is arranged by Professor Rask from the concurrent authority of written documents and monuments actually existing at the present time. Supposing him to have accurately determined the synchronism of the Trojan war with the Egyptian annals, we have here a fixed point from which we can ascertain in a satisfactory manner the termination of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty, in the reign of the remarkable king *Sethos*, who has generally been taken for the famous *Sesostris*. According to this computation he began to reign about two centuries before the Trojan war, that is, about one thousand four hundred years before the Christian æra; and counting upwards from this date we may calculate with tolerable accuracy the different epochs of the preceding dynasty which stands as follows;

The Eighteenth Dynasty, (*of* Diospolites.)

Names.	*Years.*	*B. C.*
Amósis (Tethmósis)	25	1748
Chebrón	13	1723
Amenóphis I.	21	1710

Amersis	22	1689
Mephrés	13	1667
Misphragmúthósis	26	1654
Túthmósis	9	1628
Amenóphis II. (Memnon)	31	1619
Horós	16	1588
Akencherés (Athóris)	6	1560
Chencherés (Chebrés)	12	1554
Acherrés	12	1542
Cherrés	14	1530
Armais (Danaus)	5	1516
Ramessés I. (Egyptus)	5	1511
Armessés (Ramessés II.)	63	1506
Amenóphis III. (Masis)	43	1443
Total	348	

The most important synchronism of Grecian with Egyptian history previous to the Trojan war, is the emigration of Danaus, which is generally reckoned to have happened about one thousand five hundred years before the Christian æra, and which Professor Rask has fixed precisely at 1511, B. C., upon 'the greatest of all authorities from antiquity, the Paros marble chronicle, which tells us, that from the time of the arrival in Greece of a *πεντηκόντορος*, and the building of the temple of Rhodes by the daughters of Danaus, until Diognetes was archon at Athens, elapsed one thousand two hundred and forty-seven years. Now Diognetes was Archon 264, B. C. Of course, 264+1247=1511, which is the year when Danaus emigrated from Egypt into Greece.' He also establishes the previous emigration of Cecrops in 1588, B. C. under the ninth Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty, Horós or Hôr; and concurs with Dr Prichard in determining the Exodus of the Israelites in 1619, B. C. The computation of this last mentioned date depends upon the duration we assign to the period which elapsed between the foundation of the Temple at Jerusalem and the Exodus. Archbishop Usher's calcution of this period, which is supported by the present Hebrew text, assigns to it four hundred and eighty years, which is inconsistent with the tenor of the previous Jewish history. Josephus states it at five hundred and ninety-two years, which calculation seems to have been generally adopted by the learned among the Jews about the time of the Christian æra, and St. Paul appears to have followed it in the sketch of the history of Israel

in Acts xiii. 17—22. It is also adopted by Michaëlis and other learned modern critics; and as we have already seen, the foundation of the Temple is dated 1027, B. C.
Add for the interval abovementioned, 592,

We find the Exodus in 1619, in the reign of Amenóphis the Second (Memnon), the eighth Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty.

The period between Abraham's migration into Egypt and the Exodus of Moses which is said (Exod. xii. 40—41.) to have comprehended four hundred and thirty years, Professor Rask takes for two hundred and fifteen years, supposing the year of twelve months to have been first introduced by Moses, and that before his time, from Abraham down, the year merely consisted of six months. This hypothesis he corroborates, first, by the number of generations, which, including Abraham and Moses, are seven; as $7\times33=231$, or $7\times31=217$; secondly, by an expression of Manetho, that 'the Shepherd kings and their posterity, held Egypt under their sway about five hundred and eleven years.' This posterity of the Shepherds or outcast Egyptians, he takes to be the followers of Cecrops, who obtained assistance from the Israelites, so that the number of 511 years=255 twelvemonths, is composed of the two hundred and fifteen years during which Israel sojourned in Egypt, and the forty years in which they were wandering in the desert and assisting the Cecropides in the war with the Egyptians. Dr Prichard has taken both the relations of the conquest of Egypt by the Shepherd kings by Manetho (apud Josephum) as belonging to the same event, and consequently has not observed the synchronism with Cecrops, nor explained the number five hundred and eleven in any way, but taken them to be natural years, and thus placed the first entrance of the Shepherd tribes into Egypt 2071, B. C.; whereas Professor Rask adding two hundred and fifteen to one thousand six hundred and nineteen, places the first arrival of Abraham in 1834, B. C. The learned Michaëlis, who agrees with Hales, Prichard, and Rask in fixing the epoch of the Exodus at 1619, takes the number four hundred and thirty (in Exodus, xii. 40.) not only for ordinary years of twelve months, but to have elapsed not between Abraham and the Exodus, but merely between Jacob's arrival in Egypt and the Exodus, which is about one hundred years to each generation! Professor Rask

has exposed this strange hypothesis as an absurdity contrary to reason and human nature, and in a treatise upon the Hebrew chronology lately read by him before the Royal Society of Sciences at Copenhagen, he has adduced some additional arguments of great weight in support of his own hypothesis, that the year at this period consisted of six months only, especially from incidents in the life of Sarah and others of the patriarchal age, as related in Scripture.

Beyond the epoch of the migration of Abraham the history of Egypt presents no point of contact with the annals of any other nation. The darkness and obscurity of the mythic age begin to hang over it, and our curiosity is baffled by the confusion of the documentary history and the want of monumental data to supply its place. But even subsequent to this period there are many historical facts so blended with allegory and fable as to render it difficult to distinguish truth from falsehood. We have already mentioned that *Sethos*, the first Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty has commonly been taken for the *Sesostris* of the Greeks. But Professor Rask concurs with Count Potocki (*Dynasties du Second Livre de Manéthon*) in throwing the epoch of this celebrated conqueror farther back, and identifying him with *Sesóchris*, who began to reign about 1814, B. C., soon after the migration of Abraham into Egypt. He considers that the exploits which are recorded of this Egyptian monarch become much more credible when they are assigned to a period before the establishment of the Israelites in Judea and the foundation of the great monarchies of Asia, since there is nowhere any mention of his encountering these powerful states in his Asiatic expedition, which is said to have extended to the borders of the Euxine. But to others the existence of a great monarch, who directed the united resources of Egypt in a military expedition of such importance would seem to be assigned with more probability to a period subsequent to the expulsion of the *Hyksos*, when the power of the monarchy became consolidated, and the military genius of the nation had been formed in these wars with the barbarians of the desert. The hieroglyphic legend, which is most frequently found inscribed on the monuments of Egypt and Nubia from the second cataract of the Nile to the shores of the Mediterranean, is that of a monarch, whose proper name when expressed in alphabetical letters equivalent to the phonetic hieroglyphics used in these inscriptions, is *Ramses*. The same royal legend is also to be

read in a bilingual inscription, in hieroglyphic and arrow headed characters, near the ancient Berytus in Syria. The image of the Pharaoh, to whom this so often repeated legend belongs, is sculptured in bas-reliefs representing battles, sieges, military orations and marches, and the passages of rivers; he is the object of the homage of vanquished nations, whose complexion and dress are different from those of the Egyptians figured on the same monuments; he is seen receiving gifts peculiar to the interior of Africa, such as camelopards, ostriches, and different species of apes and antelopes; he lavished his immense power and wealth, apparently the fruit of foreign conquests, in erecting magnificent temples and palaces, adorned with sculptures and inscribed with his name, epithets, and exploits. We are informed by Tacitus that when Germanicus ascended the Nile and visited the gigantic remains of the once mighty Thebes, he interrogated the priests upon the meaning of the hieroglyphic inscriptions with which they were covered, by whom he was told that they contained an account of the ancient state of Egypt; its revenues and military forces, and related especially to the conquest of Lybia, Ethiopia, Syria, and a great part of Asia by one of their ancient kings called *Rhamses*. (Tac. Annal. Lib. II. c. 60.) But there are several princes of this name mentioned in the Egyptian chronicles and monuments. The first of these is Ῥαμεσῆς or Ἀρμεσῆς, Ramses the First (Egyptos), the sixteenth Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty, who has sometimes been confounded with Sesostris. But he reigned only five years, and we are expressly told by Diodorus, (what indeed is extremely probable in itself) that the great expedition of Sesostris occupied nine years—*συντελέσας τὴν στρατείαν ἐν ἔτεσιν ἐννέα.* The next prince of the same name was the son and successor of the last mentioned Ῥαμεσῆς-Μειάμουν, who reigned sixty-three years; but M. Champollion has shown that his legend is entirely different from that of the warrior-prince now in question. He concludes that it must be referred to Σέθως or Σέθωσις, the first Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty, and the son of Amenophis the Third, the last of the eighteenth. In support of this hypothesis, he relies upon the authority of Manetho (apud Josephum contra Apion.), who in relating the second invasion of Egypt by the pastoral tribes during the reign of Amenophis the Third, states that this king, when he set off to encounter the enemy, confided to a faithful friend his son *Sethos*, who also bore the name of

Ramesses—*Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ΣΕ'ΘΩΝ, τὸν καὶ 'ΡΑΜΕ'ΣΣΗΝ* * * * *ὠνομασμένον* ; and he also tells how the latter afterwards ascended the throne of Egypt and carried his victorious arms into Asia. From the similarity of the accounts which are given of the character and adventures of Sesostris by the Greek historians, with what is told of Sethos by Manetho, they are identified by M. Champollion as being the same Pharaoh whose name so often occurs in the monumental history of Egypt. Besides several vast temples which still exist in Nubia, he constructed the edifice called the palace of Osymakias, a portion of the immense building of Karnack, and the anterior court, the portal, and the colossal monuments of the palace of Luxor at Thebes. Nor was his munificent patronage confined to these works of art connected with luxury and superstition. He intersected the country with canals, and secured it against inundations by embankments of prodigious magnitude and extent. He also undertook the grand and useful work of excavating a navigable canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, a project which was subsequently resumed by Nekao the Second, and finally carried into effect under the Ptolemies. There are several fine original statutes of this Pharoah in the royal museum at Turin, grouped with the images of the tutelary gods and goddesses of Egypt, and inscribed with legends in the usual style of oriental hyperbole and adulation like the following ;

'The living God and Lord of the World, RE-SATE, approved by PHRE, the Child of the Sun, the Cherished of AMON,

'RAMSES, vivifier, beloved of AMON-RA, Lord of the three zones of the Universe, presiding in the Regions of Apt, great God, and Lord of the Heavens.'

'Thus saith AMON-RA, King of the Gods; *We have given long and happy Life, and the Dominion, to Thee, who art Lord of the World,* RE-SATE, *approved by* PHRE.'

One of the most curious monuments of Egyptian antiquity is that called the table of Abydos, discovered in the ruins of the temple at Abydos by M. Calliaud and interpreted by M. Champollion. It is a complete geneological list of the predecessors of Ramses the Great, the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, in phonetic hieroglyphics, corresponding precisely with the list of those monarchs contained in the chronicle of Manetho. The accuracy of this genealogy is again verified by the

repetition of the same names with their appropriate legends upon the various edifices constructed by those sovereigns, and upon statues, bas-reliefs, and other public monuments intended to honor their memory. This native dynasty is the most illustrious in the annals of Egypt, especially if taken in connexion with the succeeding one (the nineteenth), from which it is not easy to say why it should be separated, since the reputed founder of the latter race of kings, Sethos or Ramses the Great, was the son of Amenophis the Third, the last sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty. This race of Pharaohs then swayed the sceptre of Egypt for five centuries and a half in uninterrupted succession; and it was during their reign that Cecrops and Danaus emigrated to Athens and Argos, and established those colonies which had such an important influence on the early civilization of Hellas; it was during the same period that the barbarous yoke of the *Hyksos* was shaken off, and the tribes of Israel were driven from Egypt, the most splendid monuments of Memphis, Thebes, and Nubia were constructed, and the Egyptian monarchy was raised to the highest pitch of grandeur by the conquests, and what is better, by the splendid and useful works of Ramses the Great. It might fatigue, and would not probably instruct the reader to enumerate all the monuments of sculpture and architecture with which Egypt was embellished during this her golden age. In general it may be observed of the style of ancient Egyptian art, that it seems to partake of the fixed and immutable character of the national civilization. Their temples are beyond those of any other nation (we will not even except the Gothic) adapted to the expression of the simple and sublime ideas of a spiritual religion; but the *pose* of their statues is little varied, and they preserve a simple and severe attitude. This may be attributed to the fact of these sculptures being intended merely as the architectural ornaments of temples and palaces, and adapted to harmonize with the great masses of these edifices without breaking their grand and majestic lines by too decided movements. Egyptian art was not like that of Greece, an imitation of the beau ideal,—of the forms of eternal beauty; but of their own peculiar national physiognomies, or the fabulous and often fantastic forms which their mythology required to express religious ideas. In short, as M. Champollion has observed, their painting, sculpture, and architecture, were designed for the notation of ideas rather than the representation of external objects.

Their pictures and bas-reliefs, their statues, and even their temples, obelisks, and pyramids were branches of the art of written language. In Greece, art being cultivated for its own sake, the perfection of form was everything; in Egypt, it was a secondary object only; provided the idea was clearly expressed, it was immaterial how careless or even gross was the execution of the symbol. Every accessory ornament of Egyptian architecture, however minute, had its appropriate value and signification, closely connected with the leading idea, with a view to which the edifice itself was constructed. The decorations of the Greek and Roman temples speak to the eye only; to the mind they are silent. The art of writing was separated from the imitative arts at a very early period in Greece by the introduction of the alphabet; in Egypt they continued inseparably blended together as branches of one and the same art. The history of Egypt is recorded upon its public monuments. The language in which it is written is no longer an inscrutable mystery; but the vast outline of the Egyptian annals still remains void of those details which constitute the life and interest of history. Twenty centuries of time are filled with long lists of kings, of whom little more is known than the names, dates, and order of succession. In vain do we attempt to seize their characteristic features, and to trace the effect of their conduct upon the condition and happiness of the people. They may be compared to the interminable line of Banquo's posterity in the vision of Macbeth; 'each gold-bound brow is like the first.' General results are all that we can yet realize from these scanty materials. The inevitable imperfection of hieroglyphic language seems to render it doubtful whether this want of details can ever be fully supplied, unless the lost work of Manetho, or some other equivalent document should be recovered from oblivion. A mere monumental history must necessarily be very limited. Still we would not chill the enthusiasm of those who expect so rich a harvest of discovery from the researches in which M. Champollion is now engaged in Egypt, and shall rejoice if it exceeds the most sanguine expectations of himself, his patrons, and all the admirers of these studies.

ART. V.—*Travels in the North of Germany, in the Years 1825 and 1826.* By HENRY E. DWIGHT, A. M. New York. G. & C. & H. Carvill. 1829. 8vo. pp. 450.

FOR the combined advantages of a temperate and healthful climate, richness of soil, extent of territory, grandeur of natural scenery, numerous and noble rivers, and variety of productions, Germany has no occasion to envy the rest of Europe. That beautiful country is inhabited by a hardy, persevering, intelligent, honest, pacific, though martial race, which has received from its climate, religion, and laws, as well as from circumstances, the character it has constantly displayed. Foreign civilization has necessarily caused some modification of the original type; yet, the primitive features pierce strongly through the customs and manners adopted from the Franks, with whom the Germans were united, and from the other nations with whom they afterwards came in contact through commerce, wars, or travel.

The delineation of their moral physiognomy, sketched by Tacitus, will be found even at present far more accurate, than any that has been drawn of the moral condition of the French before their revolution, or of the Spaniards, thirty years ago. Not that from apathy or prejudice, or through the influence of religion or government, the Germans ever were remarkable for that inflexibility, or (to use M. de Châteaubriand's expression) "that stagnation of character," which until recently distinguished the Spaniards; but although an extensive and continual intercourse with other nations, together with a good-natured pliancy to foreign taste and fashions, sometimes modifies the earnest enthusiasm, the spirit of independence, the candor, and the *bonhommie* deeply impressed in the national character, these rarely become so adulterated, in any individual, as to be mistaken by a competent observer for the ardor of the Italians, the sentiment of political dignity in the British, or the perfect simplicity of heart and mind, which one would rejoice to find elsewhere than in Captain Hall's account of Loo Choo. There is always a good deal of strong sense and perspicacity, mixed up with a degree of shrewdness, in the confidence and placability of a German. The vehemence and depth of his feelings are seldom widely expansive, and are, therefore, when they lead to wo and destruction, fatal only to one or a few individuals.

Thus also national pride, and love of freedom, have not as yet shone in Germany, as in other countries, whose inhabitants are inferior in those qualities, which insure what that pride and that love seem to promise.

Nothing has so much contributed to this, as the subdivision of Germany into a multitude of sovereign states. National glory had to contend with an ambition, which may be called individual, when the extent of the whole country is compared to that of any of the several states. The surprise or humiliation which a Prussian may feel, at being asked in Spain or in remoter countries, whether he is a German, must be greatly diminished, if he reflects on the anomaly of twenty-seven millions, designating themselves by the same national denomination and speaking the same language;* and who are notwithstanding divided into numerous political bodies, which have powerful and almost inevitable motives to be reciprocally jealous, and sometimes in hostile array one against another.

Yet this dispersion and consequent mutilation of force, and and an increasing difficulty of concentrating resources, which might seem to be intended by nature to remain for ever united, have been and will continue to be, the source of great moral and intellectual advantages. Universal empire has never yet produced to mankind real and lasting benefit, on whatever scale or at whatever epoch it has been attempted. It would strengthen the government to an excessive degree, be it more or less monarchial (truly republican it could never be), and lower the subjects in moral dignity, by which the national character, if it had once been great, would become debased, and, if weak, still weaker. It was, therefore, fortunate for Germany, that the endeavor of some of its early sovereigns to extend their power, by means of the subjugation of Italy, became as fatal to them as similar ones have always been to the French; that the scheme of some of the heads of the German Empire to lower the nobility, by the increase of the wealth and the author-

* There is a singular exaggeration in Rees's Cyclopædia (Art. Germany) in regard to the several dialects and shades of pronunciation of the German language. "The tie of language was so weak, that the national hatred of the inhabitants of the Prussian dominions against those of the Austrian states, was as great as that which prevailed between the English aud the French." The writer might have mentioned truer and stronger motives for their political estrangement and popular prejudices.

ity of the clergy, soon induced an arrogant and ambitious Pope to conspire against the dignity of the Emperor; that an interregnum reduced more and more the imperial dignity; that the feudal subordination, which bound together divers members of the Empire, was loosened by private wars; that whilst the Emperors were chosen by all the members of the German body, they wanted the private revenue, and would have sought in vain for the public aid, necessary to recover the power which the immediate successors of Charlemagne and the Othos had possessed; and that when the elective right was devolved upon seven princes, the jealousy of the nobility, and of the free cities against the heads of the Empire, became the greater, the electors themselves sharing in this jealousy.

Thus it was also a happy circumstance, that the clergy for many centuries were strongly inclined towards Rome; that the power and wealth of the different states were very unequal, and that the Empire was unwieldy, as long as such a cause as the religious disturbances of the sixteenth century, or the personal qualities of a sovereign like Charles the Fifth were wanting to infuse into it an unusual spirit of vigor, enterprise, and harmony. 'The power of the Empire,' says Machiavelli, in a memoir on the affairs of Germany, 'is very great, but it is difficult to bring it to bear on any question; and if those who are frightened by it reflect upon the few great things it has done for a long time, they must confess that little reliance can be placed on it.' The causes of this inefficiency produced many advantages, which it was not the object of the great Florentine statesman to consider.

Had Germany been what he wished Italy to become,—a single political body,—Protestantism would not have made so rapid a progress; and the vast consequences it has produced, would probably have been exclusively confined to England, a portion of the Low Countries, and Switzerland. However fortunate it might have been for the cause of religion, and the interest of the civil institutions connected with it, had no political views been mixed up with the reformation of its abuses, and however desirable it might have been that, whilst these abuses were eradicated, a sparing hand should protect the establishments which had their origin in the Church, it is still certain that, without political rivalry and without wars among the German princes, the great cause of reformation and religious toleration could not have prospered, at least so extensively and so rapidly

as it did, in a great portion of Germany, from the moment that a political schism broke out in the Empire.

As soon as the triumph of Protestantism was secured, several branches of the German family partook of its immediate and remote advantages, in proportion as they were more or less imbued with its spirit, and yielded more or less willingly to its influences. In regard to internal and external polity, domestic prosperity, progress in literature and science, and the cultivation of natural resources, Catholic and Protestant Germany presented different degrees of advancement, but the most important features of the national character remained in both identical. The same causes do not produce the same effect in Switzerland, because the cantons in which either of the two religions prevail, are, in comparison with most of the analogous German states, too small to render inoperative the effect of the ecclesiastical system which they in preference maintain, and hold more closely combined with their civil institutions.

But it may nevertheless be affirmed, that, as neither the Catholic religion nor any of the Protestant churches has ever enjoyed anywhere in Germany, since the sixteenth century, an exclusive sway, and as the political spirit of the new doctrines has deeply penetrated the minds of those even who have tenaciously clung to the church of Rome, no portion of that country has remained without benefit from the greatest of all revolutions—that which emancipated conscience from imaginary crimes. There is, however, so much truth in the remark, that literature, industry, and education are in a more advanced state in the Protestant, than in the Catholic districts of Germany, that, by the habit of exaggeration so natural to superficial observers, Austria, for example, is almost ranked by some on a level with bigoted countries; and because the hand of a suspicious government (suspicious, in consequence of the diversity of the nations it rules, the embarrassments arising from a long existence, and its geographical situation) weighs somewhat heavily in its metropolis, more on strangers than on the natives, some travellers have described the whole country as lying under the burden of a blind despotism and of a systematic ignorance. Such a representation, however, is vastly exaggerated. The difference of civilization becomes insensibly less striking to the view of an observer placed alternately in the Austrian and Prussian dominions, or in Bavaria and Saxony; and if he

finds the agents of the police at Vienna too rude, he must not expect to be altogether without secret followers at Berlin. Economy prevails in all the German governments; in private matters justice is administered, under every one of them, with expedition and perfect impartiality; political crimes are seldom committed, and are certainly not encouraged, from vindictiveness or from an intention to strike terror in the minds of the people; the shackles that impede the free action of industry are few; the taste for military parades and for war has wonderfully decreased; the higher classes are less haughty, since the lower prefer wealth and the influence it procures, to mere nominal advantages; the oppressive privileges of the nobility are few, and the clergy preserve hardly any. Such is the general condition of Germany; but the Protestant portion of it nevertheless displays more activity than the Catholic. There investigation is freer and more unrelenting; the excitement of literature is greater; and arts and manufactures vie in prosperity with agriculture. Learning, however, is not confined to Saxony, Prussia, or Hanover, though in Austria *readers* are less numerous. There is more repose in the latter country, and more intellectual life in the former. In Austria, ambition is the privilege of the higher classes; in Protestant Germany it is to thousands the source of more enjoyments and also of more sufferings; in Austria the government proceeds with secrecy to the same end, towards which, in the neighboring states, it has been found that public attention could be called without danger. With the principles that direct the Austrian government (an Imperial aristocracy), a state may expect a long undisturbed existence; whilst with those which guide the Prussian rulers, the safety of their political system, and the success of their undertakings, depend to a considerable degree on public opinion, and consequently need greater abilities and skill, though not more virtue, or better intentions.

We have been led to these reflections by the limited range of the excursion Mr Dwight has made in Germany. As his work treats of Northern Germany alone, we thought a few hints on the effects of the territorial division of that country, and of the reformation, and on the distinctive features of the Catholic portion would serve to remind our readers, that all which our author says is by no means applicable to the whole of Germany, although most of his remarks on the national character apply to the mass of its inhabitants.

Mr. Dwight considers the present Germanic confederation, of whose fundamental principles we shall presently give his own account, exclusively in its material force, and its aptitude, on that score, to fulfil the common purposes for which it must be supposed to exist, if we are to judge from the name it bears. In this point of view,—that of physical strength,—it certainly is yet far from testifying either the high sagacity or the perfect sincerity of its founders. Contemplated as a barrier against France, the author is not unwarranted in doubting the scrupulous adherence of such a state as Nassau or Hesse-Darmstadt to the laws of the confederation, should it find itself in an emergency, which would leave it with no other prospect, than to be helplessly exposed to the horrors of war, or with little hope of escaping the subjugation of its enemy or of its allies. The army of the old Germanic Empire gathered few laurels. Nevertheless, the Germanic confederation was from its origin a wise and profound conception. But to view it in this light, it is necessary to dwell more on its moral source and moral tendency than on its physical capacity. Frederick the Great did no less by his wars of invasion, than by his predilection for French literature, to extinguish in the hearts of his countrymen every German feeling; and his philosophical tenets, aided by the cosmopolitism and the irreligious spirit propagated by the most seductive writers of his time, scarcely permitted his subjects to be Prussians, and in no way Germans. Those who rejoiced at the humiliation of Austria, did not foresee, that dangers might spring up, which could only be overcome by a common resistance. The Empire was, in spite of its many defects, a means of union; and even had Austria and Prussia been compelled to remain in a jealous reciprocal position, on account of their private interests, or the welfare of all Germany, still two leagues might have been organized, with sufficient physical means to resist the aggression of Russia and France (the only two foreign powers that Germany had to fear, since Italy, Spain, and Turkey had ceased to be connected with its policy), and to balance the two principal German monarchies. When after an unsuccessful attempt of Joseph the Second to incorporate Bavaria with Austria, he sought to obtain it by an exchange for the Low Countries, Frederick the Great, even after the Emperor had abandoned his ambitious project, thought it necessary to the equilibrium and general tranquillity of Europe, and particularly to the security of Ger-

many, to form a Germanic league, by a treaty, concluded in July 1785, which France secretly promoted, and to which the only parties at the beginning were Prussia and the electors of Saxony and Brunswick, but to which afterwards several princes and states of the Empire acceded.* This league, known by the name of the League of Princes *(der Fürstenbund)* was essentially defensive, and had for its model those of Smalkalde (1539), the union of 1609, and the confederation concluded at Leipsic in 1631. The sagacious minister of Maria Theresa, Prince Kaunitz, became alarmed, and endeavored to counteract the designs of the great sovereign of Prussia, by proposing to the members of the Empire a league with the Emperor. But that devised by Frederick was maintained, and only dissolved by the events which gave a new direction to the policy of his successor, Frederick William. Then, indeed, the attempt to maintain any such league would have failed, because all common feeling, all sympathy for the tranquillity and honor of Germany, and all belief in a general interest of the several German states, had already as little effect on the political combinations of the leaders, as on the habitual feelings of the people.

This lamentable indifference for national concerns explains, better than the military enthusiasm and the revolutionary fervor of the armies of France, the conquests they made in Germany, and the disgrace with which they covered so many of its princes. A real national feeling did not show itself, particularly in Prussia, till the war, justly called the *war of freedom* (not altogether of civil liberty, as theorists and speculators might wish,—but of political freedom, or more properly of independence). The first sparks of the holy fire, which, during that struggle, warmed a vast majority of the Germans, were visible in Prussia before the battle of Jena.

The guerilla system was tried, and not without success, in Silesia, by the Prince of Pless, and the government had but to slacken a little the reins, to find itself carried triumphantly over the precipices with which it was surrounded. It was not so much from a fear of revolutionary commotions as from a want of energy and the novelty of the circumstances, that Frederick

* The Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Gotha and Deux-Ponts, Mecklenburg, Hesse, the Bishop of Osnabruck, the Prince of Anhalt, the Margrave of Baden, and the Bishop of Mentz.

William did not, at that epoch, seek his strength where it really lay, and where the force of circumstances afterwards compelled him to look for it.

During the negotiations at Vienna in 1814, the most able statesmen of Germany, several of whom will ever deserve to be numbered among her most patriotic sons, were aware, that, unless *some* bond of union was created, the same apathy, the same disunion, and the same inability to act for a common object, would soon again influence the common destiny. The smaller states had been the most mischievous in the conflict with France. The bold politicians, who wished to extinguish them, and form with their ruins three or four great masses, must not be accused of parricidal or ambitious designs. Machiavelli was certainly not a votary of despotism, though he wished that much power should be deposited in some quarter, for the purpose of liberating Italy from the 'barbarians.' The reforms in the internal administration, claimed by the advancement of society, might have been realized more promptly in extensive monarchies, than in a considerable number of small principalities. But the difficulties respecting Saxony proved too clearly, that such a change could not even be tried by way of experiment, and that compactness, identity of interests, natural boundaries, and consequently a new division of Germany, for purposes principally relative to its foreign relations and to political reform, must be given up for the present if not for ever. Such being the law imposed by existing interests, long habits, and prejudices, which could be neither disregarded nor reconciled, it appeared best to keep alive the national feeling by a machinery which would remind the several states that, besides Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, &c., there exists the common German *fatherland*. We are not, we confess, among those who regret that the former plan of organizing three or four great political masses, failed of success. We place greater hopes in the system that now exists. Its moral spirit, the sentiments from which it has taken rise, its capacity of being amended and enlarged, the means it has of calling out the energies of the nation (though it seems at present not to have breath enough to disturb the slumbers of the most nervous), its resemblance, in one word, to other powerful engines, which conceal their wholesome or destructive energies, until touched by a skilful hand; all these warrant its usefulness, its duration, and its gradual improvement.

Considered in this light, it has already become unimportant whether Mentz, a fortress of the Confederation, is garrisoned by the troops of one, two, or three princes, at an epoch so little remote from the time, when the restlessness of French ambition fixed on that quarter particularly the solicitude of those sovereigns who, on account of the greater interests they had at stake, were the most concerned in their own independence, and that of all Germany. If, at present, Austria and Prussia seem to have so preponderating an influence in the deliberations at Frankfort, the time may come when ambitious and selfish schemes, pursued by either of these two governments, will be promptly checked by those that now seem their inferiors. In politics, as in private conduct, safety lies in *principles*. Germany had none at all, as a body politic, at the beginning of the present century. It wanted a soul, and it was treated like a body without life by the reckless hand of revolutionary experimentalists.

Russia displayed magnanimity, disinterestedness, and solicitude for the preservation of peace, in contributing to the present political system of Germany. By the treaty of Teschen, she had become a guarantee of the Germanic Empire;—an office, which the treaty of Westphalia had devolved upon France and Sweden, and which Russia never has in any way abused. At the congress of Vienna, she forebore, not only to avail herself of her right to revive the preceding political organization, but generously contributed to the construction of the present Germanic body, without claiming, for the future, the influence which had been granted to her at Teschen over the affairs of Germany.

We copy from the work before us the prominent principles of the compact, which binds together the German confederates.

'1. *Der Deutsche Bund*, or the German Alliance, has avowed its object to be the preservation of their own freedom. In doing this, the thirty-nine states which compose it, are mutually pledged to support each other in every defensive war. In a war of conquest, or in one which is offensive, the other states are not required to lend any assistance to the aggressor.

'2. Every one of the states is required not to give any provocation to the neighboring powers. Should it however be given, it is the duty of the Alliance to demand redress of the offending state, and at the same time adopt such measures as shall as soon as possible, put a check to the consequences resulting from this violation of peace.

'3. If one of the states is threatened by a foreign power, and the danger apppears real, the Diet is required to adopt those measures which shall be necessary to protect the party threatened.

'4. The German Alliance has the right of declaring war in full assembly, whenever two thirds of the voices are in favor of it.

'5. If the majority of the diet decide that there is no danger to be apprehended from the conduct of a foreign power, and some of the states are still convinced of it, they have the right to take the necessary measures for resisting an invasion.

'6. In case of war, each state is required to furnish its specified quota of troops, if they should be needed, and this may be increased *ad libitum;* but if so, the additional number must be supported by the funds of that state.

'7. If one of these states, which has possessions not represented at the diet, declares war on its own account, as an European power, the Alliance are not required to render to that state any assistance. Should, however, the other German states be in danger from such a contest, they must, whenever a majority of the Diet shall think it necessary, assist that state, so far as is necessary, to protect the independence of the Alliance.

'8. After the Alliance has once declared war, no state, whether it has possessions out of Germany or not, can individually make peace or agree to a cessation of hostilities.

'9. Peace can be concluded in a full assembly only.' p. 30.

The author ought to have qualified the opinion he ascribes to the Germans, in regard to the weight of the Confederation in the affairs of Europe. It is not indeed viewed as very important by impatient reformers, but he may be sure, that the majority of politicians do not wonder, that the principal powers of Europe have regular diplomatic missions at Frankfort.

It is to be hoped that one of the earliest results of the new German compact, will be the removal of the obstacles which politically obstruct the navigation of the streams intersecting several of the German states. At the congress of Vienna, the allied sovereigns pledged themselves to leave entirely unrestricted the navigation of these rivers to their mouths, to all who should conform to the regulations under which this affranchisement was to be granted. Among these rivers, the Elbe and the Rhine are of most importance in regard to external trade. The former runs through Bohemia, Saxony, Prussia, and Hanover, and falls into the German ocean. The latter rises in Switzerland, and waters Alsace, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, and the Netherlands.

Under the stipulations of the treaty of Westphalia, the mari-

time commerce through Antwerp and the ancient Spanish Low Countries was prohibited to the German nations, the United Provinces, considering the privileges, which they had reserved to themselves by the treaty concluded with Spain in 1648, as essential to their political existence. We need merely allude to the difficulties in which Joseph the Second was involved, on endeavoring, in 1784, to open such a communication through the Scheldt. France, at last, paid him four millions and a half of florins, and the United Provinces five millions and a half, in order to make him desist from his pretensions, and to close again the Scheldt from Saxtingen to the sea, and the canals of Sas and Swin.

The restraints that embarrass the navigation of the Rhine now consist principally in the tolls and taxes which the several governments exact from those who pass through their territories. A desire to protect local industry and to increase the public revenue by restrictions on foreign trade (a political mistake, we must confess, though not everywhere censurable in the same degree, and at all times,) is sufficient to explain the obstinacy with which some of the German cabinets have disregarded the voice that claims the entire freedom of internal navigation, and at any rate renders it unnecessary to ascribe their conduct, in this respect, to a constant, systematic, and secret hostility between certain states on all subjects. The day when the Rhine shall become entirely free, will certainly open a new era in the commerce and industry of Germany. Already Prussia, from her coast on the Baltic, is endeavoring to soar to the dignity and independence of a sea-faring nation. Her flag is no longer unknown in regions that, during more than two centuries, had never heard of her as a maritime power; and perhaps before long she will seek to obtain a colonial establishment in the West Indies, for the same purposes, and with the same advantages, as those for which Denmark and Sweden possess islands in that region.

Struensee, the able minister of Frederick the Great, strove to produce these results, by several wise financial measures, and by the protection he granted to the national commerce. But the wars in which his successors were engaged, put a stop to all similar attempts. Mirabeau's Secret History of the Court of Berlin contains curious details respecting the basis upon which Struensee endeavored to give to Prussia a new importance in the commercial world.

Leaving political topics, we proceed with Mr Dwight to Göttingen, where he is naturally led to make many reflections on the studies, libraries, professors, and students of the German universities. In 1821 there were twenty-two universities in Germany, containing ten thousand six hundred students and eight hundred and sixty instructers; and the number of both have so rapidly increased, that, in 1825, the former amounted to sixteen thousand four hundred and thirty-two, and the latter to one thousand and fifty-nine. Catholic Germany, with a population of nineteen millions, had but five of these principal seats of learning; and the Protestant portion, with two millions less of inhabitants, had sixteen universities. The medical students were more than one fourth part of the whole number.

The duels and the clannishness, at the German universities, have become in the United States frequent topics of newspaper articles, principally since the appearance of Mr Russell's interesting, but somewhat prejudiced work.* The redeeming circumstances blended with these youthful extravagances, have not, however, been sufficiently brought into account. They will not seem illusory to those who know how insolent and overbearing the military was, until lately, in Germany towards the *bourgeoisie*, and how strong the barrier still is, which separates the nobility from the *roture*. At the universities, impertinent lieutenants become mild and reasonable; and counts and barons mingle without scruple, and fraternize with those who have not even the *von* before their names. Although many of these young sprigs of aristocracy resume, after their academic studies, a true patrician coldness to their friends of obscure condition (somewhat in the manner of the Spaniards, who leave at the foot of the Pyrenees, the fashions and manners they have adopted in another country, or of a high-born British traveller, who forgets in England the acquaintances he has made on the Continent), still equality has for some years been admitted to exist at the universities, in common pursuits and social intercourse, and consequently arrogance and prejudices have received a salutary check in early life.

In a political and historical view, the German universities have as yet been very far from performing so considerable a part as those of Scotland, after the reign of the Stuarts, or

* Tour in Germany and some of the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire. By John Russell.

that of Oxford, not only under Cromwell, but in the more pacific times of the the two first sovereigns of the House of Hanover. A charge of indiscretion and insubordination against the former can therefore be grounded only on a few examples of obscure and private misdemeanor.

The stain which frequent duels stamp upon the character of the German students is moreover diminished, in some degree, by the precaution they use to guard themselves on common occasions with sundry defensive implements.

'To protect the hand,' our author says, 'a circular piece of brass or iron of six or eight inches in diameter, rises between the handle and the blade.' 'The dress consists of very thick gloves, which come almost to the elbows, and of a leathern jacket corresponding with a breastplate, which is so stuffed and padded that a sword cannot penetrate it. This descends below the hips and guards every vital part of the body. Nothing but the face is exposed, as if it were the only part of the person worthy of being ornamented with scars. At this they aim all their blows, as it is considered unworthy of a *Bursch* to strike at the legs of his opponent. The seconds are arrayed in the same costume as the combatants. They place themselves on each side of their friends with drawn swords, and ward off those blows which defy the skill of the principals. Although not in the thickest of the affray they not unfrequently receive wounds themselves.' p. 52.

The German students, as Mr Dwight justly observes, distinguish themselves, notwithstanding their fopperies, from those of France, by a greater care in their personal appearance. They come to the university with the consciousness of an entire independence from almost all authority for three or four years; and if this be taken into account in connexion with the fact, that the most boisterous, on leaving the universities, are generally, throughout their whole existence, quiet and inoffensive citizens, some indulgence will be granted to the short period of their folly and youthful ebullition, during their first, and often their only enjoyment of self-government.

The establishment of a university in Berlin was a subject of serious apprehension to many, who feared the seductions which so great a capital presented to the youthful appetite for pleasure. But no school of such eminence has ever risen so rapidly, or offers at present a more splendid prospect. It does great credit to the liberality and the wisdom of the Prussian government, and will certainly produce wholesome results, not only in point of learning, but also in point of elegance and re-

finement of manners, an early taste for political transactions, attention to the public institutions, and enlarged patriotic views. The want of a university in its metropolis has been perhaps the cause that Prussia, notwithstanding the vast extent to which learning had been carried, has produced but very few highly distinguished individuals in the diplomatic career, and that her present minister for foreign affairs was, in a measure, solicited from Denmark. Fifteen years ago the students of Leipsic were sneered at in Halle and Göttingen on account of their effeminacy, or rather their intercourse with the *Philistines*, as money-making people, and all those who are not of the learned classes were called. Although the students of the Berlin university are, according to Mr Dwight, the most slovenly and negligent in their personal appearance 'that he had seen in Europe' (p. 193), generally very poor, and almost exclusively devoted to their pursuits, we venture to foretell, that they will gradually improve in their external address by a free intercourse with higher orders of society than are met with in the smaller cities.

We are less struck, than our author, with the great longevity of the literati of Germany. 'Heyne died at eighty-six, Kastner at eighty-one, Michaëlis at seventy-four, Haller at seventy, Kant at eighty, Jacobs at seventy-six, and the poets Wieland and Klopstock at eighty-one and at seventy-nine years of age. Goethe is now seventy-six.' We could easily make out a numerous list of mathematicians of different countries, who have attained a very great age. Literature and science, cultivated with extraordinary energy and with an exclusive fondness, contribute so much to peace and well-being, that, unless organic defects counteract their wholesome influences, the course of life is generally very smooth and long.

Mr Dwight gives too much importance to the mild and uniform temperature arising from stoves; although he would be right in pitying the poor student, born in Germany, who had to depend for heat upon a fire-place that requires constant care, that smokes, or scorches one part of his body, while the other is chilled with cold. The rooms of the German literati are generally too warm from the unceasing action of their stoves and tobacco-pipes, and a carelessness in renewing the air; and some of their metaphysical speculations bear testimony to the inconvenience of such an arrangement.

It is gratifying to learn, that the professors have now better

salaries and larger incomes than twenty years ago. Five or six thousand dollars are a large revenue in Germany where there was, at Mr Dwight's time, at Göttingen, a young prince whose fortune (allowance?) did not exceed six hundred dollars a year; 'an income,' adds he, 'inferior to many of our tailors' and shoemakers'.'

He found at Hanover a female institution, and similar establishments are not rare in Germany though we do not remember to have read an account of them in any of the works published recently on that country.

'There are in Hanover eleven Protestant convents, where young ladies may retire who have survived the bloom of youth, and have arrived at single blessedness, and may pass down the stream of time, in each other's society, in uninterrupted tranquillity. Each of these institutions is under the direction of an elderly lady, corresponding, in some degree, with the abbess of Catholic convents. The young ladies receive annually from two to three hundred rix dollars, with which they are enabled to live genteelly. The restraints of the institution are not severe. They receive visits from their friends, usually in the presence of the governess, though that is not required, or has been for a short time only. It is not necessary to reside here constantly; a few weeks of each year being sufficient to entitle them to the pension. Some of them accordingly pass most of their time with their friends, and whenever they are thrown out upon the world by the dissolution of their families, they have a refuge, to which they can retire, without experiencing those mortifications which are so frequently attendant upon adversity. These asylums are under the direction of government, to which parents, wishing to procure such places for their children, apply. It requires some influence at court to obtain them, as the number of applicants is much greater than that of vacancies. Parents not unfrequently solicit them while the children are quite young, and some of them receive the promise of them even from the cradle, although, I believe, they do not enjoy the emolument until they approach the shady side of twenty, unless they reside in the convent at least a part of the time. As they receive visits at these institutions without great restrictions, it sometimes occurs, that a visiter is wounded, and can find no peace, until the fair mademoiselle has blessed him with her hand; for love, who usually makes "the camp, the court, and the grove," his favorite haunts, sometimes pays a flying visit to these convents, to prove to the world his omnipotence. Whenever a lady is thus addressed, she has the consolation of knowing that her lover is actuated by the purest affection, as her limited pension is taken from her as soon as she enters into

the "holy bands." Of the eleven convents of this description, now in Hanover, *nine* of them are for the daughters of the nobility; a striking evidence not only of the superiority which birth gives here, but also of the poverty of this class of society.' pp. 100, 101.

Convents, established for such ends and on such principles, would do credit to the humanity and enlightened liberality of any nation.

The following are the principal traits of the German universities, which the author has attempted, not without success, to exhibit in a bolder relief by allusions to the colleges in his own country. The former have various classes of teachers; one, consisting of the public professors, enjoying a fixed salary with the privilege of doing so little for it, as to compel the students to attend their private lectures, on paying, it is true, a very moderate fee; the other, who may be compared to the *repetitori* of Italy, and the preceptors or college tutors at Oxford and Dublin, depending altogether on private or subsidiary tuition for their subsistence, until they rise by the excitement of emulation and by increasing exertions to the higher rank of public professors.

The second peculiarity of these academic schools is, that not only every science, and every principal branch of classical and polite learning, has its own professor, but most of their main subdivisions are explained in special courses. This classification and separate teaching, and the close study of the subject they require, produce obviously immense advantages. Still, it may be questioned, whether the usual residence of no more than three or four years at a university, allows the most industrious student to take more than an extremely limited survey of the several branches upon which such special lectures are delivered. The greatest utility he derives from them is, perhaps, to become familiar with the names and merits of the authors he may study after his academical course is ended. In this respect, the abundant notes the students take down during the lectures, and which swell, under the pen of the most unremitting, to twenty or more thick manuscript volumes, are really of much importance to them for their future literary or scientific pursuits, although their attention must too often be merely fixed mechanically upon what falls from the lips of the lecturer. This accounts for the anecdote of a young gentleman, who is said to have returned to the university from which

he had just departed, and attended afresh the lectures, only because he had lost the trunk which contained his memoranda. It is certainly all important to be guided in the selection of books and in the mode of study. For the same reason, obligation will be felt, even by those who are most conversant with literature in its widest range, to authors who follow the example of several German writers in accompanying their works with a catalogue *raisonné* of the best treatises already existing on the subjects of which they themselves treat. Thus, few historical works of any merit have been published recently in Germany with the blemish of Voltaire's *Essai sur les Mœurs*, which, from a neglect of reference to authorities, often leaves the reader in doubt as to the truth of the facts, upon which the philosopher of Ferney sarcastically comments, while he places himself in the unguarded and dangerous position of an assailant, conscious of his strength and skill, or confident in his light and well-tempered weapons, but altogether unprovided with a buckler or any other defensive armor.

Well considered, an academic course cannot, and in a measure should not, do more than afford a clear and rapid view of the wide field of general knowledge, an incipient acquaintance with the best authors, and a just notion of the best methods of pursuing leisurely, regular and extensive studies, be they professional or not, medicine alone excepted. Seldom has a student future means or opportunities like those which the universities of continental Europe, and the establishments connected with them, afford. Accordingly, academic degrees are not distributed in Germany with a lavish hand; and since to obtain them, is almost without exception the reward of long study and of great and solid attainments, the leaving of Halle or Göttingen, without even the less brilliant of these honors, does not tend to disparage the conduct or the abilities of the student thus departing.

We speak here, of course, of real universities, and not of gymnasia or preparatory schools, had they even the privilege of conferring degrees. We refer the reader to the work under review, in regard to the attainments that are required from a native to be regularly received into a German university, and the facilities which he finds in them for being initiated in every branch of theoretical knowledge. Mr Dwight ought perhaps more to have borne in mind the differences that exist between those high schools and the colleges of the United States, con-

stituted as they are at present, and must remain, so long as candidates for public offices shall not be obliged, as in Germany, to give proofs of a regular academic education.

The immense libraries of the German universities and the great number of others, that are also open to the public, but inferior to the former in extent, are, in the author's opinion, one of the most enviable privileges of Germany. He dwells largely and repeatedly on this topic. Several pages of his work contain numerical lists of these establishments. He bestows a just encomium on the liberality with which these repositories of learning are opened to the student, and he has not said too much on the excellent order in which they are kept; on the good sense which leads to a disregard, in their progressive increase, of mere typographical splendor; and on the zeal, in Germany, to partake of the advancement which learning makes on every point of the globe. Three or four years have elapsed since Mr Dwight wrote these letters, and the lists he has collected are doubtless, at present, defective by many thousands of volumes, considering the ceaseless fertility of the presses in all European countries, Turkey and Spain always excepted. Mr Dwight looks back with fond yearnings to these immense libraries, and expresses more than once his belief, that as long as similar ones, or at least such as approximate to them in number and variety, are not found in the United States, this country will hold a very low rank in the world of science and of letters. Such an opinion seems to us the result of a misapprehension of the political and intellectual genius of this portion of the new world, and of an inattention to the circumstances which must necessarily produce, before long, a reaction against the luxuriance of the press. In a comparatively new country, constituted in many respects upon a social basis totally different from that of the old world, public taste will not be guided, and the mind of the learned or the studious fixed, solely by forming libraries upon the model of those in Germany. 'We have no books,' exclaims Mr Dwight, 'we are artisans without tools. What therefore can be expected from us?' He will probably think otherwise on more reflection. It will not be, we beg leave to assure him, from the facility of accumulating quotations by means of huge libraries, that discoveries will be made for the benefit of mankind; and a taste for foreign literature will not be necessarily promoted, by an accumulation of books, however excellent, in various

languages. On the one hand, the situation and the destiny of this country are peculiar, and on the other, the study of foreign languages, or their neglect, is no sign of intellectual superiority or inferiority.

The circumstances which occasioned and accompanied the settlement of the British colonies; the situation in which they were placed, until the elements of their present condition were sufficiently unfolded to ensure their separation from the mother country; the literature of the epoch, when that event took place, a literature which nowhere else has been permitted to produce all its effects so entirely without any restraint; and the principles upon which the new institutions were founded,— have given to the national genius a freedom that could not fail to create, by a necessary consequence, an independence of mind, a reliance on individual powers, a self-will, and a practical character, as contrary to a tame submission under foreign rule, as to an easy adhesion to other dictates, than those of personal discrimination, reason, and conviction. Amidst such circumstances it is vain to expect, and if not unwise, yet useless to attempt, to bring ancient literature into as much cultivation as in the old world. Many years must pass, before there will be in the United States a class of men exclusively devoted to such studies, as are pursued by the German literati; and the political institutions must become radically altered, before such men, even were they to appear in any number, would cease to take an interest, too active for classical pursuits, in the political concerns of the country.

In regard to the study of foreign languages, it must not be forgotten, that the people of the United States have not the same inducements, as the Germans, to give much time to this acquirement. Social, commercial, and political circumstances are indispensable to stimulate a people to impose upon itself the irksome task of learning various languages; and the learned begin to study the modern literature of other countries, to any extent, only when, from the circumstances we have mentioned, foreign idioms have become from necessity familiar among a large portion of their countrymen. Hence in France, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, even during the epochs of their most active exertions in literature and science, no other language than that of the country itself was ever much cultivated by the learned, with the exception only of such as the commercial or political relations of the time brought for a period

into use. Thus when the South American states shall have attained that tranquil and truly independent condition for which they are still struggling, the Spanish language will be in the United States, what, for instance, the Italian was once in Spain; and possibly Spanish literature may receive from this circumstance a vivifying impulse in this country. But it cannot be reasonably expected, that the mere importation of some thousands of German or Italian books, will suddenly create a thirst for reading them, or that which is emphatically called 'German diligence'; or that even the collection of classical works, in such quantities as are found in German universities and royal libraries, will be sufficient to awaken a taste for exegetical or obsolete lore. It might have been as reasonably hoped to transform Sheridan into a Porson or Parr, and Charles Fox into an Adam Smith, merely by heaping the works of those great authors along the walks of the one to his accustomed scenes of pleasure, and of the other to Westminster Hall, the true sphere of his genius.

In regard to public instruction, the most interesting and useful point of view, under which Germany can be exhibited, is in the multitude and the organization of the gymnasia, and her seminaries for the education of schoolmasters. Luther and Melancthon were, in this respect, the earliest and among the greatest benefactors of that country. Saxony, among the Protestant principalities, has the most zealously followed the great designs of those two reformers; next to Saxony comes Prussia; and both these kingdoms have no rival in Europe, unless it be the Southern part of Scotland. The Prussian government has never neglected to direct and foster the elementary schools, of which there are about seventeen thousand in the villages, and three thousand in the cities of that kingdom. To act in them as an instructer, an examination and a written permission from a committee of examiners are indispensable. Every province of the kingdom has one or more seminaries, at the expense of the government, for the education of schoolmasters, who prepare themselves in these establishments, by two or three years of severe study, not only to teach properly, but to cultivate the morals of their young pupils.

The parochial clergy are entrusted with the duty of visiting the schools of the parishes, and of conferring with the teachers on the improvements they think proper to suggest; and if they fail to agree in opinion, the question is submitted without fur-

ther appeal to the superintendents of the district. The minister of public instruction receives annually from these functionaries reports on the condition of the respective schools, founded on information furnished not only by the clergy, but by the inspectors, who once or twice a year accompany the superintendents in their visitation of all the schools in the province.

The instructers are generally obliged to confine themselves exclusively to the performance of their several duties, some of which, however, are distinct from those of educating and teaching. They officiate as choristers, and during the absence or inability of the clergymen, they act as their substitutes, in reading the sermons which are furnished them for the occasion, and in catechizing their pupils. To send their children to school is not optional with the parents. Such as do not avail themselves of the facilities which are afforded by the government for the education of their offspring, and disregard the admonitions which the clergyman of the parish is bound to address to them, are fined, and no exception is made but in favor of the peasant who wants the aid of his children for the harvest, and a vacation for half the day from the first of April to the first of July. This continues until their confirmation, which is administered when they reach the age of fifteen or sixteen.

'The school-house,' says Mr Dwight, whom we have closely followed in the preceding short notice, on the schools of Prussia, 'is erected at the expense of the parish, and must be sufficiently large to accommodate the scholars and the family of the instructer, who receives the use of it gratis. In the vicinity of this edifice is a small garden and sometimes a few acres of land, of which he has the use so long as he remains the instructer of the parish. This building is not very elegant, as it usually contains but four or five chambers, but it is suitable for one whose income is so moderate as that of most of the instructers. Every parish has a treasury, from the funds of which the instructer is paid from seventy to eighty dollars per annum. Besides this amount each parent pays him six "pennings" a week, or about six cents per month, for the instruction of his children. In some cases he receives also a small quantity of butter and flax from the parents. His whole income, exclusive of the rent of the school-house, and the ground connected with it, rarely amounts to more than one hundred Spanish dollars, if he teaches one of the village schools. Those who live in the towns receive about one hundred and fifty dollars.

'All the books which are studied, are selected by the consisto-

ry, and no new one can be introduced without its permission. The Bible is universally read by the children, and forms, as in our own country, the foundation of education for the youth of Prussia.' pp. 251, 252.

This is a picture that might easily seduce such minds as those of Shenstone, Crabbe, and Wordsworth, to dwell pathetically on the calling, the sufferings, and the virtues, that characterize so many who walk in this humble but useful sphere of life.*

It remains to mention the gymnasia or higher seminaries of Prussia and of Saxony. They are either private or public. In the former a large proportion of the boys are lodged, boarded, and constantly kept under the eye of the instructer, whilst the remainder live with their parents except during the seven or eight hours that they are obliged to attend the classes. In the public schools, attendance is only required during the lectures. At the head both of the public and private schools are rectors or presidents, and *conrectors* or vice-presidents. The instructers are examined by professors of a

* The traveller in Germany meets with an object of much interest in the town of Eisleben. The guide conducts you through one of the narrow streets, so common in the European cities, till you approach a dwelling very humble in its external appearance, almost as much so as that of Shakspeare in Stratford upon Avon, and bearing the inscription over the door,—'*This is the house in which Luther was born.*' On the same board is drawn by a rude pencil a portrait of the great Reformer, much resembling in execution the head of Franklin, sometimes affixed to our printers' shops. When you enter the door you find yourself in the midst of a small school, the teacher of which very civilly accompanies you to two upper apartments, which are kept sacred to the memory of Luther. The walls are hung with pictures, ancient and grotesque; and the rooms contain chairs, tables, and other decaying relics of their former possessor, which were brought here after his death. The writing-desk is of a peculiar construction. A swan of full size is carved in wood, which stands erect on the table, with the wings a little spread; on these the desk is placed and made fast. After satisfying your curiosity, and taxing the attentive schoolmaster with various questions, you write your name, with ink from Luther's inkstand, in an album upheld by the wings of the swan, and depart.

The house has been purchased by the king of Prussia, and is preserved as nearly in its primitive state as possible. No family resides in it, and it is only used for accommodating the little school. Immediately adjoining this house, and on the ground formerly attached to it, the king has caused to be erected a handsome and commodious school-house, where a school of a higher order is taught.

university, and those of the first class must be qualified to give lectures at a university.

Boys are generally sent between the ages of nine and ten years, and they remain till they reach the age of sixteen or seventeen. They seldom wander from one gymnasium to another, for they would find it difficult to be admitted in any, unless they could give strong reasons for leaving the one to which they formerly belonged. Some of our youthful readers will be astonished at the account which Mr Dwight gives of the proficiency these scholars attain in Germany, after four or five years' study. They are already expected to translate from Latin into Greek, to converse in the former of these languages, to write Latin prolegomena to the ode they are reciting, to translate in verse the great poets of their country, or at least to write good Latin prose. The instructer does not correct the reciter or the writer unless some rival scholar has failed to point out the defects. They read (though not in every gymnasium, as Mr Dwight would lead us to infer) 'a part or the whole of Euripides, the Iliad and Odyssey, Xenophon, Herodotus, Demosthenes, Aristophanes, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Quintilian, Tacitus, Livy, &c., some of the French classics, and a few books of the Old Testament in Hebrew. In mathematics, they study arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, conic sections, spherics, and logarithms.'

The extensive verbal or printed commentaries by which, in these preparatory schools, the mind of the German youth is made conversant, not only with the dead letter of the works he reads, but with the genius, the local and moral circumstances, and the habits of those ancient nations, whose language he studies in their poetical and prose remains, are, as our author justly observes, one of the great reasons why classical studies are pursued in Germany, even in early life, with no less success than enthusiasm.

'The German student reads Homer,' says our author, 'with the eye of a Grecian, who is familiar with its society, and with the thoughts and actions of the heroic age. We peruse the Iliad with views formed solely by the manners and the feelings and systems of the nineteenth century. The former, by his previous studies, has been able to transport himself to a distant age and people, while we, standing at the distance of nearly three thousand years, look with the feelings we have acquired from our peculiar education, at a country which seems indefinitely remote. To him the siege of Troy is a living reality, and the characters

of Sophocles, Æschylus, and Euripides, are all embodied. He shares in every passion which they feel, for he is a spectator of their sufferings; their joys, their deliverance, relieve him from a distress almost as real as if he had been their contemporary. To him they are living beings, acting their appropriate part on the great theatre of life; to us they are but spectres, dimly seen through the night of ages, and flittering before us in forms so indistinct, as to leave few traces of their existence upon our memories. This is not fancy; it is no Utopian system of education, but one which has long existed in Germany.' p. 390.

In the gymnasia as in the universities, instruction is much subdivided. They have from eight to twelve instructers, each with a separate department. Two or three teach, exclusively, Latin or Greek; for he who lectures on the grammatical construction is not thought to have time enough to go into the exegetical part of the explanation. Scholars of the greatest merit have dwelt during a large portion of their lives in these preparatory schools, and many of them have declined the flattering call to a wider influence, greater fame, and more emolument, as professors in the most celebrated universities.

We hasten to what may be considered the most curious part of Mr Dwight's work on Northern Germany,—the state of religion, and the influence of the several philosophical systems, which, since Kant, have found ardent followers in that country. An unbelieving clergy,—Lutheran and Protestant ministers, who generally deny the authenticity of the Old, and some of whom contest even the veracity of the New Testament, are certainly a phenomenon, worthy of some consideration, as well in its origin, as in its influence on the political condition of the community at large.

The great distinctive characteristic of the Reformation, in England and Germany, is, that in the latter country the church remained independent of the state, no political tie binding them together, although the Protestant princes reserved to themselves a *share* in the nomination to the ministerial offices, a superintendence over the schools and theological studies, and a sort of administrative interference in clerical matters. But in fact the Lutheran and Protestant churches enjoyed a more complete independence than the general character of the political institutions and the principles of government might have seemed to warrant; and being in a great degree abandoned to themselves, the maintenance, relaxation, or developement of the doctrines of the new churches, depended almost

entirely on their native strength, and their compatibility with the continued advancement of society in philosophical investigations.

Melancthon had been zealous in reviving the study of the Greek, and Luther had made successful efforts to extend that of the Latin in the elementary schools. The impulse thus received from these great men, served to create and to maintain for some time a unity in religious matters, freer than that which existed in countries where the Catholic religion was exclusive, and still apt to impede a too eccentric flight from primitive tenets and principles. But the progress of Calvinism, and the licentiousness that ever accompanies wars (from which those of religion are by no means exempted), soon begot reciprocal asperity between the contending parties, by which the cause of each suffered as much as the reputation of their leaders, and gradually produced a general lukewarmness and indifference in religion.

A large portion of Protestant Germany was in this latter condition towards the middle of the seventeenth century. Spener appeared, and soon became, by his catechetical lectures, his writings, and plays, not less than from the persecutions he suffered, the head of a religious party, which really had at heart the revival of religion, and was neither inglorious nor unsuccessful in its efforts. They wanted a name, and if the adversaries they had to contend with gave them that of *Pietists*, they might have felt regret at not having inscribed it themselves on their banners, for piety was really their impulse and its resuscitation their aim. The university of Halle was established through the exertions of Spener; but the exegetical lectures on the Bible, which were delivered in that institution, might have led any observer, endowed with some foresight, to prophecy great latitudinarianism as an inevitable consequence of such investigations and such commentaries upon scriptural truth, almost unlimited and unrestrained as they were by any political or ecclesiastical authority, whose duty it would have been to be constantly intent on the preservation of certain doctrines, principles, and forms. Thus scepticism sprung up in the vicinity of numerous sects; and our author does not exaggerate the religious state of Prussia in saying (page 402), that "in no country except France, that ever received the name of Christian, has unbelief exerted a more extended influence; in no one has it reigned with a more absolute sway."

Yet in Prussia, as in all countries where political power is without the control of free institutions, the government, although less clearly and less constitutionally invested than in England, or in Catholic kingdoms, with an ecclesiastical supremacy, interfered deeply in the religious opinions of its subjects; and at the epoch to which we allude, its bias was to encourage unbelief. The appointment to the academical chairs would alone have been a powerful auxiliary in paving the way to that end. But Frederick the Great, by his victories as well as by the example of his personal conduct, the distinctions which he bestowed upon the French philosophers of his time, and the willingness with which he seemed to follow anti-monarchical opinions, lent additional means to lessen the influence of religion. If he can be suspected of any selfishness in pursuing such a system, it must be only by supposing that his vanity blinded him in regard to the interests of his ambition. Most certainly his power as a monarch could not gain much by his triumph as a disciple of a rising and aspiring philosophic school. Under these auspices, Kant, a greater admirer of Hume than of any of the sages of France, brought forward his *Critique of Pure Reason*, and a great portion of Germany espoused his principles more from religious unbelief, than from a conviction of the soundness of his logic. Though there was as wide a difference between the existing religious creeds and that philosophy, as between the belief of Socrates and the mythology of the Greeks, yet there was perhaps as much harmony between the private religious opinions and the philosophy of both epochs.

The popularity which, after a short neglect, the sage of Königsberg acquired, encouraged him to declare more clearly his views with regard to Christianity. However, his *Religion within the Limits of Reason*, to which Mr Dwight ascribes the triumph of having definitively withdrawn the clergy of Protestant Germany from a belief in the inspiration of the Old Testament, was not long permitted to circulate. But it could not be expected that the effect it was intended to produce, would be arrested by its prohibition, when public opinion chimed in with its spirit and tendency, and helped to extend its influence. A cautious examination of the historical portion of Scripture was all that Kant seemed, at the outset, to ask from his followers as well as from his antagonists. Although he found in Schulze, a professor of the Göttingen uni-

versity, a strong adversary, his system lost more of the ascendancy it at one time enjoyed, by its half-partisans, than by its absolute opponents. The idealism of Fichte, the internal revelation of Jacobi, the pantheism of Schelling, followed, and struggled with each other, so as to prevent the exclusive sway of the first real German philosophy since that of Leibnitz; and they agreed, or rather concurred, in nothing so much as in weakening any system that might be in accordance with a belief in the inspiration of Scripture. At the same time biblical criticism was more and more studied. Ernesti published his Hermeneutics, and we must content ourselves in this place with bringing to the recollection of our readers only his name and those of Semler, Michaëlis, and Eichhorn. By degrees the authenticity of the Epistles of the New Testament was assailed, and afterwards that of the Gospels. The orthodox of the Protestant Church proceeded like the Catholics, thinking themselves secure behind the bulwark of long revered doctrines, and deeming themselves the stronger on account of the diversity of parties into which the host of their adversaries was split, they remained lukewarm in their own defence. Besides, the *Neologists* (for so were the sceptics called at one time) avoided professing their principles in the pulpit, by seldom preaching doctrinal sermons; and the great bulk of the people seemed indifferent to a sceptical system, which none had the hardihood to make acceptable to the vicious and the incautious, by such profligate means as were employed in France to *kill the beast* (in the infamous language of Voltaire), and to corrupt the heart by perverting the imagination.

But security, founded upon such grounds, must at length necessarily have proved deceitful, even if the revolutionary armies of France had not brought into Germany the pestilential seeds of their demoralization. From their first appearance in that country, till the time that German valor, and the innate honesty which is associated with it, drove back those political and moral foes to the walls of their proud Babylon, religion had no other supporter in Germany than general misery. When the measure of that terrible searcher of the human heart became full, the public mind, bowed down to earth by long misfortunes and in an almost hopeless state, began again to soar towards heaven with aspirations for pardon, as well as with prayers for deliverance. In the midst of such emotions of deep and solemn feeling, an undefined and irregular re-

ligious belief would have been but too quick and too natural a growth, even among a people less inclined than the Germans to reveries and mystery.

German mysticism has been scoffed at enough, but its exculpating circumstances have not been sufficiently taken into account, although its favorable consequences on the national concerns are generally acknowledged. The Prussian government availed itself of this propensity of the time with much discernment, and it is creditable to the sagacity of the rulers, that they did not permit themselves to be blinded to the fatal results, which such a dreaming and shadowy religion would have produced, if it had not been restrained as soon as the hour of danger was past. Otherwise Germany might have sunk into a poetical theology like that of Hesiod, which would, in fact, have brought about anew absolute materialism. Such a moral condition reminds one of the situation of Greece from the time of Pythagoras to Socrates. The school of sophists was certainly, at no epoch, so near being revived, as at the one of which we treat. The same fate, which their baneful influence brought on the Grecian governments, would have attended that of Prussia. But Frederick William lost no time in stemming a current so dangerous, not only to his monarchical power, but to all that had prospered under its shade for more than a century and a half. The first firm ground upon which his counsellors endeavored to anchor, was a union of the Lutheran and Protestant Churches into one, called the Evangelical Church. To this were added the prescription of a liturgy, and the visitation of four episcopal sees. It it not perhaps necessary to exhibit a stronger evidence of the religious latitudinarianism and relaxation which prevailed in that country, than the attempt, in a great degree crowned with success, of a government to effect, by a simple royal decree, such an immense revolution,—a revolution for which other nations would have bled for half a century. However, the liturgy met with opposition from a portion of the clergy as well as from the people. Until a very recent epoch, the public mind was still much agitated, although with no symptoms of a dangerous paroxysm. But in such a state of things, we are more inclined than our author to consider with indulgence the delay or the hesitation of the Prussian government in establishing the free institutions it has promised to its subjects. At least we think time may be fairly asked for the public mind to settle it

self in regard to questions and interests of a more delicate nature, and of more vital importance, than most of the practical concerns of life.

In addition to these difficulties, arising from the peculiar moral and religious situation of Prussia, a great though we trust not an invincible political obstacle is thrown in the way of a reformation of its government, on the basis of what is usually termed a free constitution, by the complex character of its aristocracy. Its nobility includes, we believe, from thirty to forty ancient members of the Empire, who, on the score of their great landed property, and the place they hold in public opinion, are well qualified to be the component parts of a House of Peers. But how could that branch of the legislature be filled up to a degree corresponding to the number of the inferior branch, in a country where a large proportion of the population, though possessing all the rights and the moral *prestige* of a patrician order, is separated from it by its poverty and its consequent dependence on the government. Four bishops and the princes of the royal family would be a very insufficient addition to the thirty or forty peers before mentioned. A similar difficulty existed in Spain, where the grandees are at most eighty in number. Many of the Constitutionalists, who endeavored honestly to rebuild, in 1813, at Cadiz, the political fabric of their country, acquiesced, with a sort of despair from that circumstance, in the formation of the Cortes as a single house.

We have neither time nor space nor go into a further view of the embarrassments in which the Prussian government seems to be involved, and which may serve as an excuse for the dilatoriness, on account of which Mr Dwight professes that he is prevented 'from respecting the king,' notwithstanding his excellent qualities and his paternal government. We may, on a future occasion, add some light to the information furnished by this author (page 216) on the provincial assemblies of Prussia (a first step in the constitutional career of the country), and by Mr Russell on the fortunate changes, produced in the condition of the agricultural class by the royal edict of 1810.

For the present, we must content ourselves with recommending Mr Dwight's Travels in the North of Germany, as a work containing many valuable details, not unmingled, however, with mistakes, which a longer residence, a closer observation, or more preparatory study, might have enabled a foreign tourist to avoid.

ART. VI.—*The American Jurist.* No. I. Boston. January. 1829.

THE history of the law in this country may be properly divided into three several epochs. The first, from the settlement until the charter of 1692. The second, from that period to the time of the Revolution; and the third, from the year 1780 to the present time.

During the first of these periods, the government, both executive and judicial, was what might truly be called *primitive.* No trace can be found of law as a science or profession. The judges left the ploughed field for the bench, when occasion called, and found reason and common sense a very sufficient substitute for the Pandects or Year Books. In the piety of their hearts they adopted the law of Moses for their criminal code, and in civil litigation the common law of England was made, as far as their slender means of information would permit, the rule of their decision. Frequently the separate functions of a judge and jury were attempted to be exercised; but even then a judge of modern date would have been shocked at the encroachments of a jury upon the province of the law, and perhaps amused to see a juryman exercise the right, then conferred upon him by legislative enactment, of consulting with any bystander.

The clergy possessed, as in England, much of the legal knowledge of the community, and therefore we early find, that difficult legal points were referred to their decision, much as the legislatures refer such questions to the judiciary under the provisions of the state constitutions. We have reason not only to be thankful that the clergy of that day did not make an improper use of the power thus necessarily put into their hands, but also that there is no necessity of trying the experiment at the present day. Perhaps no incident more forcibly proves the correct principles of our forefathers than the fact, that, when the outrageous conduct of Sir Edmund Andros had roused the people from their natural peacefulness, when the royal authority was set at defiance by the confinement of its representative, and when, in fact, all law had ceased to exist, then it was found that *no law was wanted*, and in the midst of revolution and violence we discover no symptoms of riot or outrage.

The second epoch of our law commenced with the reception

of the charter, which followed the seizure of Sir Edmund Andros. It was received in 1692. Although the revolutionary spirit displayed by the colonists was in strict accordance with the proceedings of the mother country at the same period, still it was by no means desirable, that the same power should be again exercised. The charter, therefore, now received, while it pretended to make full provision for the preservation of justice, at once reduced the colony to the condition of a subjected province, and thus, while it assumed the air of protecting the rights of each individual, in fact aimed a blow at the civil rights of all.

By this charter, the governor, as representative of the royal prerogative, had the power of a *veto* upon the appointment of the judges; all laws made in the colonial assembly were to be sent to England for approval, and all civil causes, above three hundred pounds, were to be carried to England by appeal for adjudication. Seven years after, in 1699, an act was passed, which received the royal approbation, and which established a Supreme Judicial Court with five judges, a Court of Common Pleas for civil actions, and a Court of General Sessions of the Peace, with another Court of concurrent jurisdiction for criminal matters. It is worthy of remark, that with all the various modifications and revolutions through which this country has passed since that period, the general outline of a judicial establishment here presented, has been in a great measure still preserved. That the judges retained their offices only during the pleasure of the king or his deputy, was the most prominent feature of servitude, and one which is now, happily for us, totally abolished. No principle can be more sure, than that by the independence of the judge is the freedom of the people secured. That great and wise man, the late President Jefferson, once thought differently, and in his zeal to uphold the rights of the people, would have put it in their power to prostrate the majesty of justice. Now that party spirit on this subject has long since subsided, and the excellence of a permanent bench, removable only by impeachment, has been proved, we believe that even the most zealous partisans of that doctrine will subscribe to the opposite opinion.

To render this office perfectly independent, it should not only be held during good behavior, but also the salary should be fixed and permanent. The want of such a provision in

the state of Kentucky, enabled the legislature (which could find no good ground for impeachment when they wished for a removal) to fix the salary at twenty-five cents, and thus compel the incumbent to resign.

Even at this late period, in the year 1699, at the very time when judicial authority seemed by legislative enactment to have been settled on a firm basis, we find an instance of the power and influence exercised by the clergy in matters not considered at the present day within their control or supervision. In May, 1699, the question of the legality of lotteries was referred to the opinion of the clergy, and in Mather's Magnalia we have preserved to us a copy of their judgment.

Previous to the conflicts of the pen, which led to the subsequent conflicts of the Revolution, no name stands forth distinguished in the halls of justice but that of Reed; and even he, though no doubt possessing naturally a mind of rare strength, seems to 'glimmer unknown like an unseen star.' To the period of the revolution, the highest recommendation was *vir insignis pietate*, and all the talent of the young colony was devoted exclusively to the pulpit. The political struggle with the mother country was wanted to call forth the latent energies of the lawyer and the statesman.

The last period in the judicial history of New England includes its darkest and brightest hours. The disgraceful scenes of Shay's insurrection, as it was termed, in 1785, 1786, while they were the natural result of the late struggle and exertions of our countrymen, at the same time exhibited the wisdom and strength of our legal and political institutions. Nothing, perhaps, but the firmness of the Senate of the state preserved our whole system of law and government from being trampled under foot by the unprincipled Jack-Cades of that day. It is with a justifiable pride that we contemplate the progress of the science from that time to the present. The United States, freed from the restrictions of colonial subjection, almost immediately sprang up into the full maturity of a commercial nation. With commerce came a host of contracts, maritime and domestic; an increase of the value of land gave rise to greater nicety in the examination of titles, and all tended to produce important questions, frequently involving intricate points of legal science. Above all, the wisdom of the people was shown in that liberal provision for the support of the

bench, which was sure to command talents requisite to give dignity and weight to the decisions of the judges.

It was not, however, until 1804, that a regular and systematic series of Reports was commenced in Massachusetts; and although previous to that time many points were mooted and opinions delivered, which would have been well worth preserving, still the minutes of them were so few and loose, that no great reliance can be placed upon any but those few which have been added, in the Supplements, to the regular Reports.

This series of Reports, commenced in 1804, has been continued by private enterprise and legislative patronage to the present day; and the cases therein stated have been seldom surpassed, either in the wisdom of their decisions and the soundness of their reasoning, or the fidelity with which the reporter's duty has been discharged.

As an omen of much good promise in the progress of the law, we hail with pleasure the appearance of 'The Jurist.' The reasons which led to its establishment are set forth in a short and luminous preface; and did the work thus far possess no other merit, than that of giving to the world the 'Address,' which forms the first article, it must be allowed to have accomplished a valuable end.

In the first number are contained, besides the Address delivered before the Members of the Suffolk Bar, in 1821, by Mr Justice Story, an able discussion of the advantages that would result from a national bankrupt law, and of the causes which have hitherto prevented its establishment; a comprehensive review of the law of real property, pointing out some of the peculiarities which exist in the various states upon this very intricate branch of legal erudition; a few interesting questions of insurance discussed and settled, with an exhibition of profound knowledge and research in commercial law; a short sketch of the character and writings of Sir William Blackstone; a review of Livermore's Dissertations upon International Law; some remarks upon the admissibility of the testimony of Quakers; a memoir of Judge Trimble; a short review of the laws upon literary property, and the questions arising thereon; and, in conclusion, a review of Peters's Reports for 1828. It contains also a quarterly list of the new legal publications.

This is a good choice of subjects. The purpose of Mr

Justice Story's Address briefly is to 'offer some general considerations touching the past and present state of the common law, and to suggest some hints as to its future prospects in our own country.' In doing this the learned judge is led to speak upon one or two topics of a peculiarly interesting nature. The first has somewhat of an appalling aspect.

'There are now twenty-four states in the union,' says he, 'in all of which, except Louisiana, the common law is the acknowledged basis of their jurisprudence. Yet this jurisprudence, partly by statute, partly by judicial interpretations, and partly by local usages and peculiarities, is perpetually receding further and further from the common standard. While the states retain their independent sovereignties, as they must continue to do under our federative system, it is hopeless to expect that any greater uniformity will exist in the future than in the past. Nor do I know, that so far as domestic happiness and political convenience are concerned, a greater uniformity would in most respects be desirable. The task, however, of administering justice in the state as well as national courts, from the new and peculiar relations of our system, must be very laborious and perplexing; and the conflict of opinion upon general questions of law in the rival jurisdictions of the different states, will not be less distressing to the philosophical jurist than to the practical lawyer.' p. 13.

The inconveniences arising from these diversities would seem to be of a nature not only to trouble the lawyer and the court, but to render the commercial and trading part of the community liable to perpetual mistakes, losses, and vexations. As the means of internal communication with other states daily increase, a host of contracts, debts, liabilities, and transfers spring up. The means of securing debts, transferring real and personal property, and enforcing agreements in one state, become interesting to the inhabitants of other states who may transact business there. A few instances will show the diversities, and illustrate the uncertainties, to which we allude. *Estates tail* exist in New Hampshire with all their entanglements, as in England. In Vermont, Indiana, Illinois, and Louisiana, they never had any existence. In New York, Ohio, Connecticut, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Alabama, they have either been converted into fee simple or absolutely abolished by statute; though in New Jersey, Connecticut, Alabama, and Mississippi, an estate tail can exist during the lives of donees then existing. In Maine, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Penn-

sylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, they may be barred by a regularly acknowledged deed; and also in the last four, by a nearly obsolete form of fine and common recovery. So much for the diversities of title to land simply in regard to one species of tenure; sufficient, however, to render the transfer very unsafe to a person not perfectly conversant with the law of the state, or the situation of the title to the property.

Nothing can be imagined more various and diversified than the laws relating to the descent of estates, the right of representation, and the process of transfer. Thus, in the simple matter of *recording*, observe the differences, altogether arbitrary in themselves, and puzzling to the citizens of other states. In Tennessee, recording is necessary to make a deed valid even between the original parties. It is void, as it respects subsequent purchasers, for a good consideration and without notice, in Indiana, Illinois, Georgia, and Tennessee, unless it is recorded within twelve months from date; in Virginia and Kentucky, unless within eight months; in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and South Carolina, unless recorded within six months; in Missouri, Alabama, and Mississippi, unless within three months; and in New Jersey, fifteen days.

These few instances, selected at random, are sufficient to show that the evil is by no means an imaginary one, and, what is of still farther moment, it is growing. Each particular state government, proud of its independence, legislates entirely for itself, with little regard to the laws or regulations already in force in other states. And so far from having uniformity in view, we have even heard it gravely argued by a member of one of the state legislatures, that 'it was no reason why they should make a law because New York had;' and this wise remark went far, we suppose, to convince the Solomons in legislation, that variety in law-making was a proof of independence.

In many points, we acknowledge, that to attempt arriving at absolute uniformity, would be to attempt an impossibility. Such, for instance, is the law of tenure. The peculiar manner in which many of the states were originally settled, would entirely preclude this. But even here, many slight alterations tending to the promotion of uniformity might easily be adopted. And in every instance, such as the above respecting the recording of deeds, where the diversities are purely arbitrary, great benefit might result from alterations in favor of general similarity. It would be well for us, if the members of our

state legislatures, who seem annually to tax their inventive powers to find new subjects of legislation, would think a little more seriously of this matter. With their best endeavors, success will be but partial. The several state judicatories, a little jealous perhaps of their independence, although they admit the decisions of other courts to be cited, as they would the Pandects, simply as the opinion of wise men, yet being bound to follow their own *better judgment*, decide frequently in flat contradiction to their neighbors. Thus the statute of frauds, so nearly similar in many states, and copied in many from the same great original, has still been subject to numerous constructions differing most materially in very essential points.

Another important topic, and one closely connected with this last, is thus alluded to by the learned Justice.

'The mass of the law is, to be sure, accumulating with an almost incredible rapidity, and with the accumulation the labor of students, as well as professors, is seriously augmented. It is impossible to look without some discouragement upon the ponderous volumes which the next half century will add to the groaning shelves of our jurists. The habits of generalization, which will be acquired and perfected by the liberal studies which I have ventured to recommend, will do something to avert the fearful calamity which threatens us, of being buried alive, not in the catacombs, but in the labyrinths of the law. I know indeed but of one adequate remedy, and that is, by a gradual digest, under legislative authority, of those portions of our jurisprudence, which, under the forming hand of the judiciary, shall from time to time acquire scientific accuracy. By thus reducing to a text the exact principles of the law, we shall, in a great measure, get rid of the necessity of appealing to volumes which contain jarring and discordant opinions; and thus we may pave the way to a general code, which will present in its positive and authoritative text, the most material rules to guide the lawyer, the statesman, and the private citizen. It is obvious, that such a digest can apply only to the law, as it has been applied to human concerns in past times; but by revision, at distant periods, it may be made to reflect all the light which intermediate decisions may have thrown upon our jurisprudence. To attempt more than this would be a hopeless labor, if not an absurd project. We ought not to permit ourselves to indulge in the theoretical extravagances of some well meaning philosophical jurists, who believe that all human concerns for the future can be provided for in a code speaking a definite language. Sufficient for us will be the achievement to reduce the past to order and certainty; and that this is within our reach cannot be matter of doubtful speculation.' p. 31.

Thus it appears, that the learned Justice, in accordance with many others, believes that much of this increasing evil can be remedied by comprehensive *digests* of the law, as already settled and decided; and he cites, with his characteristic enthusiam, the beneficial result of the Digest of Justinian and the Code Napoléon. That these two great bodies of legal learning have been of much service to mankind, there can be no doubt; but we should hesitate to say, that they had fully attained the expected end. No sooner were they published, than they became the subjects of litigation. Various constructions and differing interpretations were attempted to be put upon them; commentaries were written upon disputed passages; the old original laws and opinions, from which these digests had been compiled, were dragged forth to elucidate the meaning of the digested text; and the evils of dispute, necessary research, and accumulated volumes were but little, if at all, diminished.

How is such an evil (for it is confessedly an evil) to be remedied? Within the last twenty-five years there have been published, probably in the United States alone, upwards of two hundred volumes of Reports; besides treatises upon individual portions of the law, Dane's voluminous and rather ill arranged Digest, and Chancellor Kent's valuable elementary treatise upon the whole body of American law. Could it not be effected, in a measure, by applying the remedy to the reports, perhaps to the opinions themselves? When a case is now argued, we do not have an opinion upon the points of law arising from the circumstances of the case, but a *treatise* upon the branch of law under which the case happens to fall, crowded with *dicta*, which sometimes the very judge who delivers them would subsequently, upon further consideration, be very unwilling to support. All that is necessary to form a perfect report could frequently be comprised in about one half of the space usually occupied at the present day.

Sir James Burrow was perhaps as fine a model for a reporter, as Lord Mansfield was for a judge. In Burrow's Reports, the facts upon which the point of law arose, were briefly stated, the positions taken by the counsel, and then the clear, brief, and satisfactory opinion of the court. Seldom has the complaint of being unsatisfactory been made against these Reports; seldom have these opinions been overruled, or even the few *dicta* therein contained, been rejected as unsound law.

We have ventured thus much upon a subject of somewhat a delicate nature, being impressed with the belief, that now is the time to attempt a remedy of these evils. The period when antiquity was the refuge-shrine for every barbarous custom or hoary-headed abuse, is coming rapidly to a close. The word *reform*, once the watchword of sedition and anarchy, is now returning to its legitimate meaning, and breathes a spirit of improvement, not of mere innovation. It comes now, not from the lips of demagogues and factious tribunes, but from lovers of order and disinterested statesmen; not from a *Catalina studiosus rerum novarum*, but from the patriot anxious to meliorate the condition of his countrymen.

Let it not be imagined, that we fail in respect to the venerable institutions of that country, which has been the mother of our free principles, the model of many of our free institutions. Few of the efforts of modern statesmen and assembled legislators have effected so much, as was achieved by many single acts of older times. The Magna Charta, the division of the courts under Edward the First, and the trial by jury, are each and all of them fair columns erected by antiquity to support the mighty fabric of the British constitution. But we are not bound, through our respect for these institutions, to reverence their worse than useless appendages; and thus, while we esteem the trial by jury as the bulwark of our liberties, we see no reason to perpetuate the trial by *battel* for its kindred's sake. It is not, therefore, so much that we are desirous of change, for the sake of experiment, as it is that we are desirous of seeing the primitive simplicity of many things restored. We wish to see institutions, courts, laws, and customs, which time and the progress of society have rendered useless, made again beneficial. Ruins are indeed venerable for their antiquity, but if we are to dwell in them, we can hardly be blamed, if we repair the dilapidated roof. In this wide field of law, therefore, we rejoice to witness the healthful aspect of the spirit of reform, now so general among the well informed and learned of England, as well as of the United States.

Since writing the foregoing remarks, the second and third numbers of this work have issued from the press. We rejoice in their appearance, not merely on account of the intrinsic merit of the work, and the many useful essays and notices which it contains, but as an earnest of the zeal and determination of its conductors, and as an indication of that de-

gree of patronage which is likely to insure its continuance. It is quite impossible, in this brief notice, to point out particularly, or even to enumerate the contents of these additional numbers. It is sufficient to say, in the aggregate, that they afford additional evidence of the liberal and truly national spirit, in which this work is to be conducted. This is as it should be. A periodical work, like the one under consideration, prosecuted upon any other principles, must soon come to an end. But we think there is no country on earth, in which a well conducted periodical journal, devoted to jurisprudence and legislation, is more likely to be at once popular and useful. The United States may be considered now, as in the forming period of their character, in regard to the all important subject of their laws. The courts of justice and the halls of legislation are alike open to any and every change which can be satisfactorily shown to be an improvement. But judges and legislators have not now to learn, that mere change is not improvement; and speculation and projects of reform, however specious, will receive slight encouragement from either, unless sanctioned by reason and experience, and supported by the powerful aid of enlightened public opinion. To reconcile the conflicting views, and direct to a common point the labors and experience of various minds, widely spread over an extensive country, and to bring them to any thing like a union of thought and of action, nothing can be better adapted than a well established journal, sufficiently elevated and permanent in its character to invite and preserve the profound and ingenious speculations of the student, and the more mature deliberations of the cautious and experienced civilian, and at the same time sufficiently various and diffusive in its topics to excite the interest and command the attention of every part of the Union.

These hopes and this character, we confidently anticipate, the American Jurist will realize and sustain, if it shall continue to be conducted with the learning, judgment, and ability, which it has thus far displayed. We think it well suited to diffuse useful information, to excite the favorable interest and regard of these states to the subjects to which it is devoted; and we therefore earnestly hope, that it will be extensively read, as well as cordially welcomed, by all the friends of American Jurisprudence.

ART. VII.—*The Annals of America, from the Discovery by Columbus in the Year* 1492, *to the Year* 1826. By ABIEL HOLMES, D. D. Second Edition. 8vo. 2 vols. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown.

THIS new edition of the American Annals, with such improvements as the author has introduced into it, we consider among the most valuable productions of the American press. The work gained high favor on its first publication. It was reprinted in England, and was not less approved by the learned and judicious in that country, than in this. In fact the author had adopted a plan somewhat novel, and suited to attract the attention, as well as to satisfy the inquiries of those persons, who are curious in historical research. He has aimed at a middle course between the dry and barren track of rigid chronology, and the more seducing pathway of popular narrative and general history. The models, to which he approaches the nearest, are probably Grotius, in his Annals of the Low Countries, and Hénault, in his *Nouvel Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France;* yet our American Annalist differs in some important respects from these great exemplars. If he does not ascend to the high philosophy and historical majesty of the former, nor attempt the style of sprightly anecdote, which has contributed so much to the popularity of the latter, his plan nevertheless embraces other features more congenial perhaps to the nature of his subject, and growing more naturally out of the materials from which his work was to be constructed.

In the first place, Dr Holmes lays down as the basis of his plan a strict chronological method, never deviating from a determined adherence to a consecutive order of dates. He thus presents in the natural chain of occurrences an outline of the principal events, which have happened each year in America, from the day in which Columbus sailed on his first voyage of discovery to the new world, down to the death of Adams and Jefferson, on the memorable jubilee of our national independence. Here is the entire period of American history, comprising a space of three hundred and thirty-three years, of which two hundred and twenty have elapsed since the first settlement in Virginia, and two hundred and six since the Pilgrim voyagers in the Mayflower stepped upon the '*Forefathers' Rock*' in Plymouth. By the author's chronological method,

he is able to pursue this thread of history almost from day to day, and to trace the fortunes of every hero, the first springs and progress of political incidents, the increasing strength and prosperity of the people, and the ever-varying changes of their social condition. We are carried along in the natural train of events, where all the objects worthy of our attention are pointed out to us, and we are then left to philosophize, speculate, censure, or applaud, as our humor may prompt, or as the nature of the subject may seem to require. The annalist keeps close to his purpose of telling us what has happened, and in the order in which it happened, without informing us what should have been, or entertaining us with dissertations on causes and consequences, or professing to have any deep wisdom in detecting the hidden policy of rulers, or the mysteries of local and general politics. All these topics he turns over to the historian, the philosopher, the moralist, and to those who dream about men and things, build theories, and dwell in castles of the air. In the American Annals it is the author's exclusive object to embody *facts*, drawn from what he deems the best authorities, and selected according to the mature light of his judgment. In this aim he seems to us eminently successful, especially when it is considered through what a vast field he has ranged, and what difficulties he must have encountered in collecting his materials and fixing his choice.

These remarks are applicable to the text of Dr Holmes's work, but in their spirit they may be extended also to the notes, which are copious and interesting; they throw much light on the text, from which, although they contain matter of relative moment, they are very judiciously separated. An opportunity is thus given, without breaking in upon the thread of events, to add many particulars not less important, frequently more curious, and illustrative of the main subject. In a history of a wider design we should reverse the rule, and banish notes as unwelcome intruders upon the quiet tenor of our thoughts, while moving along in the current of the writer's narrative, or even pursuing him into his reflections and reveries. The point and wit of Gibbon are but a poor compensation for the perpetual interruption to his readers in wandering from the text to the margin, and from the margin to the text. Simple references are more allowable, because the reader goes on without regarding them; but when there is a provoking note at the bottom, which may or may not contain something to the

purpose, curiosity assumes its ascendency, and down the eye drops in search of something to gratify it, while the mind is withdrawn from the subject in which it was deeply engaged, and bewildered with another set of ideas, which serve only to embarrass the train of thought, and make the reader dissatisfied with himself for his want of resolution in not shutting his eyes to the false allurements of the margin. It requires more firmness than most readers possess to resist such a temptation; and therefore writers of history should, out of pure compassion, if for no other motive, be as sparing as possible of their notes; and when such an infliction is absolutely necessary, it should be transferred to the closing pages of the volume, where the labor of search will commonly restrain the impulse of curiosity, till the mind is sufficiently at rest to be profited by it. The only purpose of notes, that of authority and illustration, will thus be fully answered, and in the way best suited to the convenience and comfort of the reader.

Dr Holmes's method and design make his work an entire exception to this rule. His notes are indeed an integral part of the page, and often quite as essential as the text. The narrative is necessarily broken at every step, by introducing collateral events in the order of time, although they happened at different places. The particulars in the notes are intended to illustrate and explain these events in their various relations, and to designate the sources from which other and more full information respecting them may be obtained; but this could not be done in the text, without deranging the chronological method adopted and rigidly pursued by the author. The notes derive another very high value from the minuteness of the references contained in them, and the citations of all the most approved authorities on American history. We believe it may be safely affirmed, that there is no important point in this history, especially in regard to North America, which is not touched upon by Dr Holmes, and concerning which he has not cited such writers as will enable any inquirer to pursue his investigations to the lengths he may choose, with directness and facility. The notes are also frequently enlivened by pithy extracts, which, if they have not all the liveliness of the anecdotes of Hénault, are strongly characteristic of the quaint style of our ancestors, and the manners of their times.

The Annals are divided into three parts, each embracing a definite period in the history of the New Continent. *First*,

European Discoveries and Settlements. *Secondly*, British American Colonies. *Thirdly*, The United States of America. The first of these periods, extending from the discovery by Columbus till the settlement of Virginia, contains one hundred and fifteen years; the second, comprising our whole colonial history, and ending with the declaration of independence, is one hundred and sixty-nine years; the third is fifty years.

In his sketch of the European discoveries the author gives a brief account of all the voyagers from Europe, who visited the New World during the period in question. Concerning Columbus and his associates, he has derived new matter from the recent publications of Spotorno in Genoa, and Navarrete in Madrid. Both of these writers have made essential contributions of original materials for a history of the life and acts of Columbus. The first volume of Dr Holmes's work was printed, we believe, before Mr Irving's Life of Columbus appeared from the press. Except these publications, it would not appear that modern research has brought much to light illustrative of the history of American discoveries. Something more may be expected from Navarrete's promised continuation of his work, should his already advanced life be protracted long enough to enable him to accomplish his undertaking. But it must be confessed, that, of all the countries in the world, Spain is the one from which the least is to be hoped at present for the encouragement of literature and knowledge.* Navarrete

* Two or three years ago, an American gentleman in Madrid translated into the Spanish language Mr Irving's *Rip Van Winkle*, introducing such changes in the names and local usages as would adapt it to the Spanish taste. When the performance was finished, it was sent to the censor for his inspection. He soon returned it with his injunction, that it should not be printed. The translator, unable to conceive what objection there could be against it, called on the censor, and had a long conversation with him on the subject. When his reason for suppressing the translation was asked, he replied, that he did not fully understand the purport of the piece, but it was sufficiently obvious, that some secret political meaning was concealed in it, which was designed to produce an effect on the people. When assured that this was a misapprehension on his part, he demanded abruptly what then could be its object. He was told, that it was simply a tale of imagination, designed for amusement by a combination of ingenious incidents and exhibition of character. He professed himself unable to perceive any utility in such a work, and ended by saying, that if it had no political meaning, it was certainly a useless composition, from which the public could derive no benefit, and therefore would sustain no loss by its suppression.

is, nevertheless, a man of enlightened mind, and the king must have due praise for the liberal assistance afforded by him, in aiding Navarrete to publish, in a handsome style, the two first volumes of his *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos.* Four years have passed, and nothing is yet heard of the succeeding volumes.

To Purchas and Hakluyt we are still indebted, as were our ancestors two hundred years ago, for almost all the knowledge which we possess respecting the early discoveries in America. Las Casas, Peter Martyr, Bernal Diaz, Herrera, and other Spanish writers are copious, and generally esteemed accurate in regard to South America. Of these Dr Holmes has made frequent and important use. Spain also contains many unpublished documents on this subject, but it is not likely that original materials of any value can be found either in Portugal, France, or England.* Had such existed in the two latter countries, they would certainly have been discovered and brought to light before the present day. We may except, perhaps, the manuscripts of the early French Jesuists, supposed still to be in existence. It is a singular circumstance, that although the four principal early discoverers, namely, Columbus, Verrazzano, Cabot, and Vesputius, were Italians by birth, yet no power in Italy ever obtained possession of a single foot of territory in the New World. The Pope, it is true, assumed a sort of control over the whole, by taking it upon himself to draw the dividing line between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions; but this was an empty control, inasmuch as it never resulted in any benefit to himself or his temporal subjects.

The author's second part begins with the romantic adventures and remarkable fortunes of Captain Smith in Virginia.

Twelve hundred years ago the Saracen Omar burnt the library of Alexandria, because he considered the Koran the only book worth being preserved.

* Mr Obadiah Rich has collected in Spain a large number of most valuable Spanish manuscripts and books on the history of South America, which he has offered for sale to Congress. It is to be hoped that this rare collection, gathered by long research and under the most favorable circumstances, will be secured for the Congress library. Indeed no pains should be spared to procure for that national depository a copy of every book and manuscript in existence relating to America. It is an object worthy of the nation's solicitude and munificence.

The settlement on James River was the first event in the history of the British American Colonies. To this branch of his subject, embracing the period between the settlement in Virginia and the termination of our colonial dependence, Dr Holmes has evidently given very great attention. The embarrassments, troubles, and sufferings of the first settlers; the progress of social organization and political establishments; the wars with Indians and traits of Indian character; the evidences of the love of freedom and jealousy of their rights, which marked the acts of our forefathers,—all these are detailed with a minuteness and apparent fidelity, which could only have been the result of long and careful research. In one instance, and in one only of much importance, that we have discovered, Dr Holmes appears to have been led astray by his authorities. We refer to the history of Virginia during the Commonwealth in England, and the time of Cromwell.

All writers seem to have been in an error till recently, respecting the history of Virginia under the government of Cromwell. The people have been represented as yielding to the Protector's authority, although with reluctance, and as submitting to governors sent out by him. Moreover, it has been unanimously affirmed by the most accredited writers, that Charles the Second was proclaimed in Virginia, and his standard raised, several months before he was restored in England. The following are the words of Robertson on this subject.

'Under governors appointed by the Commonwealth, or by Cromwell when he usurped the supreme powers, Virginia remained almost nine years in perfect tranquillity. During that period, many adherents to the royal party, and among these some gentlemen of good families, in order to avoid danger and oppression, to which they were exposed in England, or in hopes of repairing their ruined fortunes, resorted thither. Warmly attached to the cause for which they had fought and suffered, and animated with all the passions natural to men recently engaged in a fierce and long protracted civil war, they, by their intercourse with the colonists, confirmed them in principles of loyalty, and added to their impatience and indignation under the restraints imposed on their commerce by their new masters. On the death of Mathews, the last governor named by Cromwell, the sentiments and inclination of the people, no longer under the control of authority, burst out with violence.

They forced Sir William Berkeley to quit his retirement; they unanimously elected him governor of the colony; and, as he refused to act under a usurped authority, they boldly erected the royal standard, and, acknowledging Charles the Second to be their lawful sovereign, proclaimed him with all his titles; and the Virginians long boasted, that as they were the last of the king's subjects who renounced their allegiance, they were the first who returned to their duty.'—*History of America*, Book ix.

For this statement Robertson quotes Chalmers and others, yet the original and authentic documents, which have been recently published in Mr Hening's *Collection of the Laws of Virginia*, prove it to be almost without a vestige of truth. During the ten years that elapsed (from 1649 to 1660) between the death of Charles the First and the restoration of Charles the Second, no governor of Virginia was appointed in England, either by the Commonwealth or by Cromwell. Four governors were chosen within this space, namely, Richard Bennett, Edward Digges, Samuel Mathews, and Sir William Berkeley; but in each instance they were elected *by the assembly* of the colony, from whom their authority was derived. In truth the government in all its practical operations was *independent*, and in the hands of the people, by whom the representatives to the assembly, or House of Burgesses, were chosen. It was a strictly popular and republican system, carried into effect with as much regularity and precision, as the state of circumstances would admit.

The Virginia records mention the time and manner of choosing the several governors, and the powers with which the assembly considered them invested. The governor's council was also appointed by the assembly, having in some cases first been nominated by the governor. A curious occurrence, which took place in 1658, shows the state of the government at that time. The governor and council, for some reason not explained, ordered a dissolution of the House of Burgesses. The House refused to comply, and denied the power of the governor to dissolve them. A committee reported on the subject as follows. 'We have considered the present constitution of the government of Virginia, and do propose that we find by the records the present power of government to reside in such persons as shall be empowered by the Burgesses, the representatives of the people, who are not dissolvable by any

power now extant in Virginia, but the House of Burgesses.'—*Hening*, i. 502. Upon this report the Burgesses drew up a declaration setting forth, 'that we have in ourselves the full power of the election and appointment of all officers in this country, until such time as we shall have order to the contrary from the supreme power in England, that we are not dissolvable by any power yet extant in Virginia but our own, that all former election of governor and council be void and null, that the power of governor for the future shall be conferred on Samuel Mathews, who by us shall be invested with all the just rights and privileges belonging to the governor.' This language is very explicit, and admits but of one interpretation. We have here the governor Mathews, whom Robertson mentions, as 'the last named by Cromwell,' but it is proved that he was chosen by the House of Burgesses; nor indeed does it appear that Cromwell ever named any governor at all in Virginia. Mathews was reëlected for a term of two years, but died before this term expired.

The next assembly (March 1659–60) chose Sir William Berkeley governor, precisely in the same manner as they had chosen Mathews. The act specifies, 'that the honorable Sir William Berkeley be governor and captain general of Virginia, according to the ancient laws of England, and the established laws of this country, and that all writs issue in the name of the Grand Assembly of Virginia; that once in two years at least he call a Grand Assembly, or oftener if he see cause; that he have liberty to make choice of a secretary and council of state with the approbation of the Assembly; and that he do not dissolve this Assembly without consent of the major part of the house.' Here is no appearance of 'forcing Sir William Berkeley to quit his retirement,' as expressed by Robertson. All that is said by him and other historians, about 'erecting the royal standard and acknowledging Charles the Second,' is manifestly a fiction. How the story crept into good authors is uncertain. There can be no doubt, however, that the voice of the people in Virginia was decidedly in favor of the restoration, and the readiness with which they acquiesced in the authority of the restored monarch, together with the known leaning of the governor in that direction, may account, in some degree perhaps, for the prevalence of this historical error. The House of Burgesses, in its highest power, never pretended that it was exercising a permanent control, but only a pro-

visional government, till the state of things in England should become settled, and a regular system established by the supreme head. It is nevertheless true, that during the Commonwealth and Cromwell's ascendency, Virginia was literally an independent state, and practised in their most popular form of representation and legislation the principles of a free government.

A point of history respecting Rhode Island, which is sanctioned by Dr Holmes on the authority of Chalmers and others, has recently excited attention. It is well known, that the colony of Rhode Island, under the memorable Roger Williams, was settled (1636) on the broadest basis of religious toleration, and that the strict letter of the charters, the entire spirit of the legislation, and the uniform practice of the colony, were in accordance with this basis. But in Chalmers's Annals is found the following clause, purporting to be part of an act passed by the assembly in the year 1664,—'that all men of competent estates, and of civil conversation, *Roman Catholics only excepted*, shall be admitted freemen, or may choose or be chosen colonial officers.' Chalmers refers for his authority to the records and documents in the public offices of the English government in London. As this exception of Roman Catholics is so extraordinary a feature in the acts of Rhode Island, which have been renowned for their liberal spirit in regard to religious freedom, the subject has been thought worthy of investigation. Mr Eddy, who was many years secretary of state in Rhode Island, and is deeply versed in its early history, has examined the records with great minuteness, and drawn up an interesting paper with reference to this topic.* The result is, that no clause, *excepting Roman Catholics*, can be found in any act passed in the year above mentioned, nor any allusion to it in the proceedings of the assembly, which he says are entire. Mr Eddy infers, that the quotation, as pertaining to that year, is unsupported by proper authority, and is therefore an error.

He goes on to explain, however, in what manner the laws of Rhode Island were compiled, and prepared for being sent to the mother country. Committees were appointed from time to time to revise and arrange them for this purpose. Till the year 1719 they were sent over in manuscript, but in this year the first edition was printed. A second edition was printed in

* Printed in Mr Walsh's Appeal, p. 429.

1730, and another in 1745. Mr Eddy had not seen the two first, but in this last the exclusion of Roman Catholics from the privileges of freemen, as mentioned by Chalmers, is contained. No vestige of it had been discovered in any of the records previous to this date, and Mr Eddy believes Chalmers quoted from this version of 1745, instead of 1664, having made some mistake in regard to the year. He supposes the clause found its way into the act by the committee of revision, and that it was never passed by the assembly, nor submitted to that body. He thinks it possible, that the words might have been inserted in a manuscript copy of the laws sent over in 1699, but of this the records of the colony afford no evidence. Attempting to assign the reason, why a committee should at any time be induced to practise such a deception, he 'suggests that it appears to have been at all times an important object with the colony to keep on the best terms with the mother country,' and he thinks this exception of the Roman Catholics was introduced with a view of ingratiating the colony with the British government. This is a brief summary of Mr Eddy's argument, which, in its original form, is ingeniously drawn out, and contains a body of important facts respecting the early legislation of Rhode Island.

Dr Holmes does not seem to have been convinced by this argument, for he has retained the questionable passage in his second edition, introducing into a note, however, the substance of Mr Eddy's opinion. It must be confessed, the grounds of his decision are strong. In the first place, Mr Eddy's argument rests on negative testimony alone, strengthened, it is true, by collateral circumstances. However clear may be the demonstration, that no such words are now found in the early records of Rhode Island, yet it will be a difficult task to prove, that no copy of the laws containing them was ever sent to England. Again, the authority of Chalmers claims the highest respect, for however prejudiced he may have been in his political opinions, he has never been charged with the want of fidelity in his citations. On the contrary, few historians have been so generally confided in for accuracy and good faith. None ever wrote with more favorable means for using original and authentic documents, and these he appears to have consulted with industry and care. To convict him of error, in so plain and marked a case as the one in question, a case in which every motive prompts to the side of truth, would seem to

require positive proof, or a combination of particular facts, amounting to moral certainty. But in addition to the authority of Chalmers, three others are quoted by Dr Holmes,* which accord with Chalmers, both in the *date of the ordinance* and the *exception of Roman Catholics.* Now it is hardly possible, that four writers at different periods should have fallen into precisely the same error, in regard to a date, and in our judgment the fact of their coincidence proves to a demonstration, that the book, or document, on the authority of which their statements are made, contains the date of 1664. Whether this was a forgery of the revising committee, as well as the clause excepting Roman Catholics, according to Mr Eddy's conjecture, would doubtless be more difficult to decide. It must be observed, however, that the three authorities above alluded to, are anterior to Chalmers, and that consequently they are distinct and independent testimonies.

This train of facts argues strongly in favor of the quotation of Chalmers, but it must be allowed that the weight of probable testimony is against it. The ruling feature in the legislation of Rhode Island was, from the beginning, religious toleration in its utmost latitude. On many occasions it was expressly enacted, that no civil disabilities should be caused by religious faith. During this very year, in which the obnoxious ordinance is supposed to have passed, there are on record acts of the assembly in direct repugnance to it, and others the year following. In the case of admitting persons to be freemen in the colony, it was expressly enacted in this latter year, that those of 'competent estates, civil conversation, and obedience to the civil magistrate,' should have the privileges of freemen. It is strange too, that disabilities should be enacted against a class of people, none of whom had attempted to enter the colony. No Roman Catholics came to Rhode Island till 1680. Mr Eddy very justly observes, 'Why a law should be passed to exclude from the privileges of freemen those who were not inhabitants, by those who believed *all* to be equally entitled to their religious opinions, is difficult to conceive.' In short, all reasoning from analogy, circumstantial evidence, and the uniform tenor of Rhode Island legislation, is against the genuineness of the clause *excepting Roman Catholics.*

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* Douglass, i. 443, ii. 83, 104;—British Dominions in America, b. ii. p. 252;—British Empire, ii. 148.

It may be of some consequence to state, that the Rhode Island papers in the Plantation Office in London have been examined, during the present year, with reference to this subject. Mr Lack, the successor of Chalmers in that office, with much courtesy assisted in the inquiry, and obligingly granted every facility for a thorough examination of the papers. Nothing was discovered. This proves only that Chalmers did not quote from any documents in the Plantation Office; but a large portion of the colonial papers are in other offices, which were not examined with a view to this point, and to which Chalmers had access in writing his Annals.

On the whole, the question seems to us far from being settled. Our own opinion, we confess, inclines to the side of Chalmers's quotation, notwithstanding the mass of strong probabilities against it. The concurrence of four writers in stating the same fact, and assigning to it the same date, affords a kind of testimony, which can hardly be set aside without a positive detection of error in the sources of their information. The idea of collusion, or intended deception, on their part, is not to be admitted, because the former was impossible, and there was no motive for the latter. We do not see how an error is to be proved, except by showing that they actually quoted from false authorities.

While on this topic of religious toleration, we will take occasion to mention what we deem an oversight in Dr Holmes, and that is, the omission to state, under the year 1639, the *Act concerning Religion*, passed by the assembly of Maryland. In this act it is decreed, that 'no person or persons, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be anyways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for, or on account of his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof.' Indeed Roger Williams himself could not have dictated an ordinance in a more liberal spirit than this, which was drawn up and put in execution by the Roman Catholic settlers of Maryland. We agree with Mr Walsh * fully, that 'this statute is not only prior in date, as a charter for all Christian sects, to any legislative act of the kind, of which this country can boast, but provides more minutely and anxiously than any other extant for the protection of the rights of conscience, and the preservation of religious harmony.' Nay, we believe not only, that it was the first statute of the kind in this country, but, as

* Appeal, p. 427.

we have expressed on a former occasion,* that it is the first legislative act on record, *in any country*, for unlimited toleration. This may be said, without any disparagement of Roger Williams, and the early settlers of Rhode Island; for if they did not *enact* toleration at so early a date, or even afterwards, it is well known that they practised it, and history has raised a monument to their wisdom and forbearance in this respect, which will not be defaced by any controversies about the dates or words of particular ordinances.

The third division of the Annals, embracing our national history, from the declaration of independence down to the present day, constitutes in many respects the most important part of the work. In addition to his personal knowledge of the events of recent years, the author has consulted all the best writers, methodizing and condensing the substance of their writings to suit his purpose. This remark applies with particular emphasis in regard to revolutionary history. Descending to more critical times, when the current of events is tinged with party feuds and political antipathies, Dr Holmes has, notwithstanding the difficulty of the task, as far as we have been able to discover, preserved his accustomed impartiality and discrimination.

Many and valuable improvements have been introduced into this second edition. The history is brought twenty-one years further down, and a great many new notes are added. Books published since the first edition have contributed to throw light on the history of the American revolution, and the characters and deeds of the eminent statesmen, patriots, and heroes, who were instrumental in effecting it. They have also afforded assistance in tracing the progress of the arts and sciences, and of the literary, humane, and other institutions of the country, upon all of which Dr Holmes has said as much as was consistent with his general design. One of the most agreeable and instructive parts of his performance is the short biographical notices of distinguished Americans, which are contained in the notes.

On one subject we could have wished to see more full information, than Dr Holmes has communicated. We mean the legislative and legal history of the country. There are two classes of materials from which this is to be derived, the jour-

* North American Review, Vol. xx. p. 102.

nals of the colonial assemblies, and the original statutes in detail. From some experience in this inquiry, we are well aware of the difficulty of procuring this description of documents with any degree of completeness. In all the colonies there was great negligence in preserving them, and it is very rare to find a complete copy either of the journals, or of the laws as originally passed, in any of the old states. In most cases they were printed, and in others not; but even the printed copies have been lost, or so much scattered, as to render it almost impossible to procure an entire set. Hening's *Collection of the Laws of Virginia*, in thirteen volumes, is an honorable exception, honorable to the state at whose charge it was published, and to the editor as a testimony of his learning, research, and industry. It is beyond all comparison the most complete and valuable collection of materials for history, which has been published in any of the states; and if the other states would follow this noble example of Virginia, nothing more could be desired in this department.

After having derived much satisfaction ourselves from Dr Holmes's work, we recommend it with confidence to such persons as take an interest in the topics on which it treats. It would be a valuable acquisition to every library, public or private, in the country. It is the best repository of historical, chronological, and biographical knowledge respecting America, that can be found embodied in one work.

Art. VIII.—*The Works of Antonio Canova in Sculpture and Modelling, engraved in Outline by Henry Moses, with Descriptions from the Italian of the Countess Albrizzi, and a Biographical Memoir by Count Cicognara.* 2 vols. folio. London. 1824.

In a preceding number of this journal,* we gave some account of the principal events in the life of Canova, and of the most remarkable among the multiplied productions of his chisel. Not long after the article containing it appeared, the grave closed over this celebrated artist, who died at Venice on the thirteenth

* North American Review, Vol. x. p. 372.

of October, 1822, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, universally lamented throughout the civilized world, as one of those rare individuals whose extraordinary and unrivalled genius throws a lustre on the period in which they live, and whose loss is, in the nature of things, altogether irreparable. The biographical memoirs and collections of engravings of his works, which have appeared since his death, supply materials for a somewhat ampler notice than we were then able to furnish; and we avail ourselves with pleasure of the opportunity for rendering complete justice to the memory of this great artist, who has particularly recommended himself to the attention of Americans, by consecrating one of his works to the honor of our political savior and father. A tribute of this kind is the more necessary in this country, because the British journalists, with their characteristic jealousy of all foreign excellence, have studiously underrated the merit of Canova, even since his death, in the vain attempt to give their own countryman, Chantrey, a preëminence over him, which that justly distinguished and amiable sculptor would himself as little dream of claiming, as any competent judge of assigning it to him. One of the publications, from which we drew the materials for our former article on this subject, was the series of descriptions of the works of Canova by the Countess Albrizzi of Venice; and we mentioned, in the course of our remarks, that that lady had announced the intention of publishing a collection of engravings of them, with a biography by herself of her illustrious countryman and friend. The work now before us, although no satisfactory account is given of its origin by the British editors, appears to be a reprint, in an English dress, of the one which Mad. Albrizzi has probably published in pursuance of this intention, but which has not yet reached us. It contains a complete collection of engravings in outline of all the productions of Canova, accompanied by the commentaries of this lady, and by a biography, which is, however, not from her pen, but that of Count Cicognara, a Venetian nobleman, well known to the world by his literary talent and taste in the fine arts. The descriptions of Mad. Albrizzi are of a poetical rather than critical character, and probably appear to more advantage in their original shape, than in the present translation, which, however, is not a bad one. The biography is a judicious and unpretending narrative of the leading incidents in a life of exclusive and untiring devotion to art, and of which the best and only faithful

record is to be found in the charming productions of the artist. We propose, in the present article, to lay before our readers a concise sketch of these events, with such observations on the works of Canova as may be suggested by the descriptions and engravings here given of them, or by the personal survey which we have had opportunity to take of some of the most remarkable among the number.

Canova was a native of Possagno, a village situated near the city of Asolo at the foot of the Venetian Alps. The talent for sculpture was hereditary in his family, having been exercised by his father aud grandfather with a good degree of success in the construction of monuments, altars, and other works, mostly for the interior decoration of the churches in their neighborhood. His father died while Canova was yet an infant, and it was from his grandfather, who still continued at a very advanced age the practice of the art, that he received his first instruction in the mechanical part of it. The peculiar aptitude which he exhibited under these circumstances, attracted the attention of several noblemen of taste, in the immediate vicinity of his native village, who supplied the young sculptor with the means of removing to Venice and studying under the first artists of that city, which he accordingly did, at about fourteen years of age. He began very early to exhibit, both in the choice of his subjects and in his mode of treating them, the lofty spirit and correct taste which afterwards raised him to the head of his art. His Orpheus and Eurydice, which were executed in his sixteenth and seventeenth years, though inferior to his later productions, excited in a singular degree the admiration of his countrymen, and announced the dawn of a genius of the highest promise. They are still preserved in the palace of his earliest patron, the Patrician Giovanni Falieri, at Asolo. The success of these and several other groups and statues, which he executed not long after, encouraged his friends to afford him the opportunity of studying at Rome,—the central point and, as it were, metropolis of the fine arts. He was accordingly placed there at the close of the year 1780, under the protection of the Venetian ambassador, the Chevalier Girolamo Zulian. As a provision for the expenses of his residence at Rome, the government of his native republic voted him an annual pension of three hundred ducats for three years.

Such were the circumstances under which Canova entered on his brilliant career. From this time forward he passed his

life, with the exception of occasional short excursions for recreation or business, in his workshop at Rome, where he continued his labors with uninterrupted assiduity through the whole series of political revolutions which shook the world around him, and swept into their vortex almost every other individual of any note or talent in Italy. No clearer proof could be given of the absorbing and unconquerable passion for his art with which he was possessed, and which alone could have raised him to the distinction he attained. He was aware, before he left Venice, of the great inferiority of the modern style of sculpture, and had already fixed his eyes on the pure and perfect models of antiquity. In this correct taste he was confirmed and encouraged, upon his arrival at Rome, as well by his own observations upon the works of art, which he there saw, as by the advice and opinion of the best judges from all parts of Europe, whom he met with in that city. After allowing him a sufficient time to prepare himself, by a proper course of study, for new efforts, the Venetian ambassador placed at his disposal a fine block of marble, and invited him to execute, upon a subject of his own choice, a work which should furnish a specimen of the improvement that he had derived from his residence at Rome. Canova, laboring in the palace and under the eye of the ambassador, who has thus associated his name with the glory of his *protégé*, converted this block of marble into the group of Theseus and the Minotaur,—the first of his works in which he exhibited the maturity of his talent. This production realized the highest expectations entertained by the patrons of the young artist; and the execution of it may be said to form an epoch in the history of modern sculpture. The circumstances attending this interesting moment in the life of Canova, are related by his biographer in the following terms;

'On his arrival at Rome, Canova had experienced the kindest reception from the Venetian ambassador, and had free access to his splendid mansion. This enlightened and accomplished nobleman, soon becoming impressed with a high sense of the merit and powers of the young sculptor, procured from Venice a cast in plaster of the group of Dædalus and Icarus, which he had executed in that city, for the purpose of exhibiting it to the artists and connoisseurs at Rome. The house of the ambassador was, indeed, a kind of athenæum, and frequented by all the persons most distinguished by talents and genius in that city. On the occasion of the first production of this group, he was surrounded

by Cades, Volpato, Battoni, Gavin Hamilton, Puccini, and many other distinguished artists and critics, who contemplated the work with silent astonishment, not daring to censure what, although at variance with the style then followed, commanded their admiration, and revealed the brightest prospects. The embarrassment of the youth at this juncture was extreme, and he frequently spoke of it afterwards as one of the most anxious moments of his life. From this state he was, however, soon relieved by the friendly and paternal address of Gavin Hamilton, exciting him to unite with so exact and beautiful an imitation of nature the fine taste and *beau idéal* of the ancients, of which Rome contained so many models; predicting, at the same time, that by such a course he would greatly pass the limits which had been reached by the moderns. But the censure which he overheard from one who stood behind him, was more agreeable to the young artist than any direct eulogium. This Aristarchus observed, that, from the effect produced on the observer by the naked forms so carefully finished in this group, they must have been moulded upon a living subject, when in reality they were wholly the result of his severe study of the human form, entirely unassisted by mechanical means. This greatly encouraged the young artist, and convinced him that he had already raised himself above the mediocrity of his contemporaries.

'From the moment of his arrival at Rome, he had commenced a severe and profound study of the great models of ancient art, without, however, neglecting the fruits of his previous close observation of nature, the expression of which he always proposed to himself to make a distinguishing quality in his works. He had a profound contempt for all conventional modes in the arts, and was led, even in that early age, by a correct taste, rather than by instruction, to prefer, among the monuments of ancient art, those which were of the age of Phidias, in which the lofty conceptions of the artist are most closely united with truth of expression,—a decision which has since been fully confirmed by the exhibition made to Europe by the British Museum of the first certain monuments of the arts of that era.

'It may be proper to take here a slight survey of the various circumstances which had promoted the improvement in the arts previously to the arrival of Canova at Rome; for the influence of the genius of one man could not have been wholly adequate to the reconducting of art into its true but forsaken paths, unless the approach to them had been cleared by the sound judgment of some of his predecessors, and without the aid of other favoring circumstances. Indeed the influence of established practice and professional jealousy created no trifling obstacles to the progress

of Canova. These, however, his modest and unpresuming conduct aided greatly to remove, while an air of triumph and superiority would, by wounding the feelings of his rivals, have created additional opposition. Already, however, many causes had existed, tending to an improvement in the arts. Among them may be enumerated the encouragement to right studies given by the Marquess Tanucci at Naples, the protection afforded to literature, and the arts at the courts of Charles the Third, Leopold, Benedict the Fourteenth, Pius the Sixth, and by Cardinal Silvio Valenti, the Colbert of the Holy See; by the Albani, the Zelada, and the Borgia; the studies of Mazzochi, Bajardi, Galliani, of the two Venuti, of Maffei, Gesnero, Gori, Passeri, Paoli, and Amaduzzi; the good taste diffused by Cochin, Bellicard, Burlington, Mariette, and Sir William Hamilton; the Herculanean discoveries; the travels of St Non, Norden, Pococke, Wheeler, Spon, Revet, and Stuart; the exact admeasurement of ancient architecture by Des Godetz; the masterly works of the Piranesi on the antiquities of Rome; the illustration and rendering public of galleries and museums by means of engravings; the opening of baths; the study of the galleries of the Vatican; the excavation of old edifices; the collection and illustration of old inscriptions by Morcelli, Marini, Zoega, Fea, and Akerblad; the great works of Visconti and Winkelman; the enlightened taste of the Earl of Bristol, and of the Ambassador D' Azara, for these studies; the genius and profound erudition of Hancarville; the valuable collections of Hamilton, Jenkins, and Agincourt; the perfection of the intaglios of Pikler; the fine and bold designs of Flaxman; the attraction given to these studies by the accomplished Algarotti; the triumph over prejudices of the formidable Milizia; the labors of Temanza and Lanzi.—These all supplied immense sources of aid to the young Phidias, and seemed to him to point out that moment as the favorable one for giving a different direction to sculpture from that which was pursued by living masters.

'It is remarkable, that both sculpture and architecture should at this time owe their revival to the genius of the Venetians; for while Canova was executing his first great works at Rome, Ottone Calderari was reviving the Grecian taste in Vicenza, and Querenghi, at St Petersburgh, was fulfilling, in a masterly style, the magnificent views of that imperial court, by the erection of sumptuous and elegant edifices of every description. It must be allowed, however, that no ordinary degree of genius and courage was required to break loose from the false and vicious rules of art which then prevailed, particularly in sculpture, as not one of his contemporaries had, with all the incitements which have been enumerated, yet advanced a single step in that direction. Indeed the works which Canova first saw at Rome, the productions of

Agostino Penna, Pacili, Bracci, Sibilla, Pacetti, and Angilini are already fallen into total neglect; neither can we discover in them the source of the slightest excitement to the improved style which the Venetian pupil afterwards acquired.

'The Chevalier Zulian now saw the importance of giving effective assistance to the developing powers of Canova. He therefore placed at his command a fine block of marble, to be devoted to a subject of his own choice, and to show the profit derived from his residence and studies at Rome. This was the first marble sculptured by Canova on those true principles by which he had proposed to himself to be guided in his works; a composition by which a new path was opened to all the productions of the imitative arts. The subject which we chose was Theseus, conqueror of the Minotaur, and the work was conducted throughout in the palace of the Venetian ambassador. It was a highly interesting moment, when his excellent patron produced a cast of the head only of the Theseus to a party of the first artists and critics assembled in his house, without informing them whence it had been obtained. All concurred, however varying in other points, in pronouncing it to be of Grecian workmanship; and many thought they had seen the marble from which it had been taken, not being able, however, to recollect exactly where it was. But when the ambassador conducted them before the original and entire group, their surprise was indeed extreme, and they were forced to exclaim, that by this work art had commenced a new career. On this occasion it may be said, that Theseus was the conqueror, not only of the Minotaur, but of Envy also, forcing from his rival artists the first homage of their admiration of Canova, who at so early an age had raised art to a higher degree of perfection than had been attained by any sculptor since its revival in Italy.'

In this group the Minotaur is represented, according to some of the traditions, with the body of a man and the head of a bull. The contest is already decided, and the lifeless carcass of the fallen monster is carelessly thrown over a rock, which thus furnishes a natural pedestal to the group. The young conqueror is seated on the body, resting his right hand on one of the thighs, and holding in his left the club with which he has achieved his victory. His shoulders are thrown back a little as if he were reposing from a strong effort, while with his head gently inclining forward he fixes a look of proud satisfaction on the face of his antagonist. The subject of this work is very happily chosen. The uncouth form of the monster, while it gives variety to the figures, furnishes a fine foil to the

exquisitely symmetrical shape of the hero. The attitudes of both are perfectly easy, and are also such as to give a unity and pyramidical appearance to the group, which are always pleasing qualities when they naturally result from the subject. The action represented,—a prince, in the flower of youth and beauty, adventuring his life in an almost desperate conflict for the purpose of delivering his country from a savage imposition, —is fitted to awaken emotions which tend to increase the effect of the work. The figure and countenance of Theseus are in the highest style of manly beauty. The features express the stern delight of triumph, mingled with contempt for the brutal enemy. As the situation is substantially the same, so the predominant expression of the features was probably borrowed from that of the Apollo Belvidere, who is supposed to be represented as having just slain the serpent Python with an arrow. The division of the lips, and the disdainful curl of the upper one, are seen alike in both; but the difference in the attitudes removes the appearance of anything like servile imitation in Canova, who has in fact done no more than indicate, by its natural expression, the same sentiment which is shown in the face of the Apollo. The Perseus, one of his later productions, is a direct copy of the celebrated antique statue in question, but is perhaps a less successful exhibition of the talent of the artist than the Theseus. The Countess Albrizzi expresses in strong terms her admiration of the beauty of this statue. 'Men,' says she, 'who behold it, would fain resemble Theseus, while the fairer sex experience all the emotions of Ariadne.'

We have dwelt at some length on this group, because, while it is in itself one of the most finished productions of the chisel of Canova, it is particularly remarkable as the one which opened the series of his mature efforts. It is now, we believe, in possession of Count de Fries, a banker at Vienna, of the house to which our countryman, Mr David Parish, was attached. The talent exhibited in the Theseus gave celebrity at once to the name of Canova, and he was immediately engaged to execute a monument to the memory of Pope Clement the Fourteenth (Ganganelli), in the church of the Holy Apostles at Rome. The complete success with which he acquitted himself of this honorable and arduous commission, is attested, for those who trust more to the judgment of professed connoisseurs than their own, by the following letter, in which the *for-*

midable Milizia,—as he is called in the above extract,—a critic not less distinguished for the uncompromising severity of his judgment, than for the perfection of his taste, expressed his opinion of the monument of Ganganelli soon after its erection in 1787.

'In the church of the Holy Apostles, near to the Sacristy, and fronting to one of the side aisles, a mausoleum has been erected to the late Pope Ganganelli, by Antonio Canova, a Venetian sculptor. So great is the simplicity of this composition, that it seems all facility, but it is nevertheless full of talent and difficulty. What repose! what elegance! what harmony! Both the sculptural and the architectural parts, in general effect and in detail, are highly classical. Canova may indeed be reckoned among the ancients. I hardly know whether he belongs more to Athens or to Corinth, but of this I feel assured, that if in the best times of Grecian art a subject of this nature had been to be treated, it would have been by such a work as this. During the twenty-six years which I have lived in this city of the world, I have never before seen such universal admiration excited by any work of art as by this. The most intelligent and liberal artists pronounce it to be the nearest approach to the ancients of all the productions of modern sculpture. Even the Jesuits can praise and admire this marble Ganganelli, which certainly may be deemed a miracle of that Pope, who will derive as much glory from this monument as from the suppression of that order. If anything were needed to convince us that this is a perfect work, it would be furnished by the censures of the Michael-Angelists, Berninists, and Borrominists, who point out as defects those parts which are its greatest beauties, charging the drapery, the outlines, and expression, with being Grecian;—"*Dio abbia pietà di loro.*"'

Of the funeral monuments executed by Canova, the most remarkable are the one now mentioned in honor of Pope Ganganelli, that of Pope Clement the Thirteenth (Rezzonico), in the church of St Peter's at Rome, which was finished in the year 1792, and that of the Archduchess Christina of Austria, which was erected in 1805 by desire of her husband, the Duke of Saxe Teschen, in the church of the Augustine Friars at Vienna. These three compositions are all of the first order of merit, and quite unrivalled by anything of the kind in Europe. The last is generally regarded as the finest of the three, perhaps because the artist has given greater latitude in this than in the others to the tender and amiable feelings that formed the basis of his own moral constitution, and determined

the leading characteristics of his style in sculpture, which are, in general, grace and sweetness rather than power. The description of this monument by the Countess Albrizzi is particularly full and interesting. It will be read, we think, with pleasure, although it loses of course a part of its effect when not accompanied by the engravings.

'This mausoleum, placed in the church of the Augustines at Vienna, is in memory of Christina of Austria, daughter of Maria Theresa, and wife of Duke Albert of Saxe Teschen. This beautiful and pathetic composition was executed by Canova at the desire of her afflicted husband, whose grief must be soothed and alleviated by the contemplation of the celestial figures which here so finely express the virtues of her whose memory he so fondly cherishes.

'The monument, the material of which is a greyish marble, presents one side of a pyramid to the spectator, being only slightly raised from the wall against which it rests. It is placed upon an ample base, from which two steps are raised and form the approach to the door of the tomb, over which, on the architrave, the following inscription is engraven; CHRISTINÆ. AUSTRIACÆ. ALBERTI. SAXONIÆ. PRINCIPIS. CONJUGI.

'There are nine figures employed in this monument, besides the lion and the medallion. They are all of the natural size, and may be divided into four groups. The first, which occupies the middle part, consists of an allegorical figure of Virtue, with two young females bearing torches. Virtue is represented in the form of a young matron of a dignified but afflicted aspect, bearing before her the funeral urn, on which, bending down, she rests her forehead. She is attired in a rich tunic and a mantle, gracefully and appropriately disposed; her hair is unbound and spread in a disorderly manner over her shoulders, and her head is encircled with an olive crown. Ascending the steps, which are spread with a rich carpet, she approaches the door of the tomb. The attendant, who goes before her, has already reached the entrance, where her steps seem for a moment arrested by the awful feelings which the place inspires; but bending forward and lowering her torch to illumine the dark abode, she prepares to enter. The pious attitude of this young female, her loosened tresses falling down in rich curls upon her shoulders, her simple attire and modest step, give to her figure a grace and expression which, unaided by the effect of countenance, I have never seen equalled. The other attendant, who is behind, and is seen in profile, has the same simplicity of dress and character. With downcast eyes and slow and devoted step she follows her celestial conductor. Two wreaths of flowers, joined at the top of the urn, connect

these figures, which, from the depth and harmony of the sentiment that unites them, would separately form a complete and charming composition.

'They are followed, at a short distance, by the second group, observing in some degree the order of a procession. It consists of a female figure, whom, from the gentleness of her aspect, we recognise to be Beneficence; a blind and aged man whom she is leading; and a young female child. Beneficence is attired with all the simplicity and grace of the Grecian manner. Her hands are sorrowfully crossed before her, and her eyes fixed on the ground with an air of gentleness and affliction. So perfect is the character and expression of this eloquent figure, that she awakens within us all the heightened feelings that the most pathetic poetry could convey. She has ascended the first step, and is followed by the old man, who, leaning on her arm, tries, with the aid of his staff, to raise himself on the step. His appearance bespeaks the feebleness of age and poverty; and his countenance, on which acute sorrow is depicted, is turned towards the tomb, which probably contains his best friend and benefactress. The child, who stands beside him, and is represented with a simplicity conformable to her tender age, is in the humble attitude of prayer. In this group the artist makes a lively allusion to the warmth and readiness of benevolence for which the Princess was so much distinguished. A wreath of flowers, lying on the ground, occupies the short space between the first and second groups; and if our feelings are excited by these deeply impassioned figures, the fine diagonal line in which they cross the steps of the monument is no less pleasing to the eye.

'Opposite to these figures, on the left, is a magnificent lion, lying crouching on the upper step, who seems the faithful and eternal guardian of the monument. Seated beside him on the steps, is a winged genius, whose form and aspect discover his celestial origin. A mantle, spread beneath him, protects his delicate limbs, while, bending forward and leaning with his right arm and side against the lion, he steadfastly and mournfully looks on the funeral procession. His left hand rests upon the shield of the house of Saxony, of which he is the tutelary genius.

'The fourth group, which occupies the upper part of the pyramid, is of a more exalted character. The figure of Felicity is there represented, bearing upward the image of the Princess, encircled by the emblem of eternity. The aërial grace and lightness of her motion, her serene and heavenly countenance, her delicate limbs, are all of the most perfect taste and execution. On the other side, a little winged genius flies towards her bearing a branch of palm.

'Favored by heaven in an illustrious birth and splendid destiny,

this Princess is no less felicitous in possessing such a tomb, where the memory of her virtues, which are symbolized by the most perfect creations of genius, is perpetuated, and which will continue to be an object of interest and admiration so long as virtue and genius shall be regarded on earth.'

We have never had the pleasure of seeing this monument, but the effect of it, even in the imperfect shape of an engraved outline, is very great. In the work before us there are five engravings of it, one representing the entire work, and the others respectively the four groups of figures which are specified in the above description. The fourth group, which is placed near the apex of the pyramid, and is composed of a female figure of Felicity, suspended in the air without any visible support, bearing a medallion with the head of the Archduchess, attended by a little winged genius with a palm-branch, is to us less agreeable than the others, and might, we think, have been omitted without injuring the effect of the monument. It was probably thought necessary to introduce somewhere the face of the Princess. In general the effect of winged human figures, which, if they be well managed, is often agreeable in poetry and even in painting, is positively unpleasant in sculpture. The essential incongruity of the combination is here so apparent, that the imagination cannot lose sight of it; and the main impression suggested is that of a person painfully hovering in the air, without sufficient support and in imminent danger of a fall. A still stronger impression of the same kind is of course produced by the view of a figure suspended in the air, without wings or any visible support whatever. Of the other groups, which are all beautiful in different ways, the central one is perhaps the most attractive. The art with which the sculptor has communicated a mournful expression to the leading figure which is just entering the monument, and of which the back part only is visible, is truly remarkable. The view of these charming groups recalls to mind the exquisite allegorical figures which the delicate genius of Collins has collected round the 'hallowed mould' of the brave who fell in the battle of Fontenoy, the 'gray pilgrim Honor,' 'Spring, with dewy fingers cold,' and the 'weeping hermit Freedom;' and again in the dirge on Colonel Ross;

> 'The thoughts which musing Pity pays,
> And fond Remembrance loves to raise,
> Your faithful hours attend;

Still Fancy, to herself unkind,
Awakes to grief the softened mind,
And points the bleeding friend.'

'O'er him, whose doom thy virtues grieve
Aërial forms shall sit at eve,
And bend the pensive head;
And, fallen to save his injured land,
Imperial Honor's awful hand
Shall point his lonely bed.'

Of the numerous sepulchral monuments of smaller dimensions, and somewhat less celebrity, which Canova executed, that of the poet Alfieri, in the church of *Santa Croce,* or the Holy Cross, at Florence, is the one most worthy of note, as well for the interesting character of the subject, as from the perfection of the work. Canova, like other artists of transcendent genius, was often compelled, probably with some regret, to lavish the treasures of his talent upon noble mediocrity and royal nothingness; but we may readily conceive, on the other hand, with what inspiration and enthusiasm he must have labored to perpetuate the glory of his illustrious contemporary, who had effected in the poetry of their common country nearly the same revolution which he had himself brought about in the sculpture of modern Europe. Alfieri and Canova were the two great names in art of their day; and the monument, which thus commemorates them in connexion, will be viewed with the deepest interest, independently of its merit as a work, by all future ages.

'The plan,' says Mad. Albrizzi, 'is lofty and simple, like the spirit of him whom it records. It consists of a simple sarcophagus, the four corners of which are each ornamented with a tragic mask, symbols of the dramatic genius of Alfieri; and in the centre is sculptured his bust in a medallion, full of life and of that fire which ever glowed in his impetuous breast. On the medallion is inscribed, VICT. ALFERIUS. AST.

'Standing beside the tomb, and resting upon it her right arm, is a colossal female figure, with a turreted crown. With one hand she holds the border of her mantle to her streaming eyes, while the other falls neglectedly at her side. In her majestic countenance, although clouded with grief, we observe that fine symmetry of features in which beauty consists, and which the rules of art require to be ever preserved. She is attired in a tunic, confined under the breast by a narrow band, over which is a

regal mantle, which, flowing down from her shoulders, forms an ample train, whose large and graceful folds give a wonderful dignity to her person. It is *Italy* weeping over her son, and with such tears as would be grateful even to the lofty spirit of Alfieri himself. On the base of the monument is sculptured a lyre, and underneath it the following inscription,—VICT. ALFERIO. ASTENSI. ALOYSIA. E. STOLBERGIS. ALBANYÆ. COMITISSA.

'Among the many noble tombs which adorn this church, that of Alfieri is distinguished by its grandeur, and particularly attracts the attention and admiration of the stranger. It is on this also, that at departing he casts his last glance, as if desirous of treasuring up in his memory so noble an object. May this temple, so sublime a monument of Italian glory, be ever preserved from the sacrilegious hand of violence, and may the ashes of Alfieri here find the repose which his impetuous and inflexible spirit ever disturbed when living.'

The sepulchral monuments executed by Canova would have been sufficient of themselves to have procured him the glory of the restorer of modern sculpture; but with all their merit, they are perhaps not the highest, and certainly not the most pleasing efforts of his genius. The triumph of the plastic art, as of painting, lies in the representation of the human figure; and it is obvious that the artist will have more room and better opportunity for developing his talent for this purpose, in proportion as his attention is less diverted from the main object by accessories of inferior importance. In sepulchral monuments there is generally a large mixture of architectural accessories, which a good deal injure the effect of the sculpture; while in groups, statues, and busts, the human figures, which are the proper objects of attention, are also the only ones. Works of this kind, therefore, are far more favorable for the exhibition of the sculptor's skill; and of the various classes of subjects to which they may be devoted, those again are the most happy, which afford the greatest latitude for the display of the naked figure. The execution of draperies, though it occasionally affords opportunity for showing a good deal of science, is after all an inferior branch of art. It is often abandoned by the best portrait painters to their pupils; and in statues, the parts that are covered are in reality, as regards effect, almost wholly lost. We find accordingly, that the antique groups and statues, which are the most celebrated, and are in fact considered as indicating the perfection of the art, have little or no drapery; and that of those among them in which draperies are employed,

the naked parts alone attract much attention. As statues and groups afford by far the best field for the exercise of talent, so it is in them that the genius of Canova displayed itself to the greatest advantage and under its peculiar characteristics. The number of his productions of this class is so astonishingly great, that we shall not undertake even to recapitulate, much less to comment upon them; but shall content ourselves with making a few remarks upon three or four of those which exhibit most distinctly the nature and extent of his talent.

One of the very best, and at the same time most decidedly original statues, is the *Penitent Magdalen.* It was executed by Canova in 1796, and intended as a present to his native city; but afterwards passed into the hands of the French, and now forms a part of the collection of Count Sommariva at Paris, where it has a small room entirely to itself, like the Venus de' Medici in the gallery of Florence, and the exquisite Ariadne of Danneker in that of the banker Bethman at Frankfort. The Magdalen is placed in the centre of this apartment upon a pedestal about three feet high. The figure is of the natural size, and is seated on a rock in the oriental fashion with the feet turned back, and the body resting on them. The arms are extended over the upper part of the thighs, with the palms of the hands upwards and supporting a small cross, upon which the eyes are intensely fixed. The head is bent slightly forward; and the features, which are eminently beautiful, are marked with a strong and deep expression of sorrow. The dishevelled hair falls loosely over the back and shoulders. A slight drapery veils a part of the front of the figure; a cord passes round the waist, while a skull is placed on one side upon the rock. Three engravings are given in the work before us of this fine statue, which we have also had opportunity to examine ourselves. Although the subject is not of that class in which the genius of Canova has been thought to take most delight, the execution of the work is perhaps equal in perfection to that of any of the others; nor is there any appearance in it of the affectation, with which some of them have been at times reproached. The attitude, though rather unusual, at least in our latitudes, is perfectly easy, and the form and features true to the style of beauty which belongs to the character. Settled grief dwells in every line of the countenance, and diffuses itself over every part of the figure, so that we plainly discover the expression of it

even on a side view and when the face is not visible. Nothing indeed can be finer in its way than one of these side views. It presents the flowing outline of a beautiful female form with proportions rather full than slender, but nicely symmetrical. The upturned sole of the delicate foot, the recumbent thigh swelling under the resistance of the legs and feet on which it reposes, the gracefully reclining body, the smooth and gently rounded shoulders, and the finely turned arms and hands, are all finished and disposed with exquisite taste and skill. At the view of so many beauties, voluptuous emotions begin to steal upon the mind; but the cord that surrounds the waist of the lovely sufferer, the mysterious symbol of torture and penitence that is seen in her hands, the drooping head, the dishevelled hair, the general attitude of utter desolation and abandonment, chasten every idle thought, and inspire, even without the aid of the countenance, the deepest sentiments of melancholy and pity. On a front view, when the form appears to less advantage, the attention is chiefly engaged with the features. These, as we remarked above, are in the finest style of Grecian beauty, but impressed with the stamp of settled grief. No ray of light enlivens the gloom of this beclouded mind. The cross itself, upon which the unhappy victim of passion fixes her gaze, is still a sign of terror rather than of consolation; and the expression would be that of absolute despair, were there not around the lips a sweetness indicating patient resignation, which holds out a gleam of hope, that her sincere repentance will in time be accepted, and that heavenly grace will descend in whispers of peace to quiet the alarms of her troubled conscience.

In another statue on the same subject, executed for the Earl of Liverpool in the year 1822, the fair penitent is stretched at her length upon a rock, with a cross by her side, in an attitude which recalls to mind that of Eloisa, in Pope's Epistle,—a poetical Magdalen, more touching, perhaps, than any one that painting or sculpture has ever produced.

'See in her cell sad Eloisa spread,
Propt on some tomb, a neighbor of the dead.
In each low wind methinks a spirit calls,
And more than echoes talk along the walls.
Here, as I watched the dying lamps around,
From yonder shrine I heard a hollow sound.
"Come, sister! come," it said, or seemed to say;
"Thy place is here, sad sister! come away.

Once like thyself, I trembled, wept, and prayed,
Love's victim then, though now a sainted maid.
But all is calm in this eternal sleep;
Here grief forgets to groan, and love to weep,
E'en superstition loses every fear;
For God, not man, absolves our frailties here." '

Although the poet in this exquisite Epistle, and the sculptor in the two Magdalens to which we have alluded, have chosen to personify Repentance, under the form of a beautiful female reduced to hopeless misery by the indulgence of licentious passions, there would perhaps be more truth to nature and better means of producing effect, at least in poetry, by assuming for this purpose the internal agony of successful and triumphant guilt. When our deviations from the path of rectitude fail in producing for us the pleasures and advantages we had expected, such is the infirmity of the human heart, that we naturally bewail our ill success rather than our errors. 'He repented of his faults,' says Goethe, in describing the last moments of some wretched vagabond, 'He repented of his faults much, but of his misfortunes much more.'

'Er bereute seine Fehler sehr,
Ja; und bejammerte sein Unglück noch viel mehr.'

In these cases imagination brings before us the objects which we have failed to attain under new attractions; and instead of really repenting of our vicious desires, we rather regret that we were not permitted to realize them, and thus to become even more guilty than we have been. The poet, by presenting different trains of thought as passing successively through the mind of his subject, has the means of exhibiting correctly this conflict of opposite and various feelings; and the truth, energy, and beauty with which it is described, forms in fact the great merit of Pope's Eloisa. But the painter and sculptor, who can only represent a single moment of time with its predominant emotion, are compelled to set before us images of Repentance, which, however touching, are to a certain extent untrue to nature. Cromwell in his palace, and not Bonaparte upon his rock, would be the true type of the torments of guilty ambition. When the flush of triumph is over, and experience has proved the nothingness,—considered as elements of happiness in themselves, and independently of the means by which they are acquired and the manner in which they are used,—

of the power, the wealth, the fame, the pleasure, in pursuit of which he has defied the suggestions of his own conscience, and trampled on the happiness of all around him, it is then, and then only, that the slave of Vice looks back with unavailing regret upon the peace of mind which he has lost for ever. It is then that Virtue appears to him in all her natural charms, heightened, if possible, by the coloring of Fancy; and that he begins, like the evil spirit in Paradise Lost, to 'pine his loss'; or in the words of the Latin poet, from whom Milton imitated the passage,

'Virtutem videat, *intabescatque relictâ*.'

This is the moment of real *repentance*, a secret agony that dwells, unperceived by the world, in the inmost recesses of the heart, while perhaps the face is radiant with smiles, and the body robed in purple. The sculptor, whose art dwells only in sensible images, has really no means of delineating these feelings, and must leave it to the poet in his wider range of observation and description to do them justice.

For these reasons the two admirable statues, which we have just been describing, are perhaps, in strict correctness of language, representations of Grief rather than Repentance; but by the aid of accessories, which direct the imagination of the spectator, they produce the effect intended. While they are among the very best, they are also, as we have already remarked, among the most completely original works of Canova, and would suffice of themselves to refute the invidious suggestions sometimes made by his enemies, that he was a mere imitator of the ancients, and entirely destitute of any creative genius of his own. Upon the force of this objection, taken in general, we shall presently have occasion to make a few remarks. Among the other statues of Canova, the *Perseus* and the two *Venuses*, though perhaps not decidedly the first in effect, are particularly remarkable as being direct imitations of the *Apollo Belvidere* and the *Venus de' Medici*. A comparison of these beautiful copies with their still more beautiful models is at once an interesting study, and will afford a convenient occasion for a brief inquiry into the merit of Canova in itself, and as compared with that of the greatest antique sculptors.

The *Perseus* was executed in 1800 for an artist at Milan, but the Pope insisted on retaining it at Rome, and placing it in the Vatican Gallery as a substitute for the Apollo Belvidere,

which was then in the Louvre at Paris. The subject is analogous to that of the Apollo, and the general plan of the execution is the same. Perseus is represented in the moment of his victory over the Gorgon Medusa, and holds out at arm's length in his left hand the head which he has just cut off, while his right grasps a dagger. The weight of the figure reposes on the left leg, and the right one is drawn a little upward, and touches the ground only with the toes. The upper part of the body is slightly thrown back, and the face is turned with a look of scornful triumph upon that of the hideous enemy. The attitude and expression are therefore exactly the same with those of the famous original. There is, however, this important difference in the execution of the two statues, that the antique sculptor has given an unnatural roundness and smoothness to the limbs of the Apollo, and has hardly represented the muscles at all, intending, as is commonly supposed, to indicate in this way the supernatural character of his subject. Canova, on the other hand, has brought out fully the entire muscular conformation proper to the age and constitution of his hero. In this particular the modern sculptor has, we think, shown a better judgment than the ancient one. Our idea of divinity is realized and embodied in human forms (as far as it can be so realized and embodied) by representing these forms as they exist at their highest point of perfection, and not by fantastic variations from the truth of nature. A distinct indication of the true shape of the limbs is as necessary to the beauty of a statue, as a correct representation of the features of the face; and a god without muscles must be ranked, as such, with the other imaginary beings that people the heaven of the pagan mythology,—'Gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras dire.'

Of the two Venuses, one was executed in 1805 for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, but under the express condition that it should not occupy the place of the *Venus de' Medici* in the Florence Gallery; the other is a repetition of the former with some variations, and was executed in 1820 for Mr Thomas Hope. Although the modesty of Canova led him to decline a formal competition with the celebrated antique which has just been mentioned, he has had it in view in both these statues, and in the latter still more directly than in the former. Both are, however, somewhat larger than the model, and depart so much from it in other respects, that they must be regarded as free imitations, or original works on the same subject,

rather than mere copies. In the one first executed, the goddess is just issuing from the bath. She bends the upper part of her body slightly forward, and presses to her breast, with both hands, a cloth with which she is supposed to be drying her person, and which hangs down in loose folds, forming a drapery that nearly covers the front of the statue. She turns her head towards her left shoulder as if listening; and the beautiful countenance, as well as the attitude of the body and disposition of the arms and drapery, exhibits very decidedly the sentiment of alarm, as if she were afraid of being surprised by some unwelcome visitor. The Venus de' Medici has no drapery whatever; and although the attitude and disposition of the arms give to the statue an air of modesty which is one of its principal attractions, yet the countenance indicates complete tranquillity. The sentiment expressed is not the fear of surprise, but rather an instinctive delicacy which shrinks from exposure even in retirement. In the second Venus of Canova the proportions of the figure are rather fuller than in the first, and the disposition of the arms is nearly the same as in the Venus de' Medici. The drapery is considerably reduced, and is secured by the right hand alone, so as to cover only a small part of the front of the figure, while the left arm and hand are drawn up before the breast. The expression of the countenance is that of entire tranquillity. In all these respects the sculptor has shown an evident intention to copy more closely than he did before the celebrated statue, which, as the poet of the Seasons enthusiastically expresses it, 'enchants the world.' The Countess Albrizzi, illustrious herself for beauty as well as wit, and of course a competent judge on the question, enlarges with warmth upon the perfection of both these statues, but declines expressing a preference for either. 'The shape of this Venus,' she observes in reference to the second, 'is more formed than that of the other, and there is more of ease and repose in her posture and features. The minutest difference which so consummate an artist has thought proper to make in two models of female beauty, executed at different periods of his life, is doubtless highly interesting; but I deem it prudent to desist here from a comparison which is dangerous even between mortal beauties, and advise the lover of art to to content himself, as I shall do, with tracing out and admiring the peculiar charms which each of them possesses.' There are two repetitions of the former of these Venuses in its original

shape. The first belongs to the king of Bavaria. The second was executed for Lucien Bonaparte, and is now in possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

Any one of these statues, or of the repetitions of them, would confer upon its author the fame of a first-rate sculptor, but when tried by the high standard which is properly applied to the works of Canova, they will not perhaps be considered as among his happiest efforts, and not being such, must of course fall below the famous models which are justly regarded as the masterpieces of the art. There are no circumstances, indeed, under which talent is exhibited with so little advantage as in direct imitations of the finished productions of others. A diligent study of the best models is no doubt an excellent, or rather indispensable means of forming a correct taste; and to make copies of them is for this purpose a useful exercise. But when it is the object of the artist to display the ripe fruits of his own genius, he should look for models directly and exclusively to nature, and rather avoid than seek such subjects as have already been treated in a masterly way. For in laboring upon them, if he aim at close imitation, the free developement of his genius is checked; and if on the other hand he rather seek to avoid servility, he is apt to run into a false direction for the mere purpose of being original. In either case he loses the direct and unchecked following of nature, which is the only principle of excellence in art. If we compare in detail the Perseus and the Venuses of Canova with their respective models, it is easy to perceive the points in which the latter are inferior. Neither of the Venuses, however exquisitely beautiful they both may be, is equally perfect in shape or features with the Medici; and the tranquil modesty of the latter is a far more pleasing expression than the startled timidity of the others. The second Venus has nearly the expression of the antique; but here again the fuller proportions are an unfortunate variation, because they contrast with the extreme and, as it were, ethereal delicacy which seems to be the leading characteristic of the subject. The Perseus, which we think sustains this dangerous comparison better than the Venuses, wants perhaps the exact truth to nature in the attitude and disposition of the limbs, which distinguishes the Apollo Belvidere, and brings out so happily the character of intellectual and moral sublimity, which the artist intended to impart to his work. The attitude of the Perseus has been said by some to

be impossible; and if we grant that this statement of the objection is a strong exaggeration, it must yet perhaps be admitted that the figure has not the complete freedom which the expression of nobleness and superiority so peculiarly requires. We may conclude, on the whole, that notwithsianding the extraordinary merit of these imitations by Canova, the two antique models retain the preëminence which they have always been allowed to possess over all the other efforts of the art. There is something indeed in the nature of these subjects, combined with the perfection of the execution, which renders it nearly impossible that they can ever be surpassed or even equalled. The manly and the female form, each in its perfect state, and inspired by the moral expression that properly belongs to it, are the natural types of sublimity and beauty. When, therefore, the two have been represented with their respective attributes of imposing dignity and modest grace, in a style of execution which seems to realize our idea of perfection, it is evident that the capacity of the art for producing effect is exhausted. The best subjects have been treated in the best manner; and nothing remains for succeeding artists, but to repeat them under all the disadvantages attending imitation, or to do the best they can with inferior subjects, which, however well treated, must necessarily produce inferior effects. A somewhat similar result takes place in the other departments of art after they have been carried, in point of execution, to a high degree of perfection; but it is more remarkable in sculpture than in the rest, because there is no other in which any one or more particular subjects are so distinctly marked out by nature as the best. For these reasons the Apollo Belvidere and the Venus de' Medici will probably be regarded for ever as the *ne plus ultra* of statuary, the 'matchless boast' of the age, the country, and the unknown artists that produced them. We may imagine, though with difficulty, other groups of equal or even superior merit to the Laocoon; because in the infinite variety of actions and passions that lie within the compass of possibility, and of the figures which they respectively bring together, there is no one combination that naturally strikes the mind as positively superior to all others. But for single statues which produce the two great effects of the art, sublimity and beauty, in their simplest, and of course purest and most perfect forms, two subjects, corresponding respectively with these two effects, are distinctly indicated

by nature as the best; and the boldest imagination is wholly incapable of going beyond them.

But while we think that Canova, in his attempt to copy these miracles of art has fallen below his inimitable originals, we are not prepared to admit that his genius was inferior to that of the sculptors who produced them. We conceive, on the contrary, that he carried the art to as high a pitch of perfection as it ever has been or ever can be brought to. We must estimate the extent of his talent, not by comparing his imitations with their models, but by comparing his best original works with those of other sculptors. Nor is it of course necessary, in order to vindicate his claim to an equality with the Grecian artists, that he alone should have produced a collection of masterpieces equal in number to the vast multitude of recovered antique works that fill the galleries of Europe. A single production of first-rate merit insures its author the glory of a first-rate artist, which is, however, doubtless more cheerfully and generally accorded when his genius is prolific as well as powerful. Such was the character of that of Canova. His works, in almost all the departments of sculpture, are exceedingly numerous; and the best of them stand, in our opinion, on a line of equality with the finest remains of antiquity. The *Theseus*, the *Penitent Magdalen*, the *Hebe*, and twenty others that might be cited, are in no way inferior to the *Fighting* and *Dying Gladiators*, the *Listening Slave*, the *Antinous*, and the numerous other antiques that belong, by general acknowledgment, to the first class. If none of them equal the Apollo and Venus, it is, as we have remarked above, because the latter are placed by the nature of their subjects beyond the possibility of rivalry. The Greeks are entitled, no doubt, to the peculiar honor of having first carried the art to perfection; but this was effected by a gradual process, and the glory of doing it belongs to the artists as a body, or rather to the ever memorable nation which produced them, and appertains in a very limited extent to any individual. It is indeed a most extraordinary thing, that among the vast variety of communities, under so many different conditions of society, which cover the face of the globe, one only should have discovered and applied to practice the true principles of taste in the arts. And yet, strange as it is, it is nevertheless certain, that in Greece only,—a little cluster of communities, hardly more populous at the time of their highest prosperity than the New England states are now, and oc-

cupying a territory not more highly favored, as respects geographical extent and character, than ours,—in Greece only, we say, and in those countries of modern times which have been inspired by her example, do we find any approach to perfection, or any appearance of correct taste in the arts, although they have all been attempted by almost all other nations, and by many far superior to Greece in the principal circumstances which would seem likely to facilitate success, such as wealth, population, and especially stability of political institutions. To what particular causes the Greeks owed this remarkable peculiarity in their national character, whether to some natural advantages of climate (in which they yet seem to have possessed no decided preëminence), or, as is more probable, to their popular forms of government, which brought into action the sincere and unsophisticated opinions and feelings of the body of the community as the test of excellence of every description, is a question that we need not and cannot here discuss. The fact, however, is undoubted. The honor of it, as we remarked above, belongs in the main to the Greeks as a nation, and not to particular individuals, although we may justly allow a very singular degree of merit to those artists who, in each department, give as it were the finishing stroke to the work, however nearly it may have been brought to perfection by their immediate predecessors. The Ægina marbles, for example, now preserved in the museum of the king of Bavaria, are a single step only behind those of Athens. They exhibit the true principles of taste, and want nothing but the perfect freedom and grace in the application of those principles, which belong to the later school of Phidias. Yet the final effort by which this celebrated sculptor brought the art to perfection, though not perhaps more difficult than some of those by which it had been advanced to the state he found it in, has consecrated his name to perpetual remembrance, while those of all his predecessors are lost. To a glory like this, Canova can of course have no pretension. His genius, like that of all modern sculptors, like those of the artists of the period to which belong nearly all the antique works that have come down to us, like those of the authors of the *Apollo Belvidere* and the *Venus de' Medici* was inspired by the contemplation of the masterpieces of a former age. Next, however, in order to the merit of original invention, is that of reviving the true principles of an art or science after they have long been lost; and this,

we think, Canova has a right to claim. He must be looked upon as the real restorer of sculpture in modern times. Michel Angelo is doubtless an illustrious name; but in all the arts which he exercised, though his genius was bold, creative, and imposing, his taste was imperfect; and he exhibits the extravagance which is one of the symptoms of a still progressive and immature style. In painting he was excelled, in his own time, by Rafael; and after the lapse of nearly three centuries, Canova has finally raised the sister art, from the point where Michel Angelo left it, to the antique standard of perfection, and has thus proved himself the Rafael of sculpture, and the Phidias of modern days. If the name of Phidias be justly regarded, and must always remain, the first and greatest in sculpture, that of Canova will rank for ever as the second, at least until the art shall again be lost, and some other happy genius, whose merit would of course be the same with his, shall again restore it to all its present lustre. In building, the taste of Michael Angelo, though not less objectionable than in painting and sculpture, has not yet been much improved upon by his successors. The architectural Phidias of modern days is yet to come; and the probable place of his appearance, if we may venture to say it, without awakening the jealousy of rival nations, seems to be indicated with sufficient exactness by the granite quarries and popular institutions of our western continent.

Such by the general acknowledgment of the age is the merit of Canova, and his rank when compared with other sculptors of ancient and modern times. But although the European public has been nearly unanimous in according to his works the tribute of enthusiastic approbation, he has yet found detractors even on the Continent; and some of the leading British journalists, though evidently in a great measure uninformed respecting his productions and character, have exhibited, as we remarked above, their usual national partiality by attempting to depress his reputation below that of one of their own countrymen. This is the more remarkable, because the real judges of the art in England have given the strongest evidence of the value they set upon his works, in the eagerness they have shown to possess them. Some of the finest of them have been executed for or purchased by the principal personages in Great Britain, such as the Dukes of Wellington, Bedford, and Devonshire, Lord Liverpool, the Marquis of Lands-

downe, Mr Hope, Lord Brownlow, and the King himself. It has, however, been objected to this great artist, that he has employed his genius too much upon subjects taken from the Greek mythology. The proper business of the artist, it it said, is to imitate nature as he sees it around him. If he go back for subjects to Grecian history and fable, he will probably give us nothing more than repetitions of the works of the Grecian sculptors, since the direct study of nature is the only path to originality in art. It is farther objected that in some of his statues there is an air of affectation, and a profusion of unmeaning accessories in the way of ornament, which make them look like groups of opera dancers, rather than images taken from real life.

The first of these objections, which is stated in detail, and with an air of much triumph, in the London Quarterly Review, seems to be founded in the mere spirit of wanton hypercriticism, which does not even take the pains to be consistent and plausible in error. It is admitted by all, that direct imitation of particular forms, that is, the taking of portraits, whether in painting or sculpture, is an inferior branch of art. But in treating historical subjects, the great merit of an artist does not lie in preserving with strict fidelity the figure and costume of his characters, but in powerful delineations of the passions belonging to the situation in which they are placed. In order to do this with success, he must study nature in the depths of his own mind and in the varying action of the world around him; but in displaying the results of this study, it is wholly unimportant whether he lay his scene in his own time, or in any former one, or in the fabulous epochs and regions of mythology. Shakespeare drew his materials for the character of Macbeth from his observations on the workings of ambition in himself and his contemporaries; but the image is not the less true and striking, because the character is drest in a Scotch bonnet and plaid instead of the British costume of the age of Elizabeth. When a sculptor has produced a perfect image of the airy form, elastic step, and thoughtless gayety that belong to the spring of life, of what consequence is it whether he call his work *Youth* or *Hebe*, that is, whether he give it its proper name in Greek or in English? The Adam and Eve of Milton's Paradise Lost represent precisely the same subjects with the Apollo Belvidere and the Venus de' Medici, and with equal success according to the different capacities of the arts of

poetry and sculpture; but is the effect, in either case, less striking because the nature so admirably delineated is not baptized with a modern European name? Would the 'fair large front and eye sublime' of Adam appear to greater advantage if his body were habited in a coat, waistcoat, and breeches? Are the hyacinthine locks that

> 'Round from his parted forelock manly hung
> Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad,'

less graceful than the flowing wig of the age of Louis the Fourteenth, or the convenient crop of the present? Every impartial reader will reply without hesitation in the negative. But while it is thus a matter of indifference where the artist lays the scene of his work, provided it be true to nature, there may be, on the other hand, particular classes of subjects which, for accidental reasons, are particularly favorable to the exercise of each of the arts. And without going into general considerations, which would carry us too far, we may remark, that sculpture delights especially in such subjects as allow the representation of flowing draperies and of the naked human figure. Draperies of all kinds occasion, as we have already suggested, an expense of labor for a comparatively trifling effect; and the stiff costumes of the modern world, however well they may be managed in painting (and even there they are in general sufficiently ungraceful), are intolerable in marble. The historical and mythological personages of antiquity are therefore really superior to all other subjects for the purposes of sculpture; not because there is a magic virtue in the name of Greece or of antiquity, but for the simple reason, that a swanlike neck and a finely turned arm are more agreeable objects to contemplate than a starched ruff and a sleeve *à la gigot*. In frequently working upon this class of subjects, Canova has, therefore, exhibited good sense and a correct understanding of the means of producing effect; while the perfection with which he has treated various other subjects of a different kind, demonstrates that he is in no way indebted for success to a servile imitation of the antique.

The other objection, that in some of his works there is a childish expression and a profusion of useless accessories, has perhaps some slight foundation in truth, but does not affect his general reputation, because it applies only to a few hasty efforts of little or no consequence. In stating that the groups of Canova appear like opera dancers rather than images of real life,

the critic had probably in view two or three models for works in relievo, particularly those of *Venus dancing with the Graces*, and of *Helen carried off by Theseus*. In these productions certain garlands, similar to those which are often employed in the ballets of the French opera, are in fact introduced, and probably furnished the hint for this flattering and candid criticism. But without inquiring here, whether a garland of flowers, one of the most beautiful and poetical objects in nature, be or be not absolutely inadmissible in sculpture because it is occasionally used at the opera, we may add, that the aforesaid models were so little valued by Canova, that he did not even execute them in marble. They have been preserved in the collections of engravings by the effect of that religious reverence that attaches importance to every trifle connected with the objects of its just veneration. Among the finished works of Canova, whether of greater or less importance, only one, namely, the Group of the Graces, exhibits this obnoxious feature; but without disparagement to the better judgment of others, we must confess, that the garlands, with which these beautiful forms are entwined, appear to us to have been the happiest accessories which the sculptor could have employed to sustain his three figures, and at the same time leave them, as the subject required, almost wholly without drapery. Mad. Albrizzi, who criticizes under the influence of a different, but much more correct feeling, than the London Reviewers, calls it a 'happy thought to sustain the figures of the Graces with flowers.' This charming work was executed by Canova for the Empress Josephine. It bears the same relation to the antique group on the same subject, which the Perseus and Venuses bear to the Apollo Belvidere and Venus de' Medici; and like them it falls, we think, rather short of the model. The symmetry and finish of the figure are perhaps equally perfect, but the attitudes and expression are somewhat less fortunate. Instead of the easy position, and open, tranquil countenances of the antique group, we have in that of Canova an artificial twining of the arms, and an almost childish sweetness, bordering too nearly upon unpleasant insipidity, in the faces. The antique artist had chosen the correct posture and expression, the same which Canova would probably have employed, had he wrought with entire independence. But the latter having been requested to execute a work upon the same subject with the ancient *chef-d'œuvre*, and being willing to avoid the appear-

ance of servile imitation, adopted variations in the mode of treating it, which were necessarily alterations for the worse. This group is the only one of the numerous productions of Canova, in which we have noticed any appearance of the affected sweetness of countenance, which has been represented by unfriendly critics as one of the faults in his general manner. Although, as we have already shown in detail, he has often treated the stronger passions with much success, Grace and Tenderness, as they corresponded with the prominent features in his own moral character, breathe of course through the marble upon which he had impressed it. But the expression of these amiable qualities is always governed by a perfect taste, and never deviates into affectation, at least in no other instance than that which we have now remarked. We may add here, that while Canova has, in all his statues, employed as little drapery as possible, and although his style be soft and graceful, in some cases almost to voluptuousness, he has never overstepped the limits prescribed by the strictest delicacy, but on the contrary has sedulously studied, more than almost any other sculptor, all the reserve which real modesty requires. So remarkable is this peculiarity in his manner, that even female critics of the purest taste have reprehended him for excessive fastidiousness. 'A light drapery,' says the Countess Albrizzi in her remarks on the *Psyche*, 'a light drapery of brilliant whiteness and of the finest texture, which forms an admirable contrast with the almost natural tints of the flesh, and does honor even to the chisel of Canova, is folded with graceful simplicity around her. But why, O Psyche! conceal beneath that envious vest thy lovely limbs, when, veiled only in thy ingenuousness and artless innocence, the thoughts of those who fix their admiring eyes upon thee become pure and guiltless as thyself?'

It would be impossible for us, within the limits to which we are obliged to confine ourselves, to comment upon all even of the remarkable productions of this prolific genius. Having noticed, in some detail, two or three of the principal sepulchral monuments and single statues, we shall mention somewhat more concisely a few of the groups, busts, and portraits.

Of the groups, the finest are that of the *Three Graces*, to which we have just alluded, the two on the subject of *Cupid and Psyche*, the *Venus and Adonis*, and the *Mars and Venus*. The two last are in our opinion the most perfect of the whole.

The subject of them is substantially the same under different names, and is obviously the best that can be chosen for a group of two figures, manly strength and dignity brought into contrast with female softness, grace, and beauty. It is not treated in any of the antique groups that have been preserved, so that Canova has, in this instance, exercised his talent with perfect freedom; and his complete success proves, that when he has wrought upon the same subjects with the ancients, he has been, as might have been expected, embarrassed rather than assisted by his models. In bringing together in a group the natural types of sublimity and beauty, it is impossible that either effect can be produced in its highest degree, because the sentiment that unites the two figures softens in part the peculiar attributes of both. A group of this kind would therefore never present a combination of two forms as perfect as those of the Apollo Belvidere and the Venus de' Medici. The 'settled majesty of proud disdain' naturally melts into a milder expression in the neighborhood of beauty; whose ideal image must be supposed in turn, like the maid of France, in Milman's poem, to gaze upon the noble form of the 'heavenly archer' with 'more than reverence.' But though something be lost in the perfection of both figures by bringing them together, there is a new source of pleasure in the contrast of their respective beauties. Canova has, we think, done full justice to this subject, especially in the Venus and Adonis, and given it all the effect which it could possibly be made to produce. Adonis stands erect, with a hunting spear in his right hand, as if preparing for the chase. His left arm encircles the waist of the goddess, who stands at his side, with one hand resting on his left shoulder, and the other gently touching his cheek with the ends of the fingers. Her countenance expresses tenderness mingled with regret, while the young sportsman is all unconcern and indifference. His companions expect him, and his thoughts are already far away upon the distant mountain-tops and in the sylvan haunts of the savage boar. It is evidently to no purpose, that Venus is using every effort to detain him. At the view of this somewhat disparaging representation of the power of beauty, our fair critic relaxes a little from her habitual tone of unmingled panegyric, and gently reprehends the sculptor, in the name of the sex, for his want of gallantry. 'This delightful group,' says she, 'must command the admiration of every one, but will be least pleas-

ing to our sex, who cannot endure, even in marble, that the sentiment which they inspire should be weaker than that which they themselves experience. If this subject had been treated by a female artist, undoubtedly Adonis would have been the suppliant. It is generally felt, that the figure of Venus, notwithstanding the seducing softness of her limbs, and the loveliness of the features, heightened as it is by the expression of gentleness and affection, is not so strikingly beautiful as that of her lover. Is this because she is in the attitude of solicitation? Gentle dames! what a lesson is this for us, and what can we expect when it is necessary to sue, if Venus herself in so doing loses her attraction.'

This group was executed in 1795 for an Italian nobleman, and is now the property of Mr Favre of Geneva. The *Mars and Venus* was executed in 1816, for the king of Great Britain. The two on the subject of Cupid and Psyche belonged to the ex-king of Naples, Murat, and were both at one time placed in the royal palace of Compiegne near Paris. One of them is now in possession of the emperor of Russia. They are both charming compositions, but inferior, we think, to the antique group. We have not room, however, to comment upon them in detail. Among the busts on ideal subjects may be mentioned those of the *Laura* of Petrarch and the *Beatrice* of Dante; with that of *Helen*, which was presented by Canova to his fair commentator, as a token of his satisfaction with her descriptions of his works, the first editions of which were published during the sculptor's life. In the subsequent ones, she expresses in turn her gratitude for the present. 'That enchanting Helen was to Paris the precious token of the gratitude of Venus, and now her image presents itself to my eyes endeared by the same noble sentiment. But this highly valued gift serves only to manifest the friendship and generous feelings of Canova towards me; for as to these imperfect descriptions of the delightful productions of his chisel, his indulgence alone in respect to them has made me proud and grateful.'

The chisel of Canova was comparatively seldom exercised in portraits (if this term may be used in reference to statuary), but of the few which he executed, two are particularly remarkable from the extraordinary interest of the subjects. We allude to those of *Napoleon* and *Washington*. The former is of a size larger than nature, and was executed in 1803 for

Napoleon himself. There is also a bronze cast of the model in the palace of the arts at Milan. The *Washington*, as our readers are aware, was executed for the state of North Carolina, and was sent home, we believe, in the year 1821. The *Napoleon* is entirely without drapery, excepting a loose military cloak which hangs from the left arm, without covering any part of the figure. The *Washington* is clothed in the habit of an ancient Roman warrior. In both cases, Canova has, we think, exhibited a less correct judgment in regard to costume, than we should naturally have expected from his consummate taste. However superior naked figures and flowing draperies may be, for the purposes of art, to the formal and fantastic dresses of the modern world, we hold it to be quite clear, that portraits, whether in painting or sculpture, must be clothed in the costume which the persons represented habitually wore. The object here is not to produce the highest possible effect, but the highest effect consistent with the imitation of a given model. For this reason the taking of portraits is doubtless an inferior branch of art; but it has, nevertheless, its own rules that cannot be violated without sacrificing the value of the work, which, in that case, may be a fine statue or painting, but will not be a fine portrait, and, having been intended for a portrait, will probably, after all, not be an ideal work of the first order. In the statue of Napoleon we hardly recognise, even after we know it to have been intended for him, the well known form and features, and are disappointed, instead of being gratified, by the ideal perfection of the figure. The nearest possible approach to the person of Bonaparte, as it was at the period of his first campaign in Italy, with a modern military costume, would have produced, as a portrait, an infinitely greater effect. Napoleon himself does not seem to have been satisfied with the work, which, though placed in the gallery of the Louvre, was concealed from public view by a curtain. The *Biography of Living Characters* affirms with a ludicrous excess of political party feeling (in a passage quoted in our former article on this subject), that the statue exhibited at once so perfect a resemblance to the model, and so ignoble a form and countenance, that the emperor was ashamed to have it seen. Every spectator, not absolutely blinded by prejudice, sees at a single glance, that it is a grand heroic figure infinitely nobler than that of the subject, but of little or no value as a portrait, precisely from the want of re-

semblance. After the abdication of Napoleon, it was presented by the allies to the Duke of Wellington, and now remains in his possession, a most appropriate and splendid trophy of his victory over the before unconquered original. The costume of the Washington is less injudicious than the *no-costume* of the Napoleon, but is not, in our opinion, conceived on correct principles of taste. The sitting attitude, employed by Canova, is also less advantageous than the upright one would have been. It is only in fact in a standing position, that the human figure displays its full natural dignity ;

> 'Os homini sublime dedit cœlumque tueri
> Jussit, et *erectos* ad sidera tollere vultus.'

Now as dignity, moral and physical, was the peculiar characteristic of Washington, the attitude best fitted to express this quality seemed to be almost commanded by the subject. We were therefore a good deal surprised to find, upon conversing with Chantrey on the plan of his statue on the same subject, before he had begun the model, that he was wavering between a standing and sitting position ; and we have seen with much satisfaction, that he finally decided in favor of the former. In this particular and in that of the costume, his work is a happier one than that of his illustrious Italian contemporary ; and as his talent in this branch of the art is probably equal, the citizens of Boston may boast of possessing a decidedly finer statue of Washington, than that of Canova, though by a generally inferior sculptor.

Our limits will not permit us to enlarge any farther upon the particular merits of the different works of Canova, which amount in number to several hundreds, or even to specify their subjects. Our object has been to indicate the general character of his style of sculpture, and to illustrate our views respecting it by observations on a few of his productions. Nor have we room to dwell at length upon the events of his life,— his embassy to Paris in 1814, for the purpose of reclaiming the works of art which had been carried away from Italy by the French, or the numerous titles, crosses, and pensions, that were conferred upon him by the admiration and gratitude of the various sovereigns of Europe. 'No artist,' says his biographer, 'was ever more exposed to the intoxicating effects of honors and distinctions, exceeding perhaps any instance of the kind in the history of the arts. But although decorated with the equestrian orders of many great sovereigns, decreed noble

in several states, dignified by titles, enriched by pensions, honored by important charges and functions, received with distinction at all courts, desired in all societies, and associated with all the principal academies of Europe, he still preserved the simplicity and modesty of his character. His disposition was naturally highly benevolent, and all his pensions and gains were devoted to useful and charitable purposes, so that some interference was often required to prevent him from embarrassing his circumstances by a too active generosity.' Various instances of his munificence are related in detail by his biographer, which we have not space to copy. He appears in fact to have been the chief patron of the arts and of those who cultivated them at Rome. Rome herself, during the gloomy period when she was deprived of the presence of her sovereign, and incorporated with the French empire, is said to have found her principal economized resources in the presence of this illustrious and indefatigable artist. What a fall was there, when the Eternal City, the Empress of the world, was brought so low that she could draw consolation and relief from the chisel of a single sculptor! What a contrast too, between these active and amiable private virtues, and the wild extravagance, the gross sensuality, the revolting eccentricities, which so often obscure the light of transcendent genius! What would not have been the happiness and glory of Lord Byron, for example, could he have combined with his powerful and brilliant poetical talent such a moral character as that of Canova! The contemplation of such a union of various excellences reconciles us with humanity; while the extraordinary success and popularity which formed, in this instance, the reward of real merit, consoles us in part for the frequent temporary ascendency of error, violence, and vice.

It only remains to notice, very briefly, the last moments of this interesting and well filled life. Canova had early impaired his health by intense application, before his reputation and success procured him the means of employing assistants in executing the less important parts of his works. When engaged upon the monument of Pope Rezzonico, he was obliged to make constant use for a long time of a machine which required a pressure on the breast, and thus occasioned a disorganization in that part, which injured his health through life, and was probably the cause of the schirrous affection of the stomach, which finally proved mortal. A careful, regular, and simple

mode of living prevented, however, any immediate ill effects, and his labors were seldom interrupted by illness until just before his death. The great vital organ which was diseased finally ceased to perform its functions; and the illustrious artist resigned himself to undergo the common lot of humanity with a calmness and serenity corresponding with the beauty and purity of his life. When his brother, who was his constant domestic companion, brought him some of the last soothing remedies, ' 'T is good,' said he, ' very good, but 't is all to no purpose,'—*Buono, buonissimo, ma è inutile.* ' And yet,' continued the kind-hearted sculptor, ' let me taste it, that I may stay with you a little longer.' The last words which he uttered, and which he repeated at several different times, were *Anima bella e pura,* ' pure and gentle spirit,' a reminiscence, perhaps, of the well known address of the dying man to his soul by the Emperor Adrian, which is imitated in the *Dying Christian* of Pope. *Animula, vagula, blandula!* As the stern soul of Napoleon appeared in the midst of its mortal agony to be directing the storm of battle at the head of his army,—*tête armée* being the last words he pronounced,—so this milder, though not less lofty spirit, while hovering on the confines of eternity, was still engaged in the sweet and soothing contemplations in which it habitually delighted. We have already mentioned the period of his death at the commencement of this article. The funeral honors which were rendered to his memory in his native city and throughout all Italy, clearly indicated the public estimation of his works and genius.

'The loss of Canova occasioned the deepest affliction throughout the city of Venice, the power which regulates human destinies having conducted him to the tomb in that country where he had first drawn breath. The patriarch himself would perform the funeral rites; and the academic body, who were desirous of supporting his bier, conducted the coffin of their revered brother and master to the church, and thence to the hall of the academy, followed by so numerous a train, that that vast apartment was insufficient to contain them. The walls of the hall were hung with engraved copies of the works of Canova, so numerous that they appeared the labors of a whole race of artists, rather than of a single mind and hand. The president of the academy, an affectionate friend of the deceased,' (Count Cicognara himself,) ' delivered the oration, exciting in the minds of the assembly the same deep emotions by which he was himself affected. The only torch, which burnt beside the bier, stood on that ancient bronze which

had, for so many centuries, been used to receive the votes of the patricians in the hall of the great council, and was deemed a suitable candelabrum for the last offices paid to the latter glories of the Venetian state.

'Immediately after the ceremony, the body was removed to Possagno, where an honorable tomb will be raised to his memory in the new church now nearly completed. The funeral rites were performed on the twenty-fifth of October, and a discourse delivered by a distinguished prelate to so large a concourse of the inhabitants of that district, that it was found necessary to address them under the open sky. Throughout Italy the deepest affliction prevailed on this event. Rome, who lost by his death the restorer of her modern greatness, decreed to him the honor of a statue, proclaimed him perpetual president of her chief academy, and ordered for him a funeral in the church of the Holy Apostles, of such magnificence that all the tributary arts were occupied for many months in the preparation of it. The Pope contributed largely to the expense; and the whole of the magistracy, together with the representatives of the first powers in Europe, showed their respect for it by their presence. Likewise Florence, Trevigi, Udine, and Lodi, gave each her public demonstrations of grief on this occasion; but none with more zealous promptitude than the Venetian artists, the kind friends and fellow academicians of Canova. Immediately on his death, they voted to his memory the grandest and most distinguished monument that could be devised. Not to limit the honor of this design to Venice alone, or even to Italy, the subscription was thrown open to all Europe, to whom his fame might be deemed to belong; whereupon the powers then assembled at Verona, following the example of our august emperor, severally evinced their desire of promoting this object by munificent donations; as the more distant sovereigns also did on the announcement of the project. So rapid and considerable was the subscription, that long before the ensuing spring they were in condition to begin the work.

'A monument to the memory of Titian had been designed by Canova in the year 1792, which it was intended to raise in the church De' Frari in Venice; but the design, which was to have been effected by subscription, failed by the death of Chevalier Zulian, its chief promoter, in 1795. The model being thus left on hand, without any prospect of its being carried into execution, Canova adopted the same idea for the monument of the Archduchess Christina, reducing however the dimensions, and with considerable alterations in the groups. The opportunity of restoring to its original state and colossal proportions, this beautiful composition, far more suitable to a consummate artist than a pious princess, and perhaps even better adapted to a sculptor than to

a painter; the absence of all rivalship in the adoption of the design of him whom all considered as a master; and the means it afforded of employing at the same time the numerous sculptors who were anxious to pay homage to the memory of Canova, all concurred to justify the choice of this model, formed by the hand of Canova himself.'

During the last years of his life, Canova was much occupied with a plan for the erection of a church in his own native village of Possagno. This project grew out of another which he had conceived upon the return of the Pope to Rome from his exile in France. Though totally free from affectation and fanaticism, Canova was deeply and sincerely religious, a quality which seems indeed to be almost implied in the strong sensibility to the beauty and sublimity of nature that constitutes the principle of genius. The extraordinary character of the political revolutions of 1814, considered particularly in their influence on the interests of the church, produced so powerful an impression on his mind, that he was desirous of commemorating them by a work of his own art. He accordingly prepared a model of a statue of *Religion*, personified under the form of a colossal female figure, of the height of thirty palms, which he intended to execute at his own expense, and erect in some one of the principal churches at Rome.

'By the completion of this design,' says the biographer, 'the present age would have possessed a wonder of art and sublimity to which it has never yet seen anything equal, emanating too solely and spontaneously from the mind of the artist, wholly uninstigated and unaided by extraneous means. All Europe looked forward to see it adding to the glory of the Vatican, or adorning the magnificent expanse of the Pantheon. Already the model was completed, the marble disposed, and the chisel of the sculptor suspended until the signal of authority should be given by pointing out a place for its reception. It will be for history to explain the causes of the frustration of this devout and magnanimous design; and perhaps it may be found needful to draw a veil over the motives to which it may be traced. Posterity will with difficulty believe, that no place could be found at Rome for the reception of the sacred image of Religion. It is however certain, that the model remained for many years the object of public admiration, a masterly engraving being made from it with the following inscription, *Pro felici reditu Pii VII. Pontificis maximi Religionis formam sua impensa in marmore exculpendam Antonius Canova libens fecit et dedicavit;* and that finally it was

worked in marble, a little above the natural size, by order of Lord Brownlow. The emblem of Catholicism was thus rejected from the Tiber, and found refuge on the banks of the Thames.

'This extraordinary circumstance did not, however, depress the mind of Canova, who, actuated by the deepest religious feelings, had already formed the design of consecrating his fortune and the last efforts of his genius to the commemoration of a period in which the inscrutable decrees of Providence had been so remarkably displayed. That the statue which he had projected for this pious purpose might not be profaned by any less sacred use, he resolved on raising a temple for its reception in his native village, to be enriched with the productions of his chisel; by which means also he would open a perpetual source of prosperity for Possagno, in the concourse of workmen, the visits of strangers, and the expenditure of his entire fortune. The first stone of this sumptuous edifice was accordingly laid in July, 1819, amidst an immense concourse of people, with all the solemnities of religion, and the deep emotions of the assembly. But the artist had not foreseen, that this design would require an infinitely greater expenditure than that of the colossal statue; to supply which it became necessary for him to renew his labors, and to undertake fresh commissions. Accordingly he set about new statues, groups, and monuments, working incessantly, and with all the ardor of his youthful application; his mind always intent on the great object of his pious wishes. It is not improbable, that this greatly increased exertion, and the mental excitation consequent on it, tended to accelerate the termination of his existence.'

The church, as we learn from one of the preceding extracts, is now nearly completed, and will doubtless be finished by the piety of the friends and patrons of the great sculptor and his art; but what hand is competent to take the place of his in executing the statue which was to have been its principal ornament? It is singular indeed that objections should have been made to the erection of such a monument at Rome. We have no further information whatever respecting their nature, than is given in the above extracts. The model, of which there is an engraving in the work before us, is certainly conceived in the highest style of sublimity; and if executed with the usual felicity of the artist, and on the grand scale which he had intended, would have been perhaps the noblest effort of his chisel and of modern sculpture.

ART. IX.—1. *An Introduction to the Study of Grecian and Roman Geography.* By GEORGE LONG, Esq. late of the University of Virginia, now of the University of London; and ROBLEY DUNGLISON, M. D. of the University of Virginia. Charlottesville, Virginia. F. Carr & Co. 1829. 8vo. pp. 293.

2. *Elements of Geography, Ancient and Modern. With an Atlas.* By J. E. WORCESTER. A new Edition. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1829. 12mo. pp. 272.

THE general design of the work of Professors Long and Dunglison appears to be much the same as that of Butler, in his 'Geographia Classica; or the Application of Ancient Geography to the Classics.' But the Roman Geography, furnished by Dr. Dunglison, is left, as it is acknowledged to be by the author, incomplete. It was his wish, as he says, to add the geographical history of the Roman colonies and conquests; but his very restricted opportunities have not permitted him to do so. Professor Long also offers, as an excuse for small errors or omissions, the limited time in which the work was prepared for the press. The public have long since ceased to regard apologies of this kind, offered by living authors, or by others in their behalf; and with good reason; for there is not such a lamentable deficiency, in any department of learning, as to compel a writer to send forth his productions prematurely, or against the decisions of his better judgment. We would not be understood to speak with severity in this particular case. The work is valuable, and the undertaking laudable; but the admissions of the authors show, that it might have possessed more value, and have deserved more praise.

'The chapters on Phœnicia, Babylonia, the Scythian tribes, the Persians, Egyptians, and Carthaginians,' as Professor Long informs us in his preface, 'are founded entirely on the work of Heeren, entitled Ideas on the Polity and Commerce of the principal Nations of Antiquity.' * There is a remarkable oversight here in not including the chapter on Æthiopia, which,

* 'Ideen ueber die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmsten Voelker der alten Welt. Von A. H. L. Heeren. Göttingen. 1815.' It does not appear that Professor Long made use of the fourth volume published at a later period, and translated by Mr Bancroft, on the *Polity of Greece.*

Mr Long says, was added by Dr Dunglison. And Dr Dunglison, in a note subjoined to the preface of his colleague, forgot to ascribe the article on Æthiopia to the same source, from which those on Phœnicia, &c. were taken. We presume it was merely an oversight; since from the frequent references to Heeren and to the same ancient authorities which he cites, it cannot be supposed that any concealment was intended.

The chapters just enumerated, constitute nearly one half of the book, and a very valuable part of it. The work of Heeren, from which it is drawn, enjoys a high reputation, and may be regarded as a standard work. 'If a pure regard to truth,' says Heeren, 'is the first virtue of a historian, I may hope that the reader will not be disappointed in this respect. In no part of the work was it my purpose to establish any hypothesis, to defend any favorite theory, or to gainsay any adversary. Instead of this, what I have found, I have imparted as I found it; that which is certain, as certain, and that which is probable, as probable. To this end it was necessary to exercise great care in the selection and critical use of the authorities from which my materials were drawn. I made it a fundamental rule to cite as authorities, not merely credible writers, but, as far as possible, those who were contemporaneous with the events; and to use later authors only so far as it could be shown, that their accounts were drawn from the period of which I was speaking. Their proofs were constantly referred to, and their citations subjected anew to a thorough revision. An unnecessary multiplication of them I have carefully avoided; while I consider it the sacred duty of the historian to annex them so far as is necessary; since he has no right to require that the reader should believe him upon his bare word.' This passage, from Heeren's preface, in which we have endeavored to express the author's meaning faithfully and clearly, while it furnishes, with great simplicity, the primary laws which should govern the historian, marks also the value of his own work. No German scholar, of such well-earned reputation, would hazard that reputation among his vigilant and learned peers, by professions which could not be verified by rigid scrutiny. And we have the testimony of a scholar widely read in German literature, the translator of Heeren's Reflections on the Politics of Ancient Greece, and of his Manual of Ancient History, in praise of his prior and larger work, embracing Asia and Africa.

'It is on that larger work,' says Mr Bancroft, 'that the literary reputation of Mr Heeren primarily depends. With respect to the Asiatic and African nations, he has discussed his subject in its full extent, and furnishes a more distinct account of their ancient condition, than has perhaps been given by any other writer. Early in life he was led to consider the history of the world, as influenced by colonial establishments and commerce; and the results of his investigations, in a department of science to which he is enthusiastically attached, and to which he has uninterruptedly devoted the most precious years of a long life, are communicated in the elaborate production which we have named.'

We shall not be thought to have gone out of our proper path, in saying thus much of the source from which so large and valuable a part of the work of Professors Long and Dunglison is taken. Whatever goes to establish the fidelity and worth of the learned German work, is transferred in a degree to that which is founded upon it. And we are free to testify, so far as we have been able to compare the work before us with Heeren's, that great judgment is shown in the selection of the materials, and those only are chosen which bear most directly upon the general purpose which the authors have in view. We fully agree also with Mr Long, in the importance of attending to the political and commercial relations of the Greeks with the people of Asia and Africa, in order to study, to the best advantage, the history of the Greek nation. An outline of these relations is furnished, and the geographical descriptions, which are necessary to make us acquainted with such portions of those countries as were known to the Greeks and Romans. It would have been useful if the work had been accompanied with maps, as good as those of Heeren, if not better. This would not have greatly increased its cost, while it would have added much to its value, for those who have not constant access to ancient maps.

In the Grecian Geography, Mr Long ceases to take Heeren for a guide. Indeed the German author is quite brief and general in that part of his work which presents a geographical view of Greece; while Professor Long extends the subject into much greater length, and treats it with minuteness. Hence the latter is necessarily dry; so much so, that one would not think of reading it through by itself, in course, any more than he would a book of chronological tables, or a catalogue of an extensive library. But with good ancient maps, such as those of D'Anville, one may take the book as

his guide, and by spending a few hours at a time, he will be able, in two or three days, to travel, without weariness, over all parts of Greece, and all the provinces that were colonized or conquered by its inhabitants. In this way it may be read with pleasure and profit, not unlike that which we receive from a book of travels. As a topographical guide, it is accurate as well as minute; and by a brief record of some of the most interesting facts in history, as we pass through the places in which they occurred, we are furnished at once with a guide and a journal, which relieve the tediousness of the way. Here we learn, or call to mind, that such a prince, or warrior, or poet, or philosopher, or historian, was born; and there that such a battle was fought, and that such a hero conquered. Indeed a great variety of local history is thus collected, and associated with places; and it is done too with good judgment, so as to impart much useful instruction.

The Roman Geography, by Professor Dunglison, is conducted according to the same plan as that of Greece, excepting the deficiency which has been already mentioned; and its execution deserves the same kind of praise as that which we have bestowed upon the Grecian Geography. From its topographical minuteness, this book may be regarded, perhaps, as mainly valuable for a book of reference. Accordingly it is furnished with an index for this purpose. But we are sorry to be compelled to say, that the Index is exceedingly defective. We are at a loss to conceive of any sufficient apology for this. It is incomplete in regard to the names of places, and very faulty in the arrangement of them. It should be perfectly alphabetical; but there is no uniform regard to alphabetical arrangement, except in the initial letter. Thus we find in the following order, *Firmum*, *Flusor*, *Fiesoli*, *Florentia;* and again, *Marsicum*, *Manduriae*, *Misenum*, *Marmora*. These negligences, and others which might be pointed out, render the book very inconvenient for one of its principal uses, namely, a manual for reference; and they deserve to be held up as a warning to all concerned in similar undertakings, against that hasty production of their learned labors, which is prompted only by personal convenience.

There is another subject sufficiently grave in itself, though it is difficult to treat it with that inflexible gravity which it merits. We mean the liberty which is taken with the names of persons and places in regard to the orthography; which seems to us to

have been long since settled by custom, and the usage of the best authors. The laws prescribed by custom appear to us entitled to the same respect in this particular, as in the spelling of more common words. The advice of Dr Johnson, on this subject, is worthy of being called up; in which he 'recommends to those whose thoughts have been, perhaps, employed too anxiously on verbal singularities, not to disturb on narrow views, or for minute propriety, the orthography of their fathers. It has been asserted, that for the law to be known is of more importance than to be right. Change, says Hooker, is not made without inconvenience, even from worse to better. There is in constancy and stability a general and lasting advantage, which will always overbalance the slow improvements of gradual correction.' But our authors are of a different opinion, and do not estimate their learning to be of so little worth. Grecian and Roman names, which have been Anglicized, for a long period, by common consent, they have restored to their Greek or Latin forms and terminations, sometimes occasioning inconvenience to the reader, and generally producing a stiffness and singularity far from being agreeable. Going still farther in their work of reform, they have endeavored, in some instances, to purify Greek names and *cognomens*, from Latin corruptions; paying, as we think, a sorry compliment to the Greeks, who were themselves most flagrant corrupters of foreign names. Herodotus, for example, in giving names to the deities which presided over the Egyptian oracles, makes them all Greek; and every oriental name is Grecized or translated. But it is time for us to give a specimen of what we have condemned in general terms; and a few words will suffice. Thus we find *Horatius* and *Livius*, *Philippus* and *Alexandrus*, *Aristoteles*, *Manethon*, *Strabon*, and *Diodorus Siceliotes*. This last, since it is so much disguised, it would have been well to have written *Sikeliotes*, and this would have preserved an analogy between it and *Kelts* and *Keltic*, which are constantly used by the same authors for the vulgar appellations, *Celts* and *Celtic*, which have treacherously crept in through the Latin. Now and then they forget themselves, and fall into a Latin or English corruption; as *Euxinus* for *Euxeinus*, *Livy*, *Homer*. In the description of Præneste, it is said, 'From the heights, Annibal reconnoitred Roma.'—'Here Horatius read over his Homer.' Why is not *Homeros* entitled to the same kind of respect as *Horatius*?

Changes similar to those made in the names of persons, are made also in those of places. Thus *Alexandreia*, *Antiocheia*, *Stratoniceia*, *Euxeinus*, *Acragas*, are restored to the Greek forms; names much better known in the Latin forms, and which are so noted on ancient maps. *Acragas* (or *Agragas*), the modern *Girgenti*, on the southern side of Sicily, is no other than the *Agrigentum* of the Latin classic historians; and it is inserted with this name in a tabular view of the chief places in Sicily, furnished by Professor Dunglison; but in the article on Grecian Geography, the ancient name is *Acragas* only; which might perplex a scholar who had not recently risen from the perusal of his Strabo. In the spelling of *Euxeinus* the author is not uniform. It is sometimes *Euxinus*, and sometimes *Euxine*. So also *Alexandria* sometimes occurs instead of *Alexandreia*. In regard to oriental names, the authors before us do not afford much occasion for remark. *Babelmandeb* is written instead of *Babelmandel;* and coming nearer the true name, we have no other objection to it than this, that it varies from the name accidentally adopted in English geographies and maps; and though it may be corrected in one letter, it may be still inaccurate in another. We would rather leave it therefore, as it has been once settled, like the name of the great prophet of the Musselman; for we should prefer to read and write *Mahomet* all our lives long, rather than be puzzled and confounded between *Mahommed*, and *Mohammed*, and *Mahummed*, and any other varieties which the name may have assumed.

The peculiarities to which we have adverted above, in the spelling of Grecian and Roman names, we cannot think commendable. We regret that such innovations should be made or countenanced by scholars so distinguished as Professors Long and Dunglison, the former of whom, in consequence of his high reputation for classic learning, has been transferred to the university of London. In scholars of ordinary acquirements, we should be very prone to call such peculiarities affected or pedantic. And the danger of giving currency to them is vastly increased, by the eminence of those who adopt them. We feel confident, that these remarks will not be deemed ill-natured or captious, since we are ready to acknowledge the substantial merits of the work, and are grateful for the aid which it affords to the student in the ancient classics. And it is worthy of being recorded, in honor of the university

of Virginia, that, at such an early period of its history, it should send forth so creditable a book for the promotion of classical learning.

Amidst all the clamor, which has been raised against the study of the ancient classics, we are confident they are gaining favor among us. A wider view is taken of their end and aim. Instead of literal translations for the dull and the idle, we are procuring better grammars, more interesting books for beginners, and editions of authors for the schools, giving less artificial aid for interpretation, but furnishing explanations well fitted for the young scholar, concerning the design, the reasoning, the allusions, and peculiar expressions of those authors. The polity of the Greeks and Romans, and their relations with other states, are brought more into view; and in general their antiquities are becoming an object of increased attention. All this has something to do with the advancement of learning. Such helps cannot be lost upon the young mind, cannot fail to impart an activity and ardor, which will reach beyond the mere letter.

While we were taking this notice of the work of Professors Long and Dunglison, a new edition of Mr Worcester's Elements of Geography appeared, which is well deserving of notice in our pages. The author's reputation in this department of learning is so well established, and has been made known so widely by the testimonials of competent judges, who have borne witness to his skill and accuracy, that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon the merits of the new edition in these particulars. But as geographical works necessarily require alterations and additions, and as experience sometimes suggests useful hints in regard to the arrangement of works of this kind, it may be useful to give a brief account of the changes in form and arrangement, which this edition has undergone. These changes are described in the author's preface, as follows.

'The principal changes in the plan of the work are the following;—1st. The statistical matter has been separated from the book and formed into a series of Tables, which are inserted in the Atlas. 2dly. The Book and the Atlas have been more intimately connected with each other, by questions to be answered from the maps, which are inserted throughout the book, in the order in which it is deemed most suitable that they should be attended to. 3dly. The paragraphs which form the different sections, or subdivisions, have been numbered, and at the bottom of

the pages have been placed, with corresponding numbers, questions for examination, which will be found useful as a help both to the student in preparing for his recitations, and to the teacher in hearing them. 4thly. Most of the proper names have been divided into syllables and accented, and when necessary, respelled, in order to indicate their pronunciation.

'In order to accommodate the work to these changes, and also to adapt it more exactly to the existing state of geographical knowledge, both parts, the modern geography and the ancient, have been written entirely anew. Some matter contained in the former editions has been omitted, in order to make room for other matter more interesting and important.'

These changes are certainly improvements in this elementary work. While nothing is lost in the quantity of knowledge of the subject which is imparted, something is saved both to the pupil and instructer in the amount of labor. This is the true and ultimate object in the arrangement and classification of the materials, in works upon the arts and sciences. For nothing is more discouraging to the student, than obscurity and confusion in these respects; and he should not be expected to systematize what an author may have thrown together without a well defined plan. We do not claim for ourselves any extraordinary faculty of invention in these matters; but it appears to us, that Mr Worcester has arrived at such clearness and simplicity in his plan, that nothing is left to be desired in this respect.

In the materials of the work there is nothing superfluous; and so far as we can judge from a cursory examination, it contains as much information upon the subjects, as could well be contained in the same compass. The ancient geography, which we have examined more than the modern, conveys a great deal of instruction in a small space; and in quantity of matter bears a due proportion to that of the modern.

It is difficult to furnish maps, at once so cheap as to secure an extensive use, and so thorough in the execution, and so fair and durable in the materials, as to make them very valuable. Our examination of Mr Worcester's Atlas has not extended much beyond the general maps of Europe, Asia, and Africa; which may probably be taken as a fair specimen of the whole. They are superior to those which accompanied the preceding editions of his Geography, and contain about as many names as could be profitably introduced, which are also selected with good judgment.

On the whole, we consider both the works, which have drawn from us this short notice, well adapted to the end for which they were intended; and the latter is a decided improvement upon the stereotype edition, which had gained very widely the favor and confidence of the public.

ART. X.—*Specimens of American Poetry, with Critical and Biographical Notices.* In Three Volumes. 12mo. By SAMUEL KETTELL. Boston. S. G. Goodrich & Co. 1829.

'*Tout ce qui n' est pas prose est vers.*' Mr Kettell seems to have thought, that the proper translation of this maxim of the philosopher is, that all which is not prose is *poetry*. He has accordingly filled more than a volume with measured lines, which have just as much claim to be called poetry, as metre or rhyme can confer on them, and no more. It is a cause of regret, that a collection, which professes to be selected from the works of American poets, should have been made upon such a principle; for we think it rather worse to have produced bad poetry than none at all. As for the idea advanced in the preface, that 'everything published among us must have some value, if not on account of its intrinsic merits, at least as affording some insight into the spirit and temper of the times, and illustrating the degree of social and mental improvement in the community,' it is a doctrine we cannot agree to. It matters very little at what period, or by whom bad poetry was written, and we should hope that it would be set down as characteristic of nothing but the individual taste and skill of the author. Thus it adds nothing, but the reputation of bad taste and judgment to that for sanctity, which was enjoyed by John Eliot, the Indian Apostle, that he aided and abetted in making a wretched version of the Psalms of David; and Cotton Mather's punning elegies indicate nothing more, we hope, than his irresistible propensity.

Mr Kettell quotes the following extract from the 'Bay Psalm Book,' which was published at Cambridge in the year 1640, and was the first *book* printed in the English Colonies, although an *Almanac* and the *Freeman's Oath* had been printed at Cambridge the year before.*

*The first book printed in the NEW WORLD was at Mexico, in the year 1544, entitled *Doctrina Christiana para los Indios.*

PSALM CXXXVII.

'1. The rivers on of Babilon,
there when wee did sit downe,
Yea even then wee mourned when
wee remembered Sion.
2. Our harp wee did hang it amid,
Upon the willow tree,
3. Because there they that us away
led in captivitee
Requir'd of us a song, and thus
ask't mirth us waste who laid,
Sing us among a Sion's song,
unto us then they said.
4. The Lord's song sing can wee? being
in strangers land, then let
5. loose her skill my right hand if I
Jerusalem forget.
6. Let cleave my tongue my pallate on
if minde thee doe not I,
if chiefe joyes o're I prize not more
Jerusalem my joy.
7. Remember Lord, Edoms sons' word,
unto the ground said they,
it rase it rase, when as it was
Jerusalem her day.
8. Blest shall hee bee that payeth thee
daughter of Babilon,
who must be waste, that which thou hast
rewarded us upon.
9. O happie hee shall surely bee
that taketh up, that eke
thy little ones against the stones
doth into pieces breake.'

We should hope this specimen was not intended to convey an idea of the taste of the age in which it was written. Most readers will discover little in it, except the extreme deficiency of the poetical gift in the worthy Apostle to the Indians, and in Thomas Welde and Richard Mather, his coadjutors in this task of versification. It is but just, however, to give their own words in regard to the nature of their performance. 'If,' say they, 'the verses are not always so smooth and elegant as some may desire and expect, let them consider, that God's altar needs not our polishings, for we have respected rather a plain translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any

paraphrase, and so have attended to conscience rather than elegance, fidelity rather than poetry.'

The character of the earlier periods of the settlement of this country is to be sought in something else, and something better, than their attempts at poetical composition; and it is in vain to endeavor to give dignity and value to these by calling them characteristic of the age, or the people, among whom they appeared. Except that there is a prevailing tone of religious elevation in them, we discern nothing peculiar, or which distinguishes them from other specimens of inferior versification in the English language. And there is too little to make it of importance, even if the quality were better. Mr Kettell's researches have hardly discovered a half dozen writers in English verse, who were born in America previous to the eighteenth century, and a very short list brings us down to those who flourished in the latter half of that century. It was an age of religious enthusiasm, bold enterprise, and vigorous effort, and it should neither be asked nor expected of such an age to abound in examples of poetical talent. The succeeding half century was a period illustrated by the most noble and glorious struggle for liberty, that has yet adorned the annals of the world, and it requires but a cursory view of the versification of those times to perceive, that there is more in it of a spirit of freedom than of poetry. We do not mean that there are no exceptions; we wish to point out a general, not a universal rule; and to intimate, that the exceptions are so few and unimportant, as to be not worth contending for.

We should not claim for our forefathers an excellence, which they themselves would have condemned. The reputation of having written poetry is one which they can well spare, and which we should not be unreasonably ambitious to give them. They were employed in better avocations, and have given the world valuable lessons in more important arts, than that of poetry; and now, that successive generations have laid the broad foundation, and erected the firm superstructure of civil and religious liberty, it will be well for us and our descendents to add those lighter embellishments of the edifice, which alone are left for us to supply. There are very encouraging symptoms of the ability and disposition of our contemporaries to contribute their share, and the latter half of Mr Kettell's collection compares very favorably with the preceding. There is a great deal which is certainly not poetry, but there is also a large

proportion, which displays that brilliancy of imagination, fervor of feeling, delicacy of sentiment, and power of expression, which are essential ingredients in the first, and indeed in every class of poetry. We wish the collection had been confined to those pieces, which discovered one or more of these characteristics. It would have been smaller, to be sure, but we should have been much more proud of a single volume, containing only good poetry, than of this miscellaneous assortment in three volumes. Our American claims to the reputation of having written good poetry, would likewise have been less contested and less disputable, if that which is really valuable had been selected and separated with a more careful discrimination. We cannot, therefore, approve the plan of Mr Kettell, nor is his mode of executing it without its defects. He has undertaken to give critical and biographical notices of the authors from whom he has selected, and he has, with the assistance of some of his friends, furnished us with several that are valuable and interesting; but we are sorry to say, there are many others that are miserably meagre, and betray an inexcusable carelessness and inattention. Charles C. Beaman, for instance, is dismissed with two words, 'Of Boston'; R. H. Wilde with two lines, and many others in a similar style of biography and criticism. If the life were too short to afford materials for biography, and the poetry too poor to be criticized, it would, to say the least, have been quite as well to omit the name and the rhymes altogether. There are others of whom Mr Kettell has given us very little either of criticism or information, who are much better poets than some to whom he has dedicated many pages of remark and extracts. Another error, as we think, is the insertion of many pieces, which were written for the 'poet's corner' of a newspaper, and which are much better adapted to such a distinction, than to the more elevated place they now hold in a collection of American poetry.

It is not surprising, that a few should have escaped the editor's notice, who have claims of a higher character. It would be unreasonable to expect, that the first attempt to form a list of all the American poets should be perfect, and we gladly bestow on Mr. Kettell the praise of industry and care in this part of his labor. We can forgive him for omitting one or two names, that we could remind him of, much more easily than we can for inserting several, upon whose productions we are very unwilling the national reputation should rest. It is to be

expected, and indeed desired, that specimens of works of very various merit should be exhibited in such a collection as this; but Mr Kettell has been much too indulgent; and has honored with the name of poet many, whose claims are very doubtful; and some who are totally destitute of any such pretension.

After making every deduction, however, which the duties of our critical character require of us, there is much remaining which would be honorable to any literature, much which we are proud to claim as the production, not only of our countrymen and countrywomen, but of our contemporaries and friends. We cannot, of course, go through these volumes, and give our opinion of every writer, but there are one or two general remarks, which we shall state before we proceed to illustrate what we have advanced. In the first place, the proportion of female writers will be found to be uncommonly large, and it is nothing more than is due to them to say, that some of the best poetry we have to exhibit is from their fair hands. It is almost needless to express our pleasure at this fact, but we cannot refrain from observing upon its beneficial tendency. The influence of the female character is everywhere important, but nowhere more so than in the effect it has upon literature; and we feel confident, that the elevation and purity of woman will be shown among us, not merely in the productions of her mind, but in their effect upon those of the other sex. Nay, they are already shown; we do not remember to have seen anything in this whole collection, which could raise a blush upon the cheek of purity, or excite a wrong wish or idea in the bosom of innocence. It would be difficult to select three volumes, of such a size, from the literature of any other people, of which so much might be said; and when it is considered, that this comprises a very large proportion of all the poetical literature of the nation, we may safely set it down as a fair specimen of the whole in this respect. It is a characteristic of which we may well be proud, and which we must attribute, in great part, to the important influence of the better half of our species. The number of female poets of a high order is also one among many proofs of the respect in which the sex is held, and the excellence of the education which they receive. It shows that they are partners in all that is good or agreeable in life; that they are treated, neither like inferiors, nor like playthings and idols, but are invited to participate in everything that is honor-

able, and stimulate our efforts in all that is praiseworthy. That country must be rapid in its advance towards excellence, where a high standard of character is required and sustained by the delicate and fair portion of its inhabitants.

Another remark was forcibly suggested to us on looking over the list of authors. The number of persons, who are devoted to letters as an occupation among us, is exceedingly small. Our literature is composed principally of the efforts of the leisure hours of men, who are actively engaged in the serious professions and business of life; of those whom we often see in the pulpit, at the bar, or in the counting-room; of men who might be expected to be wholly engaged in things far removed from the light play of fancy, and the charms of elegant composition. It is well when the relaxations of such men are of a character to do honor to their country and themselves; and it gives us no faint hope of our attaining a rank in literature corresponding to that, which we hold in our political and commercial relations, when we observe the strong and widely prevailing desire among us for literary distinction. Every feeling of the human heart has such free exercise, and is so fully developed in this country, that excessive activity and over production are now the universal cry of our political economists. It is a complaint which would not be without cause in literature. We really have apprehensions from the rising flood of publications of every description, and unless it be checked by the barriers, which the good sense and criticism of the public may raise around it, we shall probably be overwhelmed with an abundance that will prove neither useful nor agreeable. We have already expressed our opinion, that Mr Kettell is by far too indulgent, and we cannot but hope, that some severer critic will undertake a task similar to the one he has attempted, and give us a collection of American poetry in the highest and best sense of the word. That there is such will not be doubted by those who have attended to the subject, or have looked into Mr Kettell's collection; and it is but necessary to mention the names of Bryant, Percival, Halleck, Hillhouse, Mrs Sigourney, Mrs Hale, Charles Sprague, and a few others, to give an idea of the dignity, grace, purity, and sublimity, which may be found among our authors, and of which we wish to see a collection uncontaminated by the bad taste, the dulness, or the bombast, displayed by too many who are called writers of poetry. The names we have mentioned are too familiar to

the readers of poetry among us to need quotation. We shall extract one or two pieces, which may be less known, but not undeserving of praise. Mr Kettell merely informs us of Milton Ward, that 'he published a volume of poetry at Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1826. Most of it was composed at the age of fifteen. The following is one of his earliest pieces.' If it be true, that the *Lyre* was written by a boy of fifteen, it displays a mind of uncommon promise. We have not often seen a pleasanter exercise of the fancy, or a specimen of more graceful and easy versification.

'THE LYRE.

'THERE was a Lyre, 't is said, that hung
High waving in the summer air;
An angel hand its chord had strung,
And left to breathe its music there.
Each wandering breeze, that o'er it flew,
Awoke a wilder, sweeter strain,
Than ever shell of Mermaid blew
In coral grottoes of the main.
When, springing from the rose's bell,
Where all night he had sweetly slept,
The zephyr left the flowery dell
Bright with the tears that morning wept,
He rose, and o'er the trembling lyre,
Waved lightly his soft azure wing;
What touch such music could inspire!
What harp such lays of joy could sing!
The murmurs of the shaded rills,
The birds, that sweetly warbled by,
And the soft echo from the hills,
Were heard not where that harp was nigh.
When the last light of fading day
Along the bosom of the west
In colors softly mingled lay,
While night had darkened all the rest,
Then, softer than that fading light,
And sweeter than the lay, that rung
Wild through the silence of the night,
As solemn Philomela sung,
That harp its plaintive murmurs sigh'd
Along the dewy breeze of even;
So clear and soft they swell'd and died,
They seem'd the echoed songs of heaven.

Sometimes, when all the air was still,
And not the poplar's foliage trembled,
That harp was nightly heard to thrill
With tones, no earthly tones resembled.
And then, upon the moon's pale beams,
Unearthly forms were seen to stray,
Whose starry pinions' trembling gleams
Would oft around the wild harp play.
But soon the bloom of summer fled—
In earth and air it shone no more;
Each flower and leaf fell pale and dead,
While skies their wintry sternness wore.
One day, loud blew the northern blast—
The tempest's fury raged along—
Oh! for some angel, as they pass'd,
To shield the harp of heavenly song!
It shriek'd—how could it bear the touch,
The cold, rude touch of such a storm,
When e'en the zephyr seem'd too much
Sometimes, though always light and warm.
It loudly shriek'd—but ah! in vain—
The savage wind more fiercely blew;
Once more—it never shriek'd again,
For every chord was torn in two.
It never thrill'd with anguish more,
Though beaten by the wildest blast;
The pang, that thus its bosom tore,
Was dreadful—but it was the last.
And though the smiles of summer play'd
Gently upon its shattered form,
And the light zephyrs o'er it stray'd,
That lyre they could not wake or warm.'

VOL. III. pp. 340, 341.

George P. Morris, the editor of the 'New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Magazine,' has written a pretty and delicate piece, well adapted to grace the pages of a ladies' magazine, and we believe it will not be thought out of place in our own.

'WOMAN.

'AH!—woman—in this world of ours,
What gift can be compared to thee?
How slow would drag life's weary hours,
Though man's proud brow were bound with flowers,
And his the wealth of land and sea,

If destined to exist alone,
And ne'er call woman's heart his own.
My mother!—at that holy name,
Within my bosom there 's a gush
Of feeling, which no time can tame,
A feeling which, for years of fame,
I would not, could not crush,
And sisters!—they are dear as life—
But when I look upon my WIFE,
My life-blood gives a sudden rush,
And all my fond affections blend,
In mother—sisters—wife—and friend.

Yes, woman's love is free from guile,
And pure as bright Aurora's ray—
The heart will melt before its smile,
And earthly passions fade away.
Were I the monarch of the earth,
And master of the swelling sea,
I would not estimate their worth,
Dear woman, half the price of thee.' VOL. III. p. 351.

We are strongly tempted to extract Mrs Hale's 'Light of Home,' and 'The Gifts,' but we must content ourselves with referring our readers to them as specimens of just and delicate feeling, and conclude our quotations with the following stanzas by Mr Pierpont. We think them among the best for the occasion, which has called forth so many verses.

'INDEPENDENCE.

'DAY of glory! welcome day!
Freedom's banners greet thy ray;
See! how cheerfully they play
With thy morning breeze,
On the rocks where pilgrims kneel'd,
On the heights where squadrons wheel'd,
When a tyrant's thunder peal'd,
O'er the trembling seas.

God of armies! did thy "stars
In their courses" smite his cars,
Blast his arm, and wrest his bars
From the heaving tide?
On our standard, lo! they burn,
And, when days like this return,
Sparkle o'er the soldier's urn,
Who for freedom died.

God of peace!—whose spirit fills
All the echoes of our hills,
All the murmurs of our rills,
Now the storm is o'er;—
O, let freemen be our sons;
And let future Washingtons
Rise, to lead their valiant ones,
Till there 's war no more.

By the patriot's hallow'd rest,
By the warrior's gory breast,
Never let our graves be press'd
By a despot's throne;
By the pilgrims' toil and cares,
By their battles and their prayers,
By their ashes,—let our heirs
Bow to thee alone.' VOL. II. pp. 270, 271.

We cannot refrain from mentioning, in the language of encomium, the *Shakspeare Ode*, by Charles Sprague. It shines, in this collection, unrivalled for brilliancy, variety, and power. There are, indeed, few lyrical compositions equal to it.

One of the best parts of Mr Kettell's work is the very full catalogue of American poetry at the end of the third volume. Whoever examines it will have no doubt of the fertility of our poetical soil, nor of the increasing rapidity of its production.

ART. XI.—*Memoir of De Witt Clinton, with an Appendix containing numerous Documents illustrative of the principal Events of his Life.* By DAVID HOSACK, M. D. F. R. S. New York. 1829. 4to. pp. 530.

THE work of Dr Hosack is a handsome quarto volume of five hundred pages and more, one hundred and thirty-five of which are occupied with a Memoir of Governor Clinton, and the remainder, being an appendix, printed in a smaller type, comprises a collection of documents illustrative of the events of Mr Clinton's life, accompanied by a map of the Erie and Northern Canals with the adjacent territory, and miniature prints of the heads of some of the most active promoters of the great works of internal improvement in New York. The work appears to be a tribute of friendship, as well as an inte-

resting historical and biographical record. The Memoir is a public discourse, delivered before the citizens of New York on the eighth of November, 1828, in compliance with a vote of a previous general meeting, and published at their request.

Mr Charles Clinton, the grandfather of De Witt, emigrated from the county of Longford, Ireland, with his family and a number of his friends, in 1729. They took passage at Dublin, in a vessel commanded by one Rymer, a savage brute, who killed one of his men in the course of the voyage, by striking him with a pipe stave, and starved some of the passengers by needlessly and purposely protracting the voyage to a period of about five months. Mr Clinton lost his wife, two daughters, and a son, before landing in America. After the vessel made land, which was recognised to be the coast of Virginia, the captain again put out to sea, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of the passengers, whom he gave explicitly to understand, that he should continue at sea until he had absolutely starved them all to death, unless they would redeem themselves from this sentence by giving additional passage money; to which, not knowing what better to do, they consented, and the survivors were accordingly finally landed on Cape Cod. The company afterwards established themselves at Little Britain in Orange, then Ulster county, New York, about eight miles east from Hudson river, and sixty from the city of New York, where their descendants remain to this day, and where De Witt Clinton was born on the second of March, 1769, forty years after the emigration of his grandfather's family from Ireland. The family have borne a respectable, and some of its members a distinguished rank, in this country, both before and since the revolution. Two of the second generation, uncles to De Witt, were physicians; one, vice-president of the United States; and James, his father, rose though various military grades to the rank of general in the American army of the revolution. After the establishment of independence, he retired to domestic life, at his residence in Orange county, from which he was, however, occasionally called by various important civil appointments in the state of New York, during a long life of seventy-six years which terminated in 1812. He married a De Witt.

De Witt Clinton acquired the rudiments of his classical education under the Rev. Mr Moffatt, the presbyterian clergyman of his native town, and at the academy of Kingston,

then under the superintendence of Mr John Addison, whose name, says Dr Hosack, gave celebrity to his school; and we are careful to commemorate both of them, since every man who rises to distinction and usefulness, sheds some of the lustre of his reputation upon those who conducted his youthful steps in the paths of learning. Clinton was entered at Columbia College in New York, as a member of the junior class, in 1784, and was graduated in 1786, being one of the first graduates after the revolution. The professors, at that period, were, in the classics, Dr William Cochran, now vice-president of the college of Windsor, in Nova Scotia; John Kemp in the mathematics; and Bishop Moore, afterwards president of the institution, in rhetoric. 'It was,' says Dr Cochran in a letter to Dr Hosack, 'a mere accident that either that seminary or myself had any share in educating so great and useful a man. In the summer of 1784, his father brought him to New York on his way to Princeton college, to place him at that seminary. The legislature had passed an act for restoring and new naming King's College, afterwards to be a university by the name of Columbia; but no arrangements or appointments had been made, only a committee was empowered to provide in a temporary way, for what might be most needful. The late Mr Duane, then mayor of New York, was one of this committee, who, hearing that the nephew of the governor was going out of the state for his education, applied to me to know if I would undertake the care of him and such others as might offer, until the appointments for the college should be made; to which I readily agreed, and Clinton and half a dozen more were put under my tuition.' 'To the latest period of his life,' says Professor Renwick in his eulogy, 'Clinton was fond of acknowledging his obligations to those useful and learned instructers.' He believes that Clinton's future character and career of public services were essentially influenced by the instructions of Dr Kemp, under whose tuition he laid the foundation of that acquaintance with the principles of internal improvement, and of those clear views of national policy which he afterwards so fully developed, and applied with such advantage to his native state and the union at large. The capabilities for internal improvement in the state of New York seem early to have attracted the attention of Dr Kemp, and were particularly explained and illustrated in his annual course of lectures.

Having studied his profession of the law with Mr Samuel

Jones of New York, father of the present chief justice of the superior court, Clinton commenced practice in that city in 1789, but soon after retired from his profession to be the private secretary of his uncle, George Clinton, then governor of the state, in which employment he continued until the termination of that Governor's administration, in 1795. Young Clinton was thus early initiated into political life, and he continued from that time to be constantly before the public in some office of distinction, or in some literary, political, or economical enterprise, to the day of his death. In 1797 he was elected a member of the legislative assembly. Afterwards successively, and at various periods, he was senator of the state, member of the executive council, governor, mayor of the city of New York, a member of the senate of the United States, and a candidate for the presidency of the United States. He was mayor of New York from 1803 to 1815, excepting two years. He was governor of the state of New York from 1817 to 1822, when he declined being a candidate for reëlection. He was again governor in 1826, and continued in the office till his decease, February 11, 1828.

Mr Clinton's memory is intimately connected with the great and triumphant enterprises of the Western and Northern canals, subjects which occupy a very conspicuous place in the Memoir of Dr Hosack, and especially in the Appendix, in which the author has made an extensive collection of documents, many of which are illustrative of what may be called the secret history of these works. Two hundred and sixty pretty closely printed quarto pages of the Appendix are filled with this subject, including the narratives obtained by the author from many individuals, who took an early part in this Herculean labor of breaking through the natural barriers which separated the east and the west. We have already, in a previous number,* given a sketch of the history of what is called the 'canal policy' of New York down to 1822, in a review of 'Public Documents,' relating to the New York canals, 'The History' of the canals published by Elkanah Watson, and 'A Vindication of Mr Watson's Claim to the Merit of projecting the Lake Canal Policy, by Robert Troup, Esq.'

Dr Hosack's professed object is to supply evidence of the part taken by each coöperator in this great undertaking, that

* North American Review for January 1822, vol. xiv. p. 230.

his due honors may be awarded to each, and to collect materials in addition to those already accumulated for an authentic and complete history of it.

To understand the early proceedings on the subject of the two canals, we ought to take a general view of the territory, which is the scene of these stupendous works. Taking the western bank of Hudson river, and passing up its course in a pretty direct line, bearing a little to the east of north, and then following up an eastern branch, and passing the summit that divides the waters falling into the Hudson from those falling into Lake Champlain, and then passing down a stream emptying into that lake, keeping a pretty direct general course the whole distance, we arrive at the lake. This is the Northern canal, an improvement about the advantages and general location of which, there does not seem to have been any great diversity of opinion.

But the best general course of a canal, or other channel of inland navigation, between the Hudson and the great western lakes, was not by any means so obvious, though for the eastern section, only one route seems ever to have been proposed, namely, that by the Mohawk river. Starting from Albany you pass, in the present course of the canal, along the western bank of Hudson river, until you come to the confluence of the Mohawk with the Hudson, having thus far followed the course common to the two canals, the Northern and Western, and consequently bearing northeasterly of the general course to Lake Erie. But turning here to the left, you go up the southern bank of the Mohawk, bearing to the westward of northwest, and a little northwardly, but not very widely from the direct course from the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson towards Lake Erie, until you come to what was formerly called Fort Stanwix, now Rome, the summit which divides the waters flowing southerly by the Mohawk, from those flowing northerly by Wood creek, and through Oneida lake, into Lake Ontario. As far as this summit of Fort Stanwix, or Rome, there was no question about the general course. But at this summit the question arose, whether to bear to the northward along Wood creek, through Oneida lake, and then along Oneida and Oswego rivers to the town of Oswego on the southern shore of lake Ontario, and not far west from its eastern end, and then take the lake about one hundred and thirty miles towards the mouth of Niagara river, which empties into it on the

southern shore some thirty miles to the eastward of its western extremity, the course being very nearly west. You then turn towards Lake Erie, either in a southerly direction or one easterly or westerly of it, according to the point of departure from Lake Ontario. If the mouth of Niagara river were the point of departure, and Buffalo, the present termination of the canal on Lake Erie, the destination, the course would be to the eastward of south. This was one of the routes proposed as the channel of the great western transportation in this quarter, and no other appears to have been publicly proposed until 1807. At that time a suggestion was made, that there might be no necessity of locking down into lake Ontario, and then up again from it to the height of the Rome summit, but that you might turn to the westward at that summit, bearing, however, a little northerly in a pretty direct course towards Lake Erie, and keep the height of this summit. And it has been a question of some interest, and one which occupies some part of the documents in this Appendix, to determine who has the merit of first suggesting this route, upon which, as is well known, the canal has been constructed, though it does not keep the height of the Rome summit; and upon this question Dr Hosack's publication throws new light.

It had been asserted, that this over-land route was first suggested by Gouverneur Morris, in a letter to Mr John Parish of Hamburgh, dated December 20, 1800. But a letter of Mr Morris to General Lee, dated January, 1801, which we noticed in our former article on this subject, seems to put this question at rest; for in this he says, 'As far as I can judge from observation and information, the communication between *Lake Ontario and the Hudson* is not only practicable but easy.' Though Mr Morris had the credit of lending his influence in favor of the general system of inland navigation, at an early period, when his general, enthusiastic, and somewhat romantic views, expressed in strong and highly colored language, as his manner was, may have essentially promoted this enterprise, yet, until some new evidence is produced, there is nothing to show, that he originally suggested the route in question.

To a practical engineer, the mere suggesting of an inquiry, how near to the direct line between two given points a canal may be made, without knowing enough of the territory to form a probable opinion whether the route suggested is practicable, will appear to be an inconsiderable merit, and one hardly worth

contending for. And so doubtless it is in ordinary cases; for two points being assumed, as in the present case they were, the very first question made always is, how near you may be able to keep to the direct course between them. But in the present instance the temptations towards Lake Ontario were so strong, as the streams led that way, and the facilities for canalling were apparently so much greater, and as the public attention had for many years been so uniformly directed in that course, it was no small merit to turn it into a new channel; especially since the utility of the canal, as we showed in our former article on this subject, mainly depended upon taking the over-land route. We do not, therefore, think, that the inquiries in which Dr Hosack, among others, has engaged on this question, gives to it an exaggerated importance.

Professor Renwick says, in a note to his eulogy, that this route was spoken of by Professor Kemp, in his lectures to the students of Columbia college, as early as 1805.

From the documents in Dr Hosack's Appendix, it appears that two other persons, originally and wholly independently of each other, publicly proposed keeping the interior and more direct course from Rome to Lake Erie. And as it is interesting to recur to the incipient movements towards stupendous results, we will dwell a little upon the subject. The earlier of these two suggestions was made by Mr Jesse Hawley, whose own account of the matter we will quote, as it appears now for the first time to be fully laid before the public; to understand which, the reader is to bear in mind, that as early as 1791 the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company had been incorporated for the purpose of improving the navigation of the Mohawk, and thence across the Rome summit and down Wood Creek to Lake Ontario, and had constructed locks round the Little Falls of the Mohawk, and cut a canal across the summit at Rome, a distance of a mile and a half, in so favorable ground, that it had been occasionally flowed, so that boats might pass from the head of boat navigation on the Mohawk into Wood Creek, before any canal was made. Mr Hawley's account is as follows.

'In April 1805, then a merchant at Geneva and concerned in forwarding flour from Mynderse's mills, owing to the very imperfect navigation of the old Mohawk canal, and various methods being proposed for improving it, I suggested the idea of an over-land canal from the foot of Lake Erie, at Buffalo, (as containing a

head and great reservoir of water to feed it,) to Utica, and thence down the Mohawk to Hudson River. These impediments to navigation would often call forth the expression of our wishes, that an arm of the North River had been extended into the Genessee country by the Author of nature, for our facilities of transport; but no one yet had suggested the idea of effecting this object *by a canal!* I occasionally mentioned my suggestion to my friends, and was generally laughed at for my whim!

'A reverse in my business landed me on the gaol limits of Ontario, in Canandaigua, in August 1807. Fully persuaded of the practicability of such canal, and having, thus far, lived to but little purpose, I thought I might render myself useful to society by giving publicity to the suggestion, and, in October 1807, commenced writing on the subject in the Genessee Messenger, a newspaper then published at Canandaigua, which I continued to fourteen numbers, in April 1808. My plan was a canal of one hundred feet wide and ten feet deep, laid on an inclined plane, from Buffalo to Utica, and thence down the channel of the Mohawk, with improvements in it, to Schenectady, and thence over the portage to Albany, for a time—to be constructed by the national government, rather than by an incorporated company of individuals—not conceiving, then, the state treasury, or finances, adequate to the undertaking. These essays were treated with much ridicule, and, by some, were considered as "the effusions of the manaic." The writer was unknown for some time.' pp. 301, 302.

The project was first proposed by Mr Hawley in the paper called 'The Commonwealth,' published at Pittsburg, on the fourteenth of January, 1807, as follows.

'It ought to commence at the foot of Lake Erie, as soon as a suitable place can be found to afford a draft on its waters—to gain and preserve a moderate descent of ground it will have to pursue a northeastern course for some miles; it then may pursue an east course and cross the Genessee River somewhere above its Falls, thence near to, and probably in the channel of Mud Creek, an outlet of Canandaigua Lake, and follow them into Seneca River; but leaving that, up stream to Jack's Rift, for the purpose of preserving the head of water—thence meandering along between the high and low grounds of Onondaga and Oneida counties, going south of their lakes, and let it fall into the Mohawk and mingle with its waters somewhere above Utica.' p. 307.

In the same essay Mr Hawley says, 'the project is probably not more than twelve months old in human conception;' and he asserts very explicitly, that he had before heard of no pub-

lic suggestion of this route, and that it was wholly original with himself. The same subject is taken up in some of his fourteen essays, subsequently published in 'The Genessee Messenger' under the signature of 'Hercules.' Those essays are republished in this Appendix.

It appears that Mr Hawley's merit is confined to the suggestion merely of the general route. He made a conjectural estimate of the expense at $6,000,000, which has been mentioned as corresponding pretty nearly to the actual expense of the canal when completed. But this is a mistake, for Mr Hawley was estimating on a canal of one hundred feet in width and ten feet deep, *from Lake Erie to Rome*, quite a different one from that which has been constructed. And he also proposed a canal between these two points on an inclined plane, a very favorite plan with the early projectors, which does not seem to have been abandoned until 1816. Long after this route was adopted, the inclined plane continued to be a part of the plan. Gouverneur Morris was in favor of the inclined plane. And at a meeting held at New York city, in 1815, Judge Platt made an address, in which he says, 'I pointed at the stupendous project of a canal on an inclined plane, which had unfortunately been proposed in the report of the commissioners,' drawn up by Gouverneur Morris in 1811. Mr Hawley, therefore, only fell into an error, or rather a romantic extravagance, which was common to all the advocates of the canal for eight years afterwards. It seems remarkable that a conception so very bold as that of a canal on a regularly inclined plane, for such a great distance, should have taken such strong hold of the minds of so many men; the Roman aqueducts afforded specimens of works only approaching to the grandeur of this project. It was wisely abandoned in 1816, when the legislature began to take more serious and practical steps in the work.

As we have quoted the passage in Mr Hawley's letter in which he speaks of his circumstances at the time of writing 'Hercules,' we ought to add another from the same letter, which is dated at Rochester, July, 1828, in which he says,

'I claim the original and the first publication of the over-land route of the Erie canal from Buffalo to the Hudson—that, in it, I have been a benefactor to the public in general, and to the state of New York in particular—and I bless the Author of my existence, that I have lived to see it finished, having in the mean

time, by laborious industry, attained, from bankruptcy, to a comfortable moderate competency, and being pleasantly located, within a mile of the canal.' p. 304.

The other person, who, without knowing anything of Mr Hawley's essays, suggested the over-land route, was Mr Joshua Forman, since Judge Forman, whose account of the first practical step taken in the New York legislature, in the splendid career of internal improvement, is too interesting to be omitted. He says,

'On taking my seat as a member of assembly, for the county of Onondaga, at the session of 1807–8, my bookseller handed me several numbers of Rees' Cyclopædia, to which I was a subscriber. I had early been acquainted with the projected works of the Inland Lock Navigation Company from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario, and had seen in the statute book an act to incorporate a company to lock up the Niagara Falls from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie. In reading, at my leisure, in the article "canal," an account of the numerous canals and improved river navigations in England, I soon discovered the relative importance of the former over the latter. Applying this to our interior, I perceived how much more the country would be benefited by a canal than by the works contemplated; and observing the number of profitable canals intersecting a country of such small extent from sea to sea as the northern part of England, it occurred to me, that, if a canal was ever made to open a communication from the Hudson to the western lakes, it would be worth more than all the extra cost to go directly through the country to Lake Erie. Glancing my eye along the line it must pass, it appeared to me, from the knowledge I had of the country, to be practicable. Sitting, at the time, in the room with Judge Wright and General M'Niel of Oneida, my room-mates, I immediately broached the subject to them. At first, Judge Wright objected, that it would be a folly to make a canal one hundred and fifty miles abreast of a good sloop navigation in Lake Ontario. To this I replied, that the rich country through which it must pass would, of itself, support a canal; and the benefit of a continued navigation, safe from the dangers of the sea at all times and from the enemy in time of war, and building up a line of towns in the interior, which must grow up on the Lake shore, if that was to be the route of transportation, would abundantly compensate the extra expense of a direct canal, over that of a canal and lockage from the point of departure down to Lake Ontario and up by Niagara to Lake Erie. The subject was freely discussed. Judge Wright gave in to the plan, and it was agreed by all, that the project was of immense importance, and measures ought to be taken to ascertain its practi-

cability. I drew up the resolution, as now printed, which Judge Wright agreed to second, that it might lie on the table until, by the rules of the house, it might be called up. Without much confidence that the general government would construct such a canal, I framed the resolution to take advantage of Mr Jefferson's proposition, to expend the surplus revenues of the nation in making roads and canals, to induce our legislature to explore the route of a canal, which, if proposed as a work of the state, would not have been listened to at all ; and although I had stated the proposition in a favorable light in the preamble, when it was read in the house it produced such expressions of surprise and ridicule as are due to a very wild, foolish project.

'Fired with the novelty and importance of my project, and somewhat piqued at the manner of its reception in the house, I took pains to prepare myself on the subject, conversed with several of the members at their rooms, and when it was called up, addressed the house in support of the resolution. I stated in evidence of its being practicable, that after following the valley of the Mohawk to Rome, it would have the valley of the Oneida and Seneca Rivers to the head of Mud Creek, an uncommonly flat country; and from the west, (if no better route was found,) from the Niagara up the Tonnewanta and down Allen's Creek to the Genessee River, the intermediate country, although nothing particularly favorable was known, yet as there were no high mountains or large rivers intervening, it would most likely be found practicable without any of those expensive tunnels or aqueducts common to canals in Europe. I presented a probable estimate of its cost, calculated from that of the Languedoc Canal, at four millions five hundred thousand dollars; this doubled, for the advanced price of labor, which I considered a large allowance, and adding a million for inexperience, gave ten millions of dollars, in my humble opinion an ample estimate for the work, which must appear a bagatelle to the value of such a navigation, whether considered in relation to the state, in improving the western district, and enriching the city of New York by the trade of the rich and growing country bordering on the western lakes; or as respected the United States, whose forty or fifty millions of acres of land, bordering on the lakes, would be enhanced in value beyond the whole expense by causing their rapid settlement, form a dense frontier barrier towards Canada, and by forming an outlet for their trade through our own territory, instead of its flowing down the St Lawrence, it would be an indissoluble bond of union between the Western and Atlantic states—and I recollect distinctly observing, that it would chain them to our destinies in any national convulsion.

'The resolution was adopted on the ground, as expressed by

several, "that it *could do no harm*, and *might* do some good."' pp. 343—346.

The appropriation made at this time, for explorations and surveys towards this magnificent undertaking, was *six hundred dollars*.

Mr Forman was wrought up to great enthusiasm in the project, and in the winter of 1809 made a journey to Washington for the purpose of conversing with Mr Jefferson on this subject, and attempting to obtain the coöperation of the general government. Mr Jefferson, after listening to Mr Forman's glowing description of the advantages of the undertaking, and the reasons which ought to induce Congress to promote it, replied, 'It was a very fine project, and might be executed a century hence.' 'Why, sir,' said he, 'here is a canal of a few miles, projected by General Washington, which, if completed, would render this a fine commercial city, which has languished for many years, because the small sum of two hundred thousand dollars, necessary to complete it, cannot be obtained of the general government, the state government, or from individuals—and you talk of making a canal two hundred and fifty miles through a wilderness—it is little short of madness to think of it at this day.' But in a letter addressed by Mr Jefferson to Governor Clinton, December, 1822, he says, in reply to inquiries respecting the above conversation, 'Many, I dare say, think with me, that New York has anticipated, by a full century, the ordinary progress of improvement.' Judge Forman says, a report had circulated of Mr Jefferson's replying, 'he had remarked that it was a century too soon; but he was then convinced he was a century behind a just estimate of the march of improvement in this country.'

The miniature engravings which we have mentioned, are the following, namely, Gouverneur Morris, Cadwallader D. Colden, Christopher Colles, Jeffrey Smith, Elkanah Watson, Philip Schuyler, George Clinton, Jesse Hawley, Joshua Forman, Thomas Eddy, Jonas Platt, J. R. Van Rensselaer, and De Witt Clinton, with that of Washington, as an active promoter of internal improvement, though he could have had no agency in this particular enterprise. We have spoken particularly of Mr Hawley and Judge Forman, not because we suppose their services preëminent over those of others, but because the parts thus acted are more particularly related in this Appendix, which, in this respect, supplies material additions to

the account before given of the New York canals, in this journal.

It is not to be supposed, that this stupendous work was accomplished without great obstructions and difficulties. Though its advantages and utility were obvious enough and immediately assented to, on its first proposal, yet it was looked upon by many as a splendid dream, which might possibly be realized at a remote period, but was to be long looked upon as a gorgeous possibility, rather than as a subject of any practical attempt. Mr Jefferson, upon the near prospect of its completion in 1822, regarded it as a phenomenon in economy not easily accounted for. 'This great work,' says he, 'suggests a question both curious and difficult, as to the comparative capability of nations to execute great enterprises. It is not from greater surplus of produce, after supplying their own wants [in New York], for in this, New York is not beyond some other states. Is it from other sources of industry additional to her produce? This may be.—Or is it a moral superiority? A sounder calculating mind as to the most profitable employment of surplus, by improvement of capital instead of consumption? I should lean to this latter hypothesis, were I disposed to puzzle myself with such investigations; but at the age of eighty it would be an idle labor.'

He seems to have in his mind the half intelligible speculations on the subject of *capital*, with which the economical treatises abound. The achievement of the American independence was an employment, or, if your please, an investment of capital, as much as the making of the Erie canal, or the introduction of steam-power navigation. In going to war we count the cost, as well as in undertaking any purely economical enterprise; but in computing resources, we do not confine ourselves to the use of the commonplace expressions of *capital*, *surplus produce*, &c.; we do not merely reckon how many dollars and cents our possessions are worth, but take into view the moral and physical powers of the community, and never doubt, that if these are roused to intense energy of action, they will supply the capital. Were we to sit down and speculate upon human affairs as the mere phenomena of a machine, the movements of which cannot be accelerated, or its powers increased, by motives and passions, we should undertake little, and only idly wonder at the small results developed by the sluggish action of a feeble mechanical system.

If the emperor of Cochin China wishes to construct a canal, he does not sit down computing the capital of his kingdom, with the dry and sterile *sang froid* of Mr Ricardo, but orders out some twenty or thirty thousands of his subjects to dig earth and remove rocks. In this way, a few years ago, he did make a canal to serve as a ship channel, a distance of twenty-six miles, if we remember rightly, which was completed in the short space of six weeks, and probably no speculations were made on the subject of capital, or surplus produce, in his empire, during the whole process; and the result was, either that his subjects were fed, clothed, and lodged a little less comfortably, or worked a little harder that year than usual, as a compensation for which they had a canal. This emperor, being a person of absolute authority, can concentrate the energies of his empire to any point. The will, the firm and unconquerable resolution of a democratic people, may stand in the place of a despot's authority in this respect, and rouse, concentrate, and direct their moral and physical power, which is their living and inexhaustible capital, to as intense action and as magnificent results, as ever sprang from mere obedience and fear inspired by an absolute sovereign. But the difficulty is to stir this lethargic giant, the public, into action, and endow him with firm resolves, and animate him to wield his mighty powers with uniform and sustained efforts. It is a slight thing merely to project and point out great enterprises. Thousands of such abortively perish in mere conceptions. They pass as dreams, the romantic visions of sanguine imagination. Such, say Mr Hawley, Judge Forman, and the other early friends of internal improvement in New York, was the canal project for some time considered. The state wanted capital; they had no surplus products; all the efforts of their industry would barely feed, clothe, and shelter the people; to turn so immense a portion of their industry away from the supply of their immediate wants, would ruin them; they would not tax themselves for so enormous a disbursement for the benefit of a few residing on the borders of the canal; capital must be sought in Europe for so great an undertaking, to which that of the United States was inadequate.

It was in answering these damping objections, dispelling local prejudices, fertilizing sterile minds with strong hopes, and, in a sort, creating a mighty power by inspiring the purpose of its exertion, that consisted the Herculean labor of this great

enterprise. And in this it was that Governor Clinton distinguished himself, and took the lead. When the project had been explained to him by Judge Platt and Mr Eddy, to whom 'he listened with great attention and deep agitation of mind,' after taking a short time to consider, he gave it his hearty support, and ever after uniformly devoted to it his time, talents, and influence, and involved his own popularity and prospects in life in its success, thereby meriting amply and gloriously the splendid triumph which has been awarded to him. In 1811 he and Governeur Morris were made commissioners to solicit the aid of the general government. 'Congress,' says Dr Hosack, 'peremptorily, and happily for the honor and interest of the state of New York, refused their aid.'

'In March, 1812, the commissioners made their report to the legislature, in which it was zealously urged, "that now, sound policy imperatively demanded, that the canal should be made by the state of New York alone, and for her own account, as soon as circumstances would permit; and that it would be a want of wisdom (and almost of piety) not to employ, for public advantage, those means which Providence had placed so completely in their power;" and with prophetic wisdom predicting, that it will ever remain "a testimony to the genius, the learning, the industry, and intelligence of the present age."' p. 102.

But the war of 1812 suspended, for a while, all proceedings in relation to the canal.

'After the war had terminated, many of the former friends of the canal appeared to be entirely discouraged, and to have abandoned all hopes of the legislature being again induced to renew the consideration of that subject. But Mr Eddy could not thus resign a favorite project; and it appeared to him that one more effort should now be made. His early coadjutor, Judge Platt, being in the city of New York holding a court, in the autumn of 1815, Mr Eddy addressed to him a note, requesting a visit from him the succeeding day. The judge, accordingly, accepted the invitation; when Mr Eddy proposed to him, that although the subject of the canal appeared to be entirely abandoned, yet, if it met his approbation, he would undertake to revive the business, by procuring a public meeting to be held, in order to urge the propriety and policy of offering a memorial to the legislature to prosecute the canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson. Judge Platt readily acceded to the proposal, and consented to open the subject to the meeting, if one could be obtained. De Witt Clinton was also, afterwards, called upon by Thomas Eddy in person, and united in adopting measures to procure such public meeting.

A large number of our most respectable citizens met accordingly at the City Hotel. At that memorable meeting the late William Bayard, Esq. acted as chairman, and John Pintard, Esq. as secretary. Judge Platt opened the meeting with an introductory speech, on the immense importance of the contemplated canal both to the city and state. He was followed by De Witt Clinton and others.

'Although some opposition to the proposed measure was expressed by individuals of high consideration in the community, a resolution was nevertheless passed by a large majority in favor of the object. Whereupon De Witt Clinton, Thomas Eddy, Cadwallader D. Colden, and John Swartwout, were appointed a committee to prepare and circulate a memorial to be presented to the legislature in favor of the proposed Erie canal.

'A memorial was drawn and published accordingly, and was extensively diffused throughout every part of the state; and at the ensuing session of the legislature, was presented to that body. It was the production of the pen of De Witt Clinton, and evinced a perfect knowledge of the subject; with a sagacious discernment of its beneficial results to the state and to the nation. Of that splendid and celebrated production, which doubtless was among the most instrumental means of establishing the canal policy on a firm basis, it is remarked by a competent judge,* "that if Mr Clinton had left no other evidence, that memorial alone is sufficient to entitle him to the character of an accomplished writer, an enlightened statesman, and a zealous patriot."' pp. 102—104.

Among the articles in Dr Hosack's Appendix, is a very interesting and lucid account, by Colonel William L. Stone, of the legislative proceedings on this subject, in 1816, and subsequently. In the session of 1816, the uttermost that its friends could obtain, was a vote of twenty thousand dollars for completing the surveys. Mr Van Buren was among the number in favor of postponing the undertaking, and he had great influence in procuring a vote of the senate to that effect. The friends of the measure in the house, who had passed a vote to embark at that time in the undertaking, very reluctantly acquiesced in the vote of the senate. In the spring of 1817, however, Mr Van Buren gave the project his hearty and entire concurrence. And it was probably fortunate that it had been postponed, as great exertions were necessary to give the public a sufficient knowledge of the subject, and inspire them with a sufficient ardor in its favor.

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* Jonas Platt, Esq.

The first decisive act of the legislature for commencing the work was passed in April, 1817. The act, having passed both branches of the legislature, was in danger of being lost in the council of revision. Judge Platt, in a communication to Dr Hosack, gives a particular history of the bill in the council. 'Powerful and appalling obstacles,' says he, 'were presented in the honest doubts and fears of many sensible and prudent men.' After relating the opinions of particular members of the council, he says,

'Near the close of the debate, Vice-president Tompkins came into the council chamber, and took his seat familiarly among us. He joined in the argument, which was informal and desultory. He expressed a decided opinion against the bill; and among other reasons, he stated, that the late peace with Great Britain was a mere truce; that we should undoubtedly soon have a renewed war with that country; and that instead of wasting the credit and resources of the state, in this chimerical project, we ought immediately to employ all the revenue and credit of the state, in providing arsenals, arming the militia, erecting fortifications, and preparing for war. "Do you think so, sir?" said Chancellor Kent. "Yes, sir," was the reply; "England will never forgive us, for our victories on the land, and on the ocean and the lakes; and my word for it, we shall have another war with her, within two years." The Chancellor then rising from his seat, with great animation declared, "If we must have a war or have a canal, I am in favor of the canal, and I vote for this bill." His voice gave us the majority; and so the bill became a law.' pp. 387, 388. But the Chancellor had most probably made up his mind on other grounds.

Though so many distinguished men had embarked in this project and promoted it with their utmost influence, yet from Mr Clinton's position in the state, he seems to have more entirely involved his popularity and political standing, than any other, and he appears to have had the strongest claims to a personal participation in the splendid success which followed. But all his efforts and acknowledged services did not save him from one of those sudden and unaccountable political reverses, of which the life of most men, who are constantly before the public in any political character in this country, affords instances. When the canal was nearly completed, on the twelfth of April, 1824, the two branches of the legislature passed a vote removing Mr Clinton from the board of canal commissioners. The measure, which seems to have been connected in some way with the presidential question, was a

mere party manœuvre, the policy or probable success of which, we are not able distinctly to perceive, from the account given of it by Colonel Stone, in a letter addressed to Dr Hosack, and published in this Appendix. The object, as he states it, was to draw out a minority in defence of Mr Clinton, who, being thus distinguished as his adherents, might be denounced as Clintonians. This denouncing process has often been found to operate with wonderful success in our politics, but we cannot see how it held out any good promise in this case, whatever turn the debate or votes might take. The proposition was suddenly got up, near the close of the session, and when it came down from the senate to the house, says Colonel Stone,

'A sort of panic seemed to prevail, and men looked at each other with fixed and unutterable amazement. As I have just remarked, the house was on the very point of its final adjournment, and many of the members were packing the papers upon their desks, as they were leaving their seats, when the resolution was announced. Mr Cunningham, who was a fine, noble-hearted man, and in reality what Mark Antony pretended to be—"a plain blunt man, who spoke right on," was in the act of putting on his over-coat. But though others stood hesitating and abashed, it was not the case with him. With but a moment for reflection, flinging his coat over his arm, he turned to the speaker, and with a countenance glowing with generous indignation, gave utterance to his feelings in the following bold and manly sentiments, in language warm, and proceeding spontaneously from the heart.

'"Mr Cunningham said he arose with no ordinary feelings of surprise and astonishment at the resolution just read as coming from the senate. Sir, said Mr Cunningham, it is calculated to arouse the feelings of every honorable gentleman on this floor; its very approach is marked with black ingratitude and base design. I do not wish, said Mr Cunningham, to speak disrespectfully of a coördinate branch of the legislature, nor to impute their acts to improper motives, but I hope I may be permitted to inquire, for what good and honorable purpose has this resolution been sent here for concurrence, at the very last moment of the session.

'"Is it to create discord amongst us, and destroy that harmony and good feeling which ought to prevail at our separation? We have, said Mr Cunningham, spent rising of three months in legislation, and not one word has been dropped intimating a desire or intention to expel that honorable gentleman from the board of canal commissioners. Sir, he was called to that place by the united voice and common consent of the people of this state, on account of his peculiar and transcendent fitness to preside at that board, and by his counsel stimulate and forward the great un-

dertaking; his labor for years has been arduous and unceasing for the public good; he endured slander and persecution from every direction like a Christian martyr; but steadfast in his purpose, he pursued his course with a firm and steady step, until all was crowned with success, and the most flagrant of his opposers sat in sullen silence.

'"For what, let me inquire, did Mr Clinton endure all this? Was it for the sake of salary? No, sir; it was for the honor and welfare of his state; it was from noble and patriotic motives, and for which he asked nothing, received nothing, nor did he expect anything but the gratitude of his countrymen.

'"Now, sir, said Mr Cunningham, I put the question to this honorable house to decide, upon the oath which they have taken, and upon their sense of propriety and honor, whether they are ready by their votes to commit the sin of ingratitude.

'"I hope, said Mr Cunningham, there is yet a redeeming spirit in this house; that we shall not be guilty of so great an outrage. If we concur in this resolution, we shall take upon ourselves an awful responsibility, and one for which our constituents will call us to strict account. What, let me ask, shall we answer in excuse for ourselves when we return to an inquisitive and watchful people? What can we charge to Mr Clinton? what can we say that he has been guilty of, that he should now be singled out as an object of state persecution? Will some friend of this resolution be kind enough to inform me? Sir, I challenge inquiry. I demand from the supporters of this high-handed measure, that they lay their hands upon their hearts, and answer me truly, for what cause is the man to be removed?'

'"The senate, it appears, have been actuated by some cruel and malignant passion, unaccounted for, and have made a rush upon this house, and taken us on surprise. The resolution may pass; but if it does, my word for it, we are disgraced in the judgment and good sense of an injured but intelligent community. Whatever the fate of this resolution may be, let it be remembered, that Mr Clinton has acquired a reputation not to be destroyed by the pitiful malice of a few leading partisans of the day.

'"When the contemptible party strifes of the present day shall have passed by, and the political bargainers and jugglers who now hang round this capitol for subsistence, shall be overwhelmed and forgotten in their own insignificance; when the gentle breeze shall pass over the tomb of that great man, carrying with it the just tribute of honor and praise which is now withheld; the pen of the future historian, in better days and in better times, will do him justice, and erect to his memory a proud monument of fame, as imperishable as the splendid works which owe their origin to his genius and perseverance."' pp. 483—485.

This appeal had no effect. 'Many of the ablest and best men,' says Colonel Stone, 'though pricked to the heart with the injustice of the deed, yet were fearful of snares and pitfals, and in the doubt and perturbation of the moment, voted for the resolution.' The result was all that the friends to civil liberty and foes to proscription and intolerance could have desired. This act aroused the spirit of the people to the highest pitch of excitement.

'For fourteen years De Witt Clinton had held the office of a commissioner on the subject of canals, during which period he had bent all the energies of his soul, and all the resources of his capacious mind, to the accomplishment of these mighty works. For years he had to struggle against an opposition, which, it might be supposed would have appalled the most daring, and overwhelmed the stoutest heart. But he breasted himself to the torrent like a giant, and not only turned its current back, but by his resistless powers, compelled his foes to do homage to the triumphs of his genius. And the whole of this period of fourteen years had been devoted to this branch of the public service, without salary or compensation. The intelligence spread with the rapidity of lightning, and the fire of indignation followed in its train. Public meetings were called, and attended by overwhelming numbers, in every part of the state. From Sag-Harbor to Niagara, there was a spontaneous demand from the people to bring back the persecuted patriot and statesman from his retirement. The sequel is known. Mr Clinton was again called to the chief magistracy of the state, by a majority then unparalleled in the annals of our contested elections.' p. 486.

On this subject we shall only add a notice of the final celebration of the completion of the chain of union between the east and the west, in the latter part of October and beginning of November, 1825, the work having been finally completed on the twenty-sixth of October of that year. It was a jubilee worthy of the work and of the state. At that time Mr Clinton was at the zenith of his popularity, being again chief magistrate of the state, and in the full fruition of the respect, gratitude, and confidence of the people. An arrangement had been made for a succession of *fêtes* from Lake Erie to New York city. Governor Clinton, attended by some of his friends and those of the great national work, the completion of which was to be celebrated, was to enter the canal from Lake Erie, and meet assemblies of the citizens on successive days at different points, and join them in festivities, attending public ad-

dresses, and celebrating the epoch with the pomp of proces sions and ceremonials, that might suitably express the feelings of generous triumph and gratulation which animated every bosom. But to prevent any disappointment, in case the work should not be completed at the time anticipated, and also to give some sensible signal, that all the people along this line of more than five hundred miles, were participating with each other in these triumphant gratulations, a line of cannon was formed from point to point within hearing distance, along the whole of the route from Buffalo to New York city. A signal was fired at the moment the boat entered the canal from Lake Erie, and this signal was answered and transmitted through the whole line, and again repeated and transmitted back from New York to Lake Erie, where, three hours after the first signal was given, it was announced that it had been acknowledged and returned through the whole distance. The procession of boats left Buffalo on the twenty-sixth of October, eight years and four months from the time of breaking ground at Rome on the fourth of July, with ceremonies and addresses appropriate to the beginning of so great a work. The procession arrived at New York city on the seventh of November. All circumstances concurred to make this celebration as gratifying and joyous as it was pompous and splendid. Every bosom glowed with one sentiment of generous pride and grateful exultation, and the expressions of humble religious gratitude, uttered by the organs of the public voice, at the successive festivals, were responded with heart-felt sincerity by the assembled multitudes. No lurking envy, or captious exceptions and doubts, or sinister forebodings of warning voices, disturbed the harmony, or damped the general enthusiasm. It was a celebration worthy to be the last scene of so great a work.

Had governor Clinton rendered no other public services than those connected with this work, he would have deserved a high place in his native state and his country, and his character would have filled a bright page in the national history. But his other labors equally make him the ornament and pride of his age; and rendered him a worthy subject of the many honors showered upon him in his own country and from abroad.

'At a very early period of his life, he acquired and cultivated habits of great industry; he rose at an early hour at all seasons of the year. He observed the utmost punctuality in all his en-

gagements; this too he was the better enabled to accomplish, by means of the order and regularity with which he divided the several duties of the day; illustrating by example that well known truth, that he who has the most numerous avocations, is the most attentive and the most punctual in the performance of all; every hour not occupied by his numerous public duties, was devoted to general literature. History, poetry, taste, belles-lettres, metaphysics, natural history, theology, all in turn occupied those portions of his time, not devoted to public business, or the duties of the various stations he filled; and he studiously noted with his pen every fact or principle that he deemed important, or that might be rendered subservient to his intellectual improvement, or to the profit of others; by this habit of collecting in his common-place book what he considered of value, he was enabled to concentrate the ample stores of his knowledge upon the various subjects which occupied his more immediate pursuit; even those smaller portions of the day that are lost by most men, were not unemployed by him; like the goldsmith, who carefully accumulates the smaller particles that drop beneath his hand, and which collected, constitute the ingot, Mr Clinton, in like manner, carefully treasured up the minutest fragments of time, which though inconsiderable in themselves, compose an aggregate of great value.'

'The ordinary and more frivolous amusements of fashionable life presented no attractions to his mind; on the contrary, they were by him, I believe through life, most studiously avoided, as not only involving the loss of time, money, and reputation, but utterly incompatible with those pursuits and views that belong to a man who has at heart his dignity of character, the higher interests of science, or his country's welfare.

'This leads me to notice the merits of Mr Clinton as a writer and speaker. Mr Clinton, as a public speaker, was slow and deliberate in his manner, manifesting the constant exercise of his understanding while in the act of delivery; he also observed great order in the plan of his discourse, arranging his arguments with precision, and with the view of giving to each its appropriate place and effect, exhibiting thereby much previous and careful consideration of his subject; yet such was the quickness of his perception and power of analysis, that he did not require long preparatory deliberation to embrace a full view of the merits of the question which came before him.'

'Such were the ample stores of his mind, that when an extemporaneous expression of his views or opinions was demanded, whether upon the seat of justice, the floor of the senate, or upon any other public occasion, at the shortest notice he could summon to his purpose all the resources of his highly gifted and

cultivated understanding; with these at his command, it may be added, Mr Clinton was enabled to give full force to the discussion in which he was engaged, and to avail himself of the peculiar advantage it afforded him of directing his attention to, and of observing the effects of his argument upon every individual of the body he addressed. Such too was his perception of the effect produced upon his auditory, that I have often heard him say, that when speaking in the senate, or other deliberative assemblies, he could decide at the moment the probable result of his address, and at once ascertain, how far it was safe to urge the question immediately to a decision, or to suggest the expediency of deferring such decision to a more distant day, when he could have the opportunity of adding to the friends of the measure he wished to accomplish.'

'He never indulged in rant or vehemence, either in voice or gesture, yet his clear and logical method and arrangement, the force and perspicuity of style, and dignity of manner, his strong and manly tone of voice, united with his undaunted firmness, gave to his discourse, whether in the judgment-seat or in the hall of legislation, an influence and effect, which no other individual, except the lamented Hamilton, Wells, and Emmet, has ever exercised in our state. As far as inductive reasoning, happy illustration, strong and vigorous language, a style always dignified, and oftentimes highly ornamented, can be considered as constituting eloquence, and are calculated to arrest the attention, and to carry conviction to his auditory, Mr Clinton is entitled to the denomination of an eloquent speaker.' pp. 37—41.

His style, not remarkable for precision of thought, or refinement and accuracy of expression, is animated, bold, and strong; the language lofty and sweeping; the illustrations and allusions, though not always in the most exact taste, drawn from a wide range of reading and study, are always striking. The style, on the whole, faithfully exhibits the expanded views, lofty motives, the elevation above the petty manœuvring and wily intrigues of party, the stern integrity and fearless intrepidity of the man.

Though during a great part of his active life he was tossing among the currents and eddies of our turbulent politics, sufficiently boisterous and agitated in every part of the country, but not least so in New York, yet he snatched a great deal of time for more quiet pursuits, the solaces of reflection and intellectual culture, and cheerfully lent his talents, influence, and labors to various charitable, literary, and economical objects. He was an active member of the New York Historical Socie-

ty, which is greatly indebted to him for its present flourishing condition, and promise of future usefulness. His Discourse before that society on Indian character and antiquities, is the fruit of great industry and research in a course of studies diverging widely from his ordinary pursuits. He was an active member of the Academy of Arts, contributed materially towords the establishment of the Orphan Asylum, the system of public schools, the agricultural societies, the New York City Hospital, the free-school societies. Every philanthropical institution or enterprise found in him a ready, zealous, indefatigable, and powerful friend; the eyes that saw him blessed him, and in future generations thousands will bless without seeing him.

He was a highly distinguished member of the masonic fraternity. We will not enter here into the question of the utility, expediency, or safety of these societies, in respect to which the public has of late been excited. But no doubt the influence obtained by Mr Clinton as a member of this fraternity, greatly extended his means of public usefulness.

'Yielding faith,' says Dr Hosack, 'to the doctrine of contagion, as taught and sustained by the highest authorities in medical philosophy, Mr Clinton was the most strenuous advocate of the most rigorous system of quarantine regulations." Though this is doubtless meant by the author in commendation, it will be considered otherwise by a vast body of the medical profession, as well as others; and admitting the doctrine of contagion in its full latitude, it would not thence follow that the most rigid quarentine regulations are the best. One of the severe quarentine regulations is that of imprisonment, which is undoubtedly justifiable, when required by the safety of the community; but the necessity certainly ought to be pretty satisfactorily made out.

'Upon the most rigid scrutiny of his productions, not a line or word will be found to justify a resort to implied authority from ambiguous phraseology, or to the tyrant's "plea of necessity," for a latitude of construction in ascertaining the extent of limited grants of power. On the contrary, as a Senator, as a Judge, and as a Governor of the State, he constantly repressed the claims of power, steadily resisted the encroachments of the different branches of the government upon the province of each other, and firmly, at much hazard, vindicated the sovereignty of the State, and the individual rights of the citizen.' p. 43.

On some occasions, of which this Memoir supplies instances, Mr Clinton showed himself the assertor of the authority of the laws in opposition to the momentary excitements of popular feeling. We are not, therefore, to infer from the above passage, that he carried his apprehensions of the usurpations of authority to the extreme of screening the criminal from the just penalties of the violated laws. The general expression above quoted of "vindicating the sovereignty of the State" has some reference, we presume, to those passages in Governor Clinton's addresses and messages relating to the jurisdiction and legal administration of the courts of the United States. But we think the ground taken by him on this subject, was at least very questionable; we certainly should not choose these passages as the fittest subjects of eulogy.

Mr Clinton died at Albany on the eleventh day of February 1828. The concluding scene of his life is thus described;

'On the Friday preceding his death, after a long conversation I held with him in his library, I bade him a last farewell," under the fullest conviction, as I confidently expressed to his more immediate friends, that I should never see Mr Clinton more.

'On the Monday following, the eleventh of February, he performed his ordinary duties at the capitol; rode a few miles into the country with his family; returned to town; met some friends at dinner, and afterwards, as was his habit, retired to his study for the transaction of official business, and his accustomed literary pursuits. While sitting in his library, he was suddenly seized with a sense of oppression and stricture across the chest; he spoke to his son sitting near him, who was then writing, performing some duty that had been directed by his father, described to him the distressful and, as he feared, fatal sensation he experienced. Medical aid was instantly called for. By the direction of his son, some drink was given him. He walked into the hall, but soon returned to his chair in the library;—the hand of death was upon him—his head fell upon his breast. A physician arrived, but too late;—all efforts, though unremittingly continued for some hours, to recall his parting spirit, proved unavailing;—sense—consciousness—intelligence—had fled for ever;—Clinton was no more.' p. 131.

Mr Clinton's 'person was tall, exceeding six feet in height, of a fine form, and well proportioned. In his earlier years he was remarkable for his thin and slender make; but in the latter part of his life, his frame became expanded, and in consequence of lameness from an accidental injury, by which he was deprived of his customary exercise, he acquired a fulness of habit, which predis-

posed him to the diseases that ultimately supervened, and in their consequences led to his dissolution. His carriage was elevated; his movements deliberate and dignified, sometimes manifesting great earnestness, but never precipitancy.

'His head was well formed and particularly distinguished for the great height and breadth of his forehead; his hair was brown; his complexion brilliant; his nose finely proportioned and of the Grecian form; his lip thin, and of that peculiar configuration that some critics have deemed indicative of eloquence.

'His eyes were of a dark hazel color, but peculiarly quick and expressive; sometimes indicating all the playfulness of the most vivid imagination; upon other occasions, moistened with a tear, displaying the most tender emotion that can weigh upon the heart; but when a sense of injury or wrong called for redress, the same eye could flash the fire of indignation in expressing the powerful feelings that were then passing through his mind. The muscles of his face, especially when exercised in conversation, or in public speaking, were strongly marked, and exhibited the impulse and energy of the soul that animated them.' p. 120.

'In all the changes of a long and eventful life, he was never known to abandon a faithful friend. His gratitude for past services was ever a prominent trait in his character; his fidelity to those from whom he had ever received an act of kindness was proverbial.' p. 123.

Mr Clinton was twice married; first to Maria Franklin, daughter of Walter Franklin, a merchant of New York, and member of the society of Friends. Of the ten children of this lady, four out of seven sons, and two out of three daughters, have survived both parents, and are now living. His second marriage was in 1819, to Catharine Jones, daughter of Thomas Jones, a physician of New York. It appears that Mr Clinton left his family little other inheritance than the rich one of his fame, and the affectionate recollections of all who knew him.

This Memoir by Dr Hosack is written in a very candid, liberal spirit. Though he was the warm friend and great admirer of Mr Clinton, he does not indulge in resentment towards his competitors and enemies. The work does great credit to his industry and good judgment. We think that the public will join with the assembly before which the discourse was delivered, in thanking Dr Hosack for his performance. He has shown an indefatigable activity in collecting materials, by a wide range of inquiry and correspondence; and has thus drawn out many historical facts and documents to be transmitted to posterity, which but for his labors would probably not have been rescued from oblivion.

ART. XII.—*Travels in North America in the Years* 1827 *and* 1828. By Captain BASIL HALL, Royal Navy. 2 vols. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey.

CAPTAIN HALL is entitled to the thanks of those, with whom he became acquainted in the United States, for the abstinence from personality which marks his work. Almost every one of his countrymen, who had preceded him, had filled his Travels with personal anecdotes of the individuals whom he met. The names of the gentlemen who invited him to dinner, the domestic relations of the families to which he was introduced, the conversation of the social table and of the fireside were basely resorted to,—often with the most profligate admixture of pure fiction,—to give piquancy to the book. The inference naturally drawn, that these travellers were no gentlemen in the real sense of that term, and knew neither what belonged to politeness nor common decency, carried with it little consolation to the victims. At length America was honored by a tourist of a different class; no Manchester *traveller*, no Scotch gardener, no legacy-hunting Cockney, who, in the failure of honester resources, was fain to defray the expenses of his voyage by the sale of a volume of libellous trash, seasoned to the prevailing appetite for abuse of the United States. Far otherwise; we were visited by a noble, even a princely stranger; a member of one of the most enlightened reigning families in Europe, brought up in courts. In the record of his travels, we expected, at least, to be safe against this inglorious annoyance; but as the fatality of the case would have it, his Serene Highness turned over the entire contents of his portfolio, to an unlucky professor at Jena, who, under the influence of that principle of *loyalty*, which Captain Hall commends as the peculiar glory of the British character, deemed that nothing which his master had noted, sketched, or collected could be improved, either by retrenchment or selection, and wisely inflicted the whole farrago of the princely traveller, with all its personalities and private gossip, on the unoffending community of the *travellés*. We have some authority for saying, that nobody can regret this untoward occurrence, more than the Duke of Saxe-Weimar himself. Captain Hall, as the next prominent successor of the Duke, is doubly entitled to praise, for keeping his pages free from the names of individuals, and

the detail of what he saw and heard, beneath the roofs of those, who sought or fell into his society. We are aware that in so doing, he has sacrificed something of the interest of his work; not merely, in this country, for which he intimates that he did not write; but even in his own country, where, though the individuals that would have been mentioned, might not have been known, there is a universal appetite for personality, to which anecdotes of the obscurest characters are more welcome, than general and abstract accounts of very important matters. It might be thought no great merit, that a respectable writer should abstain from personalities, painful to those who had treated him kindly; but it is a merit which Captain Hall has to share with very few of his colleagues.

Captain Hall has not only punctiliously abstained from offensive personalities, but he professes throughout, and, we doubt not, sincerely, a great degree of personal good will and kind feeling toward the Americans, with whom he became acquainted on his tour. Without flattering himself that his account will be very popular in America, he assures us, he shall deeply lament having written on the subject at all, if his pages shall be thought to contain a single expression, inconsistent with the gratitude, which, in common with his family, 'he must ever feel for the attention and hospitality he received from the Americans, or with the hearty good will we bear to every individual whom we met with in their widely extended country.' This is very handsomely said, and ought to satisfy us as to Captain Hall's intentions. But as some of his former works have passed through more than one edition, and such may be the case with his Travels in America, we think it a sort of duty, to advert to a train of remark, into which he has repeatedly fallen, and which well deserves his reconsideration, in a future impression of his book, as ungracious in itself, inconsistent with his avowed and, we doubt not, sincere wish to avoid giving personal offence, and in point of fact probably without foundation. We allude to the repeated complaints of the importunity of those, with whom the Captain became acquainted, in forcing him to see the various objects of interest and curiosity in the different places he visited.

'For my share,' says the Captain, on arriving at Baltimore, 'I was beyond measure relieved, by finding it was not the custom of the place, to cram down our throats their institutions, their town, their bay, their liberty, their intelligence, and so forth. On

the contrary, all was rational and moderate praise, and fair play in these matters. It was also quite a comfort to learn, how little was to be seen, in the way of sights. Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to say so; but there is a limit to the exertions of travellers as well as of other people, and what I saw at the great cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia had so completely satiated me with institutions, jails, schools, and hospitals, that it was comfortable to find one's self in the midst of a pleasant circle of people, who left such things to make their own impression, and were not eternally reproaching their guests with wilful neglect of their city, when all the while their poor bodies and souls were worn out in trying to do it justice.'

The Russian navigator, Captain Golownin, in his interesting account of the people of Japan, among whom he travelled as a prisoner (the only way in which any foreigner can travel among them), says, that he observed, as he passed along, that the people of the villages, through which he was carried, were busy in taking *their* notes of what they remarked in him and the attendant train. Had the good people of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, who had the happiness to make Captain Hall's acquaintance, kept their journal as he kept his, and given it to the world, it is possible that this process, on their part, which he rather pointedly calls 'cramming down his throat,' might have assumed a different aspect, or at least have borne a different name. Captain Hall, on arriving at Boston, found himself provided with twenty letters of introduction. He proposed, at first, to make a selection of those, which he thought most likely to prove useful. This he forbore, for want of the necessary knowledge of the parties, and writing his address on each letter, 'sent out the whole batch' (perhaps through the post-office), 'and sat still to watch the result.'

'The sun was scarcely set, before a considerable number of persons called, and the next day, we had a crowd of visitors, all not only willing to give us advice as to our proceedings, but to lend us their personal assistance in seeing the lions. Every one was naturally anxious, that we should see things in the most favorable light, and of course fancied that he could do the honors, most successfully in that respect. This was very agreeable; and the only difficulty, by no means a small one, was, to settle what we should see first and under whose patronage. One gentleman recommended to us to go at once to the "Factories" at Lowell, twenty-five miles off. Another exclaimed, "The thing best worth seeing is our Navy Yard at Charlestown." A third said, "O, no, our hospitals certainly are by far the most interesting objects of curiosity for a stranger."'

In another chapter the Captain says,

'It was quite dark before we got back to Boston, where next day we recommenced our round of sight-seeing, which we performed with so much industry, that in the course of a week, hardly a single institution was left unvisited. Rope-works, printing-offices, houses of correction, prisons, hospitals, penitentiaries, schools, alms-houses, navy and building yards, passed in quick, but not in careless review before us. All that our friends desired us to see, we made a point of seeing. It mattered not what it was we wished to examine; scarcely was the wish expressed, when immediately some one left his business, at a minute's warning, to become our zealous and useful guide. All this busy intercourse brought us into very pleasing habits of acquaintance with the good citizens of Boston, with whose manners, appearance, and style altogether, we were much taken.' Vol. i. p. 291.

Here the Captain evidently comes to the true conclusions. The 'crowd of visiters' that overwhelmed him, was produced by his despatching his 'batch' of twenty letters at once. The different objects they recommended to his attention proved that he had luckily brought letters to persons of different pursuits or tastes. Their eagerness to show, each the object with which he happened to be acquainted, was probably prompted by the very terms of Captain Hall's letters, and was intended partly as a mark of respect to the distant friends, by whom those letters were written. The supposition that Captain Hall wished, on his own account, to see the institutions and establishments of the country, was a natural, though, judging from his remarks at Baltimore, an erroneous supposition, at least at that stage of his journey. The fact that his friends in Boston left their business (which the Bostonians are not fonder of doing, than their brethren beyond the Atlantic), at a minute's warning, to wait upon him, authorizes the inference, that they considered themselves, not as imposing a burden on their guest, but as furthering his views, at some sacrifice of their own convenience. In short, if all this, as the Captain assures us, while writing at Boston, was very pleasant and agreeable, the terms in which he reverts to it, at Baltimore, are as inappropriate, as they are severe. Captain Hall has been a great traveller, and possibly has been more abroad than at home. We are quite sure he would, with great zeal, discharge all the duties of a resident to any traveller thrown within his reach; but he may have to learn, from experience,

that when, to do this, 'he leaves his business at a minute's warning,' it is not pleasant to find that he has been regarded, by those he meant to serve, as cramming objects of supposed curiosity down their throats;—and for so doing, be held up to the ridicule of the reading world in England and America.

We will dwell a moment on another topic pretty closely allied to this. Captain Hall remarks many times, that the Americans constantly themselves praised what they called him to examine. They perplexed him with apologies for what they felt was amiss, excuses for what was absent, exaggerated praises of what they thought commendable; and thus manœuvred and managed to make him compliment them. This was the case at Boston, Albany, West Point, and we believe everywhere but Baltimore. Some few intelligent persons only have credit for their abstinence from this kind of persecution. Now, with reference to statements like this in Captain Hall's book, we are somewhat embarrassed. We believe sincerely that he aims at accuracy throughout. We have no doubt he believes he saw and heard everything, which he says he saw and heard; and we are sure he has not intentionally misrepresented anything. But the thing itself, now alleged, is one which has never fallen under our observation; though we have had some opportunities of witnessing how travellers are habitually received in this neighborhood, and some experience of the way, in which they are treated in other parts of the country. We never saw nor heard, in any portion of the country, anything of this preposterous exaction of praise. The thing itself is grossly indelicate; it is at war with the very instinct of politeness; a slight disparagement of the entertainment you offer a stranger being universal in all countries and all communities, of which we have any knowledge; and we are only left to suppose that Captain Hall felt some unfriendly process passing in his own mind, and ascribed to the Americans the corresponding sentiment. Conscious that he was dissatisfied, he fancied that they penetrated his feeling, and challenged his praise. Take, for instance, West Point. Captain Hall says,

'The commandant was kind enough to take me over the whole establishment, including several of the class-rooms, where the cadets were hard at work, in a very business-like manner. My opinion was asked about several points, and of course freely given. I felt scrupulous as to intruding it upon subjects, to which my attention was not expressly called, especially as it happened that I was merely asked what things I approved of, never the contrary.' Vol. i. p. 51.

Now the commandant, if Captain Hall means the superintendent of the post at West Point, is well known in the United States, as a gentleman, quite as incapable of the want of taste and good manners ascribed to him, as Captain Hall is of making an intentional misstatement. The only rational solution of the difficulty is, that the Captain felt himself in the condition of a dissatisfied tourist, and imagined that all who met him read his feelings, and were determined to extort from him all the praise they could.

The truth is, Captain Hall evidently mistook his own feelings, and came to this country with principles and opinions utterly incapacitating him from receiving favorable impressions of it. As he is at considerable pains to explain his previous feelings, and as the confidence, to which his opinions are entitled, really depends not a little on the prepossessions under which they were formed, it is a matter of some importance, in the criticism of his work, to settle this point. He tells us, that his first acquaintance with America commenced in 1804 and 1805, as a midshipman on board the Leander flag-ship, on the Halifax station. If he remained two or three years in that vessel, or on that station, he was on our coasts during a period of greater and more universal irritation, than ever existed between the two countries in time of peace; and he confesses, that he himself 'was not very well disposed toward the Americans.' The Captain thinks he got over these feelings, and acquired friendly ones in their place. He alleges, however, no occasion for the change, but his having been thrown far from this country in the course of service, having had his knowledge of mankind extended, and having heard Americans praise their own country in the most animating and unqualified manner. Whether these circumstances were likely to work a change in a person of Captain Hall's opinions, all of which are at variance with notions universally received in this country,—who believes that an established church is the sheet-anchor of the state; that loyalty *to the person* of the king, distinct from attachment to the institutions and soil of the country, is the glory of an Englishman; and who made his first acquaintance with America as an officer on board the admiral's ship, on the Halifax station, twenty-three years ago,—we leave to judges of human nature to say.

Captain Hall admits, that the favorable predispositions, with which he landed in America, were changed to feelings some-

what different. It might be inferred, when he speaks of 'the gradual destruction of his best hopes on the subject,' that this change was slow, and the result of his general survey of the whole country and deliberate study of its institutions. We find, however, on the ninth of August, 1827, that the Captain's mind was already made up. On that day, he was invited to a public dinner, at Brockville, in Upper Canada; and in a speech to the company, he indirectly compares the revolution of the United States to a mutiny of the British navy, more injurious to the mutineers than to the government; he rather sneeringly mentions our government, in connexion with that of Chile (which he calls a queer-looking political infant), as 'another description of infant, of age the day it was born;' and he leaves the Canadians to judge, 'whether it has grown older or younger, stronger or weaker, by time.' He tells them, 'they are not so *unfortunate* as to be independent of England, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, nor is she of them, but that they are much better off than if they were.' Captain Hall, at this time, had passed just *forty-five days* in the United States. He had seen little or nothing, in our country, but the city of New York, the penitentiaries of that state, which he commends as models; West Point, which he thinks well conducted; the Highlands, Stockbridge, the Erie canal, and the western part of the prosperous state of New York. He had not yet seen our verbose, nought-doing legislatures, our ignorant, changeable courts of justice, our stormy elections, our slavery, our backwoods, our southern regions of *malaria*. And yet he had come to the grand and decisive conclusions just mentioned. If Captain Hall's account of the progress and change of his opinions be correct, it must be allowed that he came to very decisive results, in a very short time, and on very partial observations. But the whole history which he gives us of his feelings shows, that he mistook that personal complacency and kindliness, which are acquired in the process of obtaining, and from the fact of possessing, a hundred or two of letters of introduction to a country you intend to explore, for a real prepossession in favor of the country itself. We cannot,—giving Captain Hall credit for any impartiality and talent of philosophical observation,—suppose, that the forty-five days, after his first landing, in which he really fell in with nothing very inauspicious, produced the great conclusions which he announced at Brockville. It is

impossible, that the Captain should have approached us in a frame of mind enabling him to see the country in a favorable light. We have no doubt he intended to do us justice; it may be that he does it. Rhadamanthus was not an unjust judge, though he scourged first and then listened. Captain Hall had certainly inflicted on us the sentence of his disapprobation, before he had seen much of the country, or any of the things he most disrelishes.

We shall farther illustrate this, by an instance of unfavorable judgment of America, occurring very early in his travels, and in which, we are constrained to say, the Captain deals us out very hard measure. On his ascent up the North River, he makes these remarks;

'All the world over, I suspect the great mass of people care mighty little about scenery, and visit such places merely for the sake of saying they have been there. I own, however, that I was at first rather taken in with respect to this matter in America; and really fancied, from the flaming descriptions we had given us of the wonders and beauties of the country, that the persons describing it were more than usually sensible to its charms. But we now began to suspect, most grievously, that our friends, of whom we were striving with all our might to think well in every point, were, like most folks elsewhere, nearly as insensible to the beauties of nature, as we had reason to fear, from their public exhibitions, they were to the graces of art.

'On board the steam-boats on the superb Hudson, and in the canal-boat on the pretty Mohawk, the scenery was either unheeded, or when noticed at all, was looked at by our companions with indifference. There was, I grant, now and then, a great deal of talk about such things; and we had seen in their road-books and other writings much about the extraordinary wonders, and the natural beauties of their country; but as yet, generally speaking, we had met a perfect insensibility to either, on the part of the inhabitants. Neither is this to be explained by supposing them to have become too well acquainted with the objects in question; for I think it happens generally, that when there is a real, and not an imaginary, perception of the beauties of nature, the pleasure arising from their contemplation goes on increasing; and habit, so far from rendering such scenes too familiar to be interesting, only contributes to unfold new points for admiration. Since, however, it is impossible to maintain artificial rapture for more than a few minutes, it is easier to say nothing at all; and thus we have an explanation of the anomaly alluded to.' Vol. I. pp. 68, 69.

Here we are accused of indifference to the beauties of natural scenery, and to the graces of art; of making flaming descriptions of what we do not feel; of perfect insensibility to the extraordinary wonders and natural beauties of the country. This is a little softened at first, it is true, by saying that a like indifference to scenery exists among the people everywhere. But if the Captain is in earnest in this admission, we do not see why anything need have been said on the subject. The European road-books are as full of this kind of description as ours; and if the Captain thinks, that both in America and in Europe it is all sham, there is no need of dwelling upon it at all. But there is a pointedness in the reproach, as applied to America, which cannot be mistaken. The Captain will not, at first, allow that this seeming indifference is the effect of habit. 'If the perception,' says he, 'is real, not imaginary, the pleasure increases by indulgence.' This is on the eighteenth of June, when the Captain had in hand to show the apathy of the Americans. On the sixteenth of July, when it was his object to apologize for himself, he tells us, that 'he knows few things more fatiguing than fine scenery; and I suspect, most people, after passing three or four weeks in Switzerland, if they dared own it, would say, they were right glad to escape into Italy, or even into France. At all events, we had not much fatigue of this kind to complain of, for take it all in all, a more unpicturesque country is hardly to be found anywhere.'

Take it all in all! The Captain, as appears by the line on his map, as well as from his book, saw but an exceedingly small part of America; about as much as a man would see of England, who should drive in the mail-coach from Liverpool to London, and thence to Edinburgh, by the way of Carlisle. With the exception of what he saw in New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, he actually saw no portion of those regions, which could, in the common course of physical geography, present fine scenery. He visited neither the highlands of New Hampshire, Vermont, Virginia, nor any of the Western states. With the exceptions mentioned, he adhered to the alluvial belt along the sea-coast, and to the great rivers. This surely is not taking the country all in all. But we did not mean to dwell on that point, not caring whether the country be picturesque or unpicturesque, and unwilling to assimilate, for a moment, the travels of Captain Hall and Dr Syntax.

We wished only to point out, how the Captain gives himself the benefit of a principle, of which he denies the benefit to us. But at length he gets back from his Canadian excursion, and reaches Lake George. His remarks, on this occasion, on the subject of scenery, taken in connexion with those already quoted, are certainly conceived in a resolution to find nothing right.

'On the eighth of September we made a delightful voyage along Lake George, freely acknowledging [why freely acknowledging?] that we had come at last to some beautiful scenery in the United States, beautiful in every respect, and leaving nothing to wish for. I own that Lake George exceeded my expectations, as far as it exceeds the power of the Americans to overpraise it, which is no small compliment.' [A greater one to the lake than to the Americans. But this, though rather ungracious, and in its place gratuitous, for it seems the Americans are right for once, might pass. What follows is the ingenuity of fault-finding.] 'I began now to suspect, however, that they really preferred many things, which have no right to be mentioned in the same day with this finished piece of lake scenery. At all events, I often heard Lake George spoken of, by them, without that degree of animation, of which they were so lavish on some other, and as I thought, very indifferent topics of admiration.

'It is difficult, I must confess, to discover precisely what people feel with respect to scenery, and I may be wrong in supposing so many of my Transatlantic friends insensible to its influence. But certainly during our stay in the country, while we heard many spots lauded to the utmost length that words could go, we had often occasion to fancy there was no genuine sentiment at the bottom of all this praise. At the time I speak of, this was a great puzzle to me; and I could not understand the apparent indifference shown to the scenery of this beautiful lake, by most of our companions. Subsequent experience, however, led me to see, that where the fine arts are not steadily cultivated, where in fact there is little taste for that description of excellence, and not very much is known about it, there cannot possibly be much hearty admiration of the beauties of nature.' Vol. i. p. 220.

Here the Captain inadvertently gives a reason for the wrong fault. What he was here to account for was the alleged indifference to Lake George, compared with other scenery; and we fancy it would indeed puzzle the Captain to give a plausible account of this imaginary perversity of taste. Forgetting that this was the problem he had put and undertaken to solve, the Captain reverts to his old point, that his 'trans-

atlantic friends' are insensible to all scenery. When they affect to admire it, they are insincere; what they do praise is of an inferior kind; and to that which is perfect they are insensible! This tenacious pursuit of a matter so small, with the seemingly fixed purpose to find nothing right about it, appears to us to comport better with the character of the Fearons and the Fauxes, than with that of so distinguished and liberal a traveller as Captain Hall.

His remarks about the weather are equally ungracious and querimonious. Captain Hall went to Cambridge, and

'On returning to town, half drowned in the deluges of rain, which had been falling all the morning, we were much amused with the apologies made to us by every one we met, for the state of the weather,—as if they could help its raining and blowing!' 'Almost every person was in the fidgets about the bad weather; not at all on account of its inconvenience either to themselves or to us,—that seemed quite a subordinate consideration,—but purely as it acted against their nationality, by making us suspect their climate was not much better than that of England.

'In general, the month of October is very fine in that part of the country—at least so we were told a hundred times—and we should have believed the fact implicitly upon one tithe of these assurances, had not doubts been raised in our minds by this incessant show of irritation at the poor elements, for daring to belie the fine speeches made in their favor. We really did not care two straws about the matter, and, if nothing had been said, would not have minded what could not be helped; for we were far too much interested by the novelty of all we saw, and far too grateful for the hospitality which met us at every turn, to think of drawing those offensive comparisons between the two climates, with which the good people of Boston fancied our heads were full, when, in truth, it was only our wet feet that gave us any concern.' Vol. I. pp. 284, 285.

Had this come from any body, but a gentleman of exemplary politeness and good manners, we should have thought it quite small and positively unamiable. What more natural, when you have taken a lady and gentleman on an excursion of pleasure, in which you have been overtaken by a drenching shower, than to express your regret? What more forced, than for the lady and gentleman to call such expressions of regret 'apologizing for the weather?' What more gratuitous, than to say, the bad weather was regretted, not on account of the exposure of the health of your friends—one of whom is a lady,—but because it weakens your argument in a national controversy?

What more natural, than that every different individual that Captain Hall met (not knowing what others had said) should, in the month of October, speak of the proverbially genial weather, which prevails in New England in that month? What more a matter of course, than to observe,—if such were the fact,—that the abundant rains of that particular October were unseasonable? What more harsh than to call this, 'irritation at the elements for belying the fine speeches made in their favor'?

We must take leave to add, that the indifference, which Captain Hall here expresses to the state of the weather, is what, upon reflection, he can hardly feel, or if he does, it is a factitious feeling. The state of the weather nearly imports the health, the spirits, and the convenience of almost every man. In all countries it is a prominent, as it is a natural topic of conversation. It is a vastly more dignified and curious one, than most of the topics, to which people, who have been told at boarding-school that it is vulgar to talk about the weather, make an affected resort, as a substitute. And in point of fact, Captain Hall, in the whole course of his book, habitually and on every occasion adverts to the weather, in his narrative. We think it highly probable that he travelled with a thermometer, hygrometer, and barometer; that he kept a regular meteorological journal; and that it was very difficult for a cloud to sail up from the horizon, without his noting whether it was *cirro-stratus* or *cumulo-stratus*. If Captain Hall did not do all this, Alexander Humboldt did.

The persons of whom Captain Hall speaks so plainly, it will be remembered, are designated by him as his friends; they were endeavoring to exercise toward him the duties of hospitality, and more especially to promote his objects as a traveller; and for these their intentions, the Captain professes, and we have no doubt feels, a sentiment of gratitude. While ridiculing the bad taste and excess of their attentions, Captain Hall has this advantage, that he delicately suppresses names, and makes an earnest profession of kindness to individuals; and thus, without necessarily giving personal offence, is able, not merely to make harsh allusions, which must bring themselves pretty near home to somebody; but to adopt a general tone toward the country, in a high degree unfriendly. We would imitate, as far as possible, this discreet and delicate course pursued by Captain Hall. We wish to speak with plainness and disappro-

bation of his work, as respects matter, manner, and spirit; but in doing so, we wish to separate the book from the writer, or rather the writer from the man. We are as sincere as Captain Hall can be, in disclaiming a wish or willingness to offend, and have no other object than to speak fairly and truly of his publication, regarding it as one calculated to affect the public mind, in England, on the subject of America. We shall accordingly, without further preliminary reflections, proceed to make a few observations on several portions of these volumes, without any other arrangement, than the succession of topics presented in the volumes themselves.

Captain Hall landed at New York on the fifteenth of May, and with the exception of an excursion to Stockbridge, proceeded, by the usual route, through New York to the falls of Niagara. One of the first things, which arrested his attention, was the excellent breakfast served up at the hotel, where he took lodgings. This is described in two or three pages, in terms like these;

'But I am quite forgetting the glorious breakfast! We had asked merely for some fresh shad, a fish reported to be excellent, as indeed it proved. But a great, steaming, juicy beafsteak also made its appearance, flanked by a dish of mutton cutlets. The shad is a native of the American waters, I believe exclusively, and if so, it is almost worthy of a [worth a?] voyage across the Atlantic, to make its acquaintance. To these viands were added a splendid arrangement of snow white rolls, regiments of hot toast, with oceans of tea and coffee.' Vol. i. p. 8.

There is a good deal of such information and such writing in Captain Hall's work, which we cannot think to be in very good taste; although, as good writing is one of the fine arts—and the finest of them,—and as Captain Hall assures his reader there is little taste for the fine arts in this country, and not very much known about them, we may be wholly wrong. It is, indeed, with considerable diffidence, that we express the opinion, that the style of Captain Hall errs in the extreme of plainness. It is frequently slovenly, and still more frequently incorrect. His pages contain a good deal of bad grammar, and several words, which are neither English nor American. With respect to the matter of the quotation we have just given, who that finds Captain Hall, at the close of his work, despatching in a single chapter, and that a short one, the whole tour from Louisville, by the way of the rivers, to St Louis, back

through Illinois and Indiana to Louisville, up the river to Ohio and Pittsburg, and across the mountains to Philadelphia, but must regret, that the numerous and detailed descriptions of breakfasts and dinners, and the like small matters, could not have been retrenched to make room for his observations on the Western country?

Captain Hall went down to breakfast at the *table d'hôte*, in order to get acquainted with some of the *natives*, as he calls them, and this he thought 'would be the easiest thing in the world.' But 'our familiar designs were all frustrated, by the imperturbable silence and gravity of the company. At dinner, which was at three o'clock, we were again baffled by the same cold and civil but very unsociable formality.' Why this should surprise Captain Hall, just arriving from England, we cannot imagine. The defect in our American manners alluded to is unquestionable. No one who has travelled in France, or associated with Frenchmen, can fail to perceive what an advantage, both for immediate ease and permanent cheerfulness, is possessed by that amiable people, in the facility of their intercourse. But Captain Hall never met any other manners, than those he censures at New York, in any part of his own country; and if he himself was prepared to adopt in a different mode of approaching strangers, it was because his habits as a traveller had overcome his temper as an Englishman. Captain Hall not unfrequently alludes to the feelings we ought to cherish towards England, as the mother country. On this point at least, if on no other, we may well say to him,

> 'Have you not love enough to bear with us,
> When that *cold* humor, which our mother gave us,
> Makes us forgetful?'

While at New York, Captain Hall visited the high-school for girls, and while there, on being appealed to, on the subject of reading, entered into an argument with the schoolmistress, on the pronunciation of the words *combat* and *chivalry*. The little girls, it seems, had pronounced the *o*, in the first word, like *o* in *commerce;* and the *ch* in *chivalry* like *sh*. Captain Hall very properly and correctly informed her, that in England, the *o*, in the word in question, was pronounced like short *u—cumbat*, and the *ch* as in *chin;* and that such was the pronunciation of Walker's Dictionary. In a subsequent part of his work, Captain Hall relates the substance of a conversation which he held with Mr Noah Webster, in which that gentle-

man stated that, in reference to words pronounced differently in the two countries,

He '"would adopt that pronunciation, which was most consonant to the principles of the English language." "For example, you in England universally say *ch*ivalry, we as generally say *sh*ivalry; but I should certainly give it according to the first way, as more consistent with the principles of the language. On the other hand, your way [the English] of pronouncing the word *deaf* is *def;* ours, as if it were written *deef;* and as this is the correct mode, from which you have departed, I shall adhere to the American way."'

In cases, where more than one mode of pronouncing a word has considerable currency, it may be difficult to say, which is the most approved either in England or America. We remember to have asked one of the most fastidious speakers in the British Parliament, a member of the House of Lords, whether he would pronounce the vowel in the first syllable of *rather*, like *a* in *father*, in *hat*, or in *hate;* and he declared himself unable to decide among the three sounds, which was of best authority. Still, however, we hold that pronunciation is a matter of authority and usage; and we think the cases must be very rare, and present a very well admitted ambiguity, to authorize us, as Mr Webster proposes, to resort to principles of the English language, in defiance of the received English pronunciation. We also deny wholly the propriety of making a distinction between the American usage and the English usage, *as such*, and the setting up of a standard for each. The two examples which Mr Webster has chosen, as reported by Captain Hall, show the difficulty and the impropriety of such an attempt. Mr Webster, it seems, thinks that in America *deaf* is pronounced *deef*, and *chivalry* is pronounced *shivalry*. We differ as to the fact, in both cases, or rather our experience is different from Mr Webster's experience. If our ears do not mislead us, both these words are generally pronounced by good speakers in America, as they are in England.

Being on the subject of language, we will dwell a moment on the topic of Americanisms. Every one recollects the din kept up by the English tourists and critics, on this subject, for several years, and not yet wholly appeased. Accordingly Captain Hall was surprised, when Mr Webster assured him, that there were not fifty words in all, which are used in America and not in England, and he (Captain Hall) was unable to collect nearly that number. What a comment on the pages of

sarcasm, grave and gay, with which the British press has teemed on this subject, from the Edinburgh and Quarterly down. Captain Hall was still more surprised and incredulous, when told that even these fifty words were originally most orthodox English words, brought over to America by the early settlers, and preserved in use here, while they have become obsolete on the other side of the water. Subsequent inquiry, however, Captain Hall informs us, as far as he has pushed it, has also confirmed this statement.

It is inconceivable to us how, in the work containing representations like these, Captain Hall could have admitted a train of remarks, like that which fills the latter portion of the sixteenth chapter. The main proposition there supported by him is, that the misconstructions and misunderstandings of English travellers in America arise 'from an imperfect acquaintance with the very language (the English) supposed to be common to both' nations. The Captain remarks, that

'In America it so happens,—I don't at present inquire wherefore,—that the English language is somewhat modified. I speak not alone of the meaning of individual words, in many of which also the change is abundantly perceptible, but chiefly of the general acceptation of language, as connected with a set of feelings, and a state of circumstances, materially different from those which exist in England.' Vol. i. p. 241.

At the risk of being quoted as an illustration of the truth and justice of Captain Hall's statement, we must candidly allow, that in this remark and in what follows, to the end of the chapter, our limited knowledge of the English language, and of the state of things in England and America, does not enable us to comprehend the Captain's drift. He does not favor us with any *fact* or *instance*, but confines himself to such assertions as these; 'Both parties will often be wider of the intended mark, than if their respective languages,—as happens between our neighbors the French and us,—were entirely different, not merely in their local usage or occasional idiom, but in their whole structure.' 'I will say this, that in all my travels, both amongst heathens and amongst Christians, I have never encountered any people by whom I found it nearly so difficult to make myself understood as by the Americans.' When it is recollected, that Captain Hall has been a traveller among several eastern nations, of whose dialects he must have been utterly ignorant, and by whom of course he could not have

been understood at all, it will be admitted, that there is an extravagance, nay a wildness, in assertions like these, which seriously impairs his pretensions to the character of a philosophical observer or a calm describer.

Having made these strange, unaccountable statements, Captain Hall follows them up with another, if possible still more fantastic, and which he utters himself with some misgiving, 'as looking a little paradoxical at first.' 'So much for language,' says he; 'but I may take this occasion, though rather premature, to add, that I consider America and England, as differing more from one another in many essential respects, than any two European nations I have ever visited.' We do not know what may be 'essential respects,' in the comparison of nations, in Captain Hall's system. As commonly considered, descent, language, law, and the form of government, would be entitled to be so called. Nine tenths of our people are of English descent, and that traced back barely two centuries. We speak a language, in which Captain Hall could not collect fifty words peculiar to ourselves; and that is more than can be said of the current language of any two counties of old England. Our law is English law, with as few alterations, perhaps, as have taken place in the English law at home, in any period of two centuries since the time of William the Conqueror. Our government, though certainly very different from the English, resembles it in that which alone has given strength and credit to the English government, we mean a system of representation, and this also, English writers often boast, we have borrowed from them. We should be glad to know what two European nations are more like each other, in these or any other respects, than England and America. Paradoxes like these pass the limits of piquant exaggeration, and create just doubts of the general soundness of a writer's discretion.

Before we quite leave the topic of language, we must point out another of these strange overstatements. We shall presently have to speak of the resolute partiality, with which Captain Hall views every thing within the British North American dominions, contrasted with his coldness towards the United States. In nothing is this contrast more distinct, perhaps, than in the following observation.

'I may here take occasion to remark, when treating of these customs and other refinements, that *in every part of Canada* we found the inhabitants *speaking English*, and acting and looking

like Englishmen, without any discernible difference. The dress of the people, also, was not such as to excite notice, by its difference from that worn in London; and, generally speaking, there was nothing sufficiently prominent, either in their manners or appearance, to distinguish them from persons similarly circumstanced in the mother country. In the United States, on the contrary, as I have before hinted, the language, the thoughts, and even the tone of the voice, as well as the general appearance, are too obviously foreign and peculiar to the country to escape notice. I do not pretend to say which of the two is best; that is a matter of mere taste, about which it were idle to dispute. I merely state the fact, as it certainly affords the grounds of some very remarkable distinctions between those adjacent countries, generally, but erroneously, thought to bear a considerable resemblance..' Vol. I. p. 140.

These remarks (singularly enough) are made *apropos* of a verandah to the house, where he was entertained in a sequestered region of Upper Canada; an appendage to a mansion, which Captain Hall justly likens to what he saw in Hindostan; and which escaped our notice, if it be peculiarly characteristic of the domestic architecture of England. But we let that go, as also the article of dress, in which, it seems, the inhabitants of the regions between Burlington Bay and Lake Simcoe strangely resemble the denizens of Bond Street. We must, however, express our private opinion, that there has not been a coat worn within those latitudes for six years, which was not made by a journeyman tailor, who, after having cut and cabbaged himself out of credit in New York, Utica, and Rochester, had run off, with his newest fashions, to York or Holland's Landing. But we will confine ourselves to the matter of language alone. Captain Hall, it seems, 'found the inhabitants *in every part of Canada*, speaking English and acting and looking like Englishmen, without any discernible difference.' He informs us, in another chapter, that he made a visit to the 'French peasantry, *who form the mass of the population* in Lower Canada.' We suppose some little qualification ought to be made of the pure English spoken in every part of Canada, in consideration of the fact, that the mass of the population, in Lower Canada, do not speak it at all. But limiting Captain Hall's remark to that portion of the country, which he is describing when he makes it, (although he extends it, in terms, to every part of Canada,) how does the case stand? A part of the population of it is no doubt of English origin,

which has been established perhaps two generations, on the spot where Captain Hall found them. This must, from the nature of the case, be a small part of the population. It is *possible*, that this portion of the population has undergone no change in dress, manners, and external appearance, since it emigrated from England; or rather (for this supposition will not meet Captain Hall's statement of facts) that precisely those changes, which since 1763 have been taking place in these matters in England, have been, simultaneously, and by a mysterious sympathy in manners, tones, and coat-flaps, taking place in Upper Canada, so that what the Captain asserts of the inhabitants of every part of Canada, may be true of this small part of it. We say, though this is highly astonishing, we believe it on his authority. The residue of the population consists of descendents of the ancient French colonists, of emigrants from the United States, and of Irish and Scotch emigrants; and we must be permitted to doubt the fact, that there is that striking similarity between these portions of the Canadian population and the English, in points where the English and the Americans of the United States differ. That a colony of emigrants, drafted from the North of Ireland, or even from Glengary, should speak the language, without a discernible difference from the English, is much such a statement, as that made by Captain Hall in a former work, and candidly corrected in this, that several eastern nations employ the Chinese character, and understand it when written, without comprehending it as a spoken language.

But it is time to return to New York. Captain Hall attended a court of justice there, and remarks, 'among other things, it was curious to hear one of the lawyers quote an English decision.' Why this should be curious, in the apprehension of a gentleman acquainted with the sources of our law, we cannot imagine. If Captain Hall visited the courts of New Orleans, he probably heard the lawyers cite recent French decisions.

'The chief justice,' continues the Captain, 'and the two judges were on the bench; but I must say, that the absence of the wigs and gowns took away much more from their dignity, than I had previously supposed possible. Perhaps I was the more struck with this omission, as it was the first thing I saw, which made me distrust the wisdom with which the Americans had stripped away so much of what had been held *sacred* so long. Apparent

trifles such as these ought never, I think, to be measured by their individual importance; but, in fairness to the subject, should be taken in connexion with myriads of associations, all combining to steady our habits, to let us know distinctly what we are about, and thus to give us confidence in one another, which, after all, is the real source of power and happiness in a state.' Vol. i. p. 22.

Captain Hall would, we think, do well to recollect, that the preposterous and uncomfortable thing, called a wig, is of comparatively modern origin; and that it is worth the experiment, whether justice cannot be administered, unless the judge's head be wrapped up in an ill-looking mass of false hair, stitched to a bit of buckram, and clotted with pomatum and flour. Addison, having pictured to himself the manly appearance of Cicero and Demosthenes, could not help exclaiming, 'How cold and dead a figure, in comparison of these two great men, does an orator often make at the British bar, holding up his head with the most insipid serenity, and stroking the sides of a long wig, that reaches down to his middle!' In fact, if Captain Hall is warranted by the public sentiment of any respectable portion of the English community, in reckoning the judge's wig among those 'things *sacred*,' which 'steady our habits,' 'let us know what we are about,' and 'give us confidence in one another,' we shall begin to agree with him, that the English language is not understood in America. This new classification of things *sacred* reminds us again of Captain Golownin's Travels, where we are told, that the innocent Japanese thought the Russians had changed their religion, because the members of his party wore wigs, differing from those worn by the last Russians they had seen.

On his way up the North River, Captain Hall gives a very interesting account of the penitentiary at Sing Sing, and bestows merited commendation on its superintendent, Captain Lynds. Captain Hall makes a suggestion, in reference to prison discipline, which strikes us as exceedingly wise, and worthy of a full and fair trial.

'Why, if disobedience be punished, should not obedience be rewarded? And how easy it would be, to give the convicts a direct and immediate interest in conforming to the rules of the place. Suppose a prisoner were sentenced to several years' confinement; then, if he behave well for a week together, let one day be struck off his term of confinement; if he continue to deport himself correctly for a month, let the term of his detention be

shortened a fortnight; and if he shall go on steadily for six months, then let half a year be struck off his whole period; and so on, according to any rates that may be found suitable.' Vol. 1. p. 43.

This suggestion appears to us as hopeful, as it is simple. We trust it will receive due consideration, from those intrusted with the care of our penitentiaries.

The third chapter of Captain Hall's book is chiefly devoted to the United States' Military Academy at West Point. Our traveller sets forth with rather more circumstance than we think they merited, his proceedings and difficulties in procuring dinner. If it were necessary to go so much into detail on these matters, it would have been proper to state (if, as we believe, such be the fact), that no regular tavern is permitted, by the discipline of the institution, to be kept at West Point; and that, accordingly, strangers who arrive at other than the usual hours, must suffer a little, in the promptness of necessary attendance. Had Captain Hall, instead of making *personal* application to the servants in the steward's kitchen, where very likely it was contrary to rule to issue rations to a stranger, made himself first known to some of the gentlemen of the post, we warrant he would have been promptly supplied, not only with a cup of milk for his infant child, but with everything for himself, which comfort could require or hospitality furnish. These things, we are aware, are rather small; but nothing, which is important enough to be stated, is too unimportant to merit to be correctly stated.

Captain Hall labors under misapprehension, as to the main object of the important institution now in question. He observes,

'The object in view, I am told, is *not so much* to breed up young men for actual military service, as to disseminate, by their means, throughout the different parts of the country, a sound knowledge of the accurate [?] sciences, as well as a taste for literary and scientific pursuits; and also to spread more widely correct ideas of military discipline and military knowledge.' Vol. 1. p. 47.

As far as we understand Captain Hall,—for this statement is neither very distinct nor wholly consistent with itself,—he misapprehended the information given him of the object, for which the Military Academy was founded and is kept up. We do not deny, that it was a part of this object, 'to spread more

widely correct ideas of military discipline and military knowledge;' but this is not inconsistent with the plan of 'training up young men for actual military service.' It was for this last object primarily, we ought to say rather exclusively, that the Academy was founded,—that the American service might, in time of war, be well supplied with accomplished officers. It is a matter of course, that a somewhat greater number of cadets should be educated, than can find a place in the ranks of the army. The general tendency and design of the system are still to give an education to as many as will be required in the army, and to no more. But the precise number cannot ever be foreseen; or if it could, casualties will take place, frustrating the wisest calculations, and requiring an extraordinary supply. It is also necessary, that the cadet should be allowed the liberty of retiring from the service, if, after a reasonable trial (which the law has fixed at one year, in addition to the four passed in the Academy), he finds himself, on the ground of health, disposition, or other cause, not well qualified for the soldier's life. In these various ways, more young men certainly are educated from year to year, than find from year to year a regular promotion in the army; and it may, for aught we know to the contrary, have been incidentally said, with reference to such, that the Military Academy discharged a valuable purpose, in furnishing them an education, which would enable them, even in civil life, to be useful to the public. Such, however, is a contingent result, and not the object of the institution; which is to train up officers for the service of the United States. The other object, attributed to the institution, that of disseminating a taste for literary as well as scientific pursuits, is so wholly foreign from its nature, that it is a general opinion, that literature is not sufficiently cultivated at the Academy, even in reference to the direct military education of officers of the army.

Captain Hall at first thought, that the Academy was well calculated to effect the objects, which he ascribes to it; but says, that after viewing the country from end to end, the confidence formerly entertained by him of its utility was much weakened.

'My early impressions,' he adds, 'certainly were, that the West Point Academy would do much good, by spreading knowledge and *taste* of a higher order than, *I was assured,* was anywhere else to be found in the country. I then sincerely rejoiced at its

success, so far, and do so still, though with slender hopes of its doing the country any essential service.' Vol. i. p. 48.

As the Captain admits that the institution appeared to be very well conducted, we do not see why he should have slender hopes of its being of service; nor does he tell us why he changed his opinion. The truth, however, is, that whoever undertook to inform him, that it was among the objects of the Military Academy to disseminate a taste for literary pursuits, and to spread *taste* of a higher order than was elsewhere to be found, gave the Captain information, which even a hasty glance over the list of studies must have shown to be erroneous. Captain Hall visited places of general education among us, where the ancient and modern languages, the arts of writing and speaking well, and belles-lettres in general are assiduously cultivated. These branches are almost wholly excluded from the course at West Point. Still, the course of instruction is very thorough in those parts of the exact and natural sciences, which belong to the education of the officer and the engineer; and united with these are the French language, something of history, geography, and the moral sciences, and the practical education of the soldier. Thirty or forty young men, the *élite* of more than twice that number, are annually turned out of the Academy, after four years passed in these studies; and Captain Hall, without assigning any reason, says he has 'slender hopes, that the institution is doing the country any essential service.' We cannot comprehend the philosophy of this judgment.

The Captain finds fault with the practice of keeping a register of merit, and recommends, as the greatest secret of discipline, military and domestic, 'to punish—if at all—adequately and at once.' This registry of delinquencies, he observes, was new to him, and he thinks it must 'cramp a generous mind.' But this is a matter, which depends on habit and the light in which things are regarded by the community. In the great public schools of England, young men of sixteen or seventeen, after a preliminary preparation that would be thought not over decent in this country, are, we are told, scourged on their bare flesh. It must be admitted that if this be the true mode of punishing ingenuous youth, the registry of delinquencies ought to be abandoned.

We have already ventured to state, that there positively must have been some misconception on our traveller's mind,

in thinking he was asked to praise what he saw at the Academy. He observes that 'the cadets were remarkably deficient in that erect carriage and decided, firm gait, which gives what in the old world is called a military air, and is looked upon as a primary requisite in a soldier. Instead of the chest being braced or held forward, it is drawn back into a concavity, while the shoulders necessarily assume a correspondent roundness.' We begin to suspect not only that the language of America is, as the Captain assures us, harder to understand than that of the Loo-Choo islands or Corea, but that we see with different optics. We have passed nearly as many days at West Point, as the Captain did hours (for the minute and extensive observation, which he made of the establishment, was accomplished after the hour of three o'clock, P. M. of one day), and we never suspected that the cadets were 'remarkably' round-shouldered or hollow-breasted. Captain Hall seems to have been struck with the inherent improbability of the statement, that the pupils of a very well conducted military school should be remarkably deficient in an erect carriage and military air,—should draw the chest in and the shoulders up; and he seeks to render the matter more likely, by adding the following apologetic remarks; 'To foreign eyes, nothing can be more awkward than this mode of carrying the body. In justification, however, of the practice at West Point, it is fair to state, that it prevails more or less over the whole country; and being nearly as characteristic, as the tone of voice, would almost as inevitably betray an American in other parts of the world!' Those, who trust the accuracy of the Captain's eye in the matter of the cadets, will find no difficulty in doing it in reference to our whole population. We have no doubt it is as true of the latter as the former.

Captain Hall made an excursion from Albany to Stockbridge. At this early stage of his journey, he found from his notes, that

'The most striking circumstance in the American character, which had come under our notice, was the constant habit of praising themselves, their institutions, and their country, either in downright terms, or by some would-be indirect allusions, which were still more tormenting. I make use of this sharp-edged word, because it really was exceedingly teasing, when we were quite willing and ready to praise all that was good, and also to see everything, whether good or bad, in the fairest light, to be called

upon so frequently to admit the justice of such exaggerations. It is considered, I believe, all over the world, as bad manners for a man to praise himself and family. Now, to praise one's country, appears, to say the least of it, in the next degree of bad taste.' Vol. i. p. 61.

A very grave Roman historian was of a different opinion, and observed, 'Pulchrum est benefacere reipublicæ; etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.' The reasons, why good manners do not permit a man to praise himself or family, apply but very partially to praising one's country. We are willing, however, for argument's sake, to admit Captain Hall's principle, that it is, to say the least, nearly in as bad taste to praise one's country as it is to praise one's wife and children, although the Captain loses no opportunity of lauding Great Britain. We will admit another thing, not as being in our judgment true, but for the sake of argument and because it seemed true to Captain Hall, namely, that the Americans, more than any other people, praise themselves. What good account can be given of this proneness of the Americans to praise themselves? We suppose that effects require causes in America as elsewhere. If Captain Hall attributes this aptitude to praise our country and its institutions to a warmer patriotism, than is felt by Englishmen, we ought to thank him for the compliment. Such, however, of course was not his purpose; such we do not pretend to be the fact. But if Captain Hall will read over,—what he tells us he has never done,—the pages of the travellers in America; and if he will revise his recollection of the language held, almost without exception, on the subject of America, by the periodical press of Great Britain, he will see a sufficient cause, why the Americans should feel themselves constantly on the defensive. *They are constantly attacked.* In many cases, however, the traveller (and this has often happened to Captain Hall) gratuitously ascribes to the American a feeling, corresponding to one which actuates his own mind. We need go no farther for an example than the paragraph next to that, last quoted.

'It was curious to see, with what vigilant adroitness, the Americans availed themselves of every little circumstance, to give effect to this self-laudatory practice. I happened one day to mention to a lady, that I had been amused by observing, how much more the drivers of the stages managed their horses by word of mouth, than by touch of the whip. Upon which she replied, "Oh yes, sir, the circumstance you relate is very interesting; as it shows both

intelligence in the men and sagacity in the animals." This was pretty well; but I merely smiled and said nothing; being somewhat tickled by this amiable interchange of human wisdom and brute sagacity. The lady's suspicions, however, instantly took fire on seeing the expression of my countenance, and she answered my smile, by saying, "Nay, sir, do you not think the people in America, upon the whole, particularly intelligent?"' Vol. i. p. 61.

Now, since Captain Hall will have it, that our medium of communication is less intelligible than that, which exists between any two nations on earth, he must allow us occasionally the benefit of such a state of things, although we do not find that he ever does so. It is his standing complaint, that he could not make himself understood; but it does not appear to have occurred to him, that he might misunderstand the Americans, and that all this importunity, throat-cramming, and self-lauding might really be some different and better thing, than it seemed to him. We are sure, at all events, that he wholly mistook the lady. Without knowing in the least who she was, we can easily picture to ourselves her situation. A traveller like Captain Hall, cannot move *incog.*, in any country. The trumpet must of necessity go before him. The Americans have been taught by experience, what is implied in the visit of a traveller;

> 'A chiel 's amang you taking notes,
> And faith he 'll prent it.'

They have been taught by an experience, which Captain Hall, to his honor, has been the first to break in upon, that they cannot ask a traveller to dinner nor enter into conversation with him, but their dinner and their conversation must be served up to them cold, a few months after, in Mr Traveller's book. The poor lady, whom Captain Hall, forgetting his usual delicacy, has so agreeably reminded of his visit, was no doubt under the common feeling which a traveller's advent produces, for the reasons stated, on the American's mind; and this feeling may be supposed, in the case of a lady, to be productive of a little trepidation at the thought, that whatever she said would be

> 'Set in a note-book, learned, and conned by rote,
> To cast into her teeth.'

In this frame of mind, she would naturally try to say something a little sententious; as the most unaffected people, under the

like circumstances, will do. The Captain remarked to her, that 'he had been amused by observing, how much more the drivers of the stages managed their horses by word of mouth, than by whip.' What shall the lady do? Keep silence? That would be rude, and would lead the traveller to remark, that the American ladies sit mute when spoken to. Taking the Captain at his word, that he,—a philosophical traveller, a Post-Captain in the British Navy, an observer of men and things all over the world,—really saw something worthy of being noted, remembered, and spoken of, in the degree to which the drivers made their horses understand them, by word of mouth, without the whip, she ventures to agree with him, that it was interesting, and was alike creditable to man and beast. Here the thing ought for ever to have dropped; but not so thought the Captain. This is no joke. The lady has, with 'vigilant adroitness,' lain in wait for this chance to praise, not merely the men, but the very horses of the country; and Captain Hall sagaciously smiled, though he said nothing, 'being somewhat tickled by this amiable interchange of human wisdom and brute sagacity.' Now the smile, which is apt to show itself on the countenance of a person, who makes a discovery such as Captain Hall fancied he made here, is not, we suppose, of the most winning kind.

> 'O what a deal of scorn looks beautiful
> In the contempt and anger of his lip;'

but that was not the lip of the traveller, who has been 'teased' by 'the tormentings' of self-praise. The Captain's smile, on the present occasion, if his own notice of its effect was just, was not of a very fascinating character. It set the good lady's suspicions on fire. She interpreted his smile (and, from his own showing, not unjustly) into one of ridicule and contempt, and then put the question, 'whether he did not think the American drivers were, upon the whole, a shrewd set of fellows;' for this (the Captain will thank us for translating her American into English) was all she meant. This question we admit to have been in bad taste; very bad; but one thing we think in rather worse taste, which was, to go and enter all this into the note-book of a journey, undertaken to promote kind feelings between the two countries,—publish it to the world, and draw inferences from it, as regards the characteristics of the American people.

This is an error, of which no experience of its injustice will

cure travellers among us; although, unjust as it is in all countries, there is none, in which it is so unjust, as in America, to generalize single facts. Let us show how this would operate, in reference to the far more homogeneous population of England. It seems that at Walthamstow in England, it is the custom of the inhabitants, in beating the bounds, on Holy Thursday, to *bump* every *gentleman* they meet. We have before us the report of an action, brought on the first day of June, by Mr James Woolley and Mr James Teale, two very respectable gentlemen, against sundry citizens of the said Walthamstow, for bumping the said gentlemen. Mr Woolley was quietly fishing in the river Lea, at twelve o'clock, when he was approached by a mob of two hundred men, seized by the collar, threatened with blows if he resisted, and being held by his arms and legs, violently swung and *bumped* against a tree. Mr Teale defended himself with a clasp knife, but the mob attempted to push him into the river, and broke his hat with a stick. The prisoner, when called on for a defence, stated, that he went up to the gentleman and said,

'"I beg your pardon, sir, but it is a customary thing to bump gentlemen, wherever we meet them, when we are beating the bounds." The gentleman was then bumped, but I did not bump him, although I have bumped many gentlemen before, without grumbling.

'*The Magistrate.* Upon my word, then, I suppose you think your politeness in begging a gentleman's pardon is a sufficient excuse for your bumping him. You first beg his pardon and then say, "we are going to bump you."

'*Prisoner.* No, sir, I asked the gentleman, if he would give us leave to bump him?

'*Magistrate.* A very likely tale. Did you suppose the gentleman would say, Yes?

'*Prisoner.* Most people do, sir, because they know it is a custom.'

One of these bumping gentlemen was a parish officer of Walthamstow, one of that 'unpaid magistracy,' which Captain Hall commends so much, to the disparagement of our unqualified, ignorant, democratic judges. Now, if an American traveller, in England, had witnessed this scene, or been present at this trial, and gone to his lodgings, and entered in his notebook, that it is the custom for the British yeomanry, on Holy Thursday, to beat the bounds of their parishes, with their officers at their head, and to 'lie in wait, with vigilant adroitness,'

to bump any gentleman against a tree, with whom they may fall in,—such American traveller would argue as most travellers in America, Captain Hall among the rest, habitually argue, of things in this country. And, by the way, in what part of all America, which Captain Hall tells us he travelled from end to end, did he see anything so characteristic 'of the blighting tempest of democracy,' as this *custom* of Walthamstow?

At Troy, Captain Hall visited the school so liberally and wisely endowed by a liberal and distinguished citizen of that neighborhood.

'We found a school, recently established by one of the wealthiest and most public-spirited men in the country, the principle of which differs from that of all others, with which I am acquainted. The object is to instruct young men as schoolmasters, or rather as teachers of different mechanical arts and sciences. The munificent patron of this institution, after having thus assisted the scholars, supplies them, when duly qualified, with money and with proper recommendations, and sends them over the country to get employment.' Vol. 1. p. 64.

But nothing is quite right with the Captain in America. It is not enough, that a gentleman in this country, properly characterized as among our wealthiest citizens, but yet whose entire fortune does not equal the Duke of Devonshire's annual income, has founded and established, at his own expense, a school different in principle from any, with which Captain Hall is acquainted, in any country, 'and of which the arrangements were admirable;'—the Captain regretted to learn, that this example had not been followed by any one else! We have been told the Chinese like everything in pairs; and when you present a mandarin with a gold watch, he asks you for *the other*. We really think one institution for public instruction, of a peculiar kind, which had not yet been devised by the liberality, public spirit, and munificence of all Europe, is quite as much as can be fairly asked of America.

The Captain complains, and with justice, of the annoyance to travellers on the Erie canal, occasioned by the multitude of bridges. This evil has been remedied on the Miami canal, in the state of Ohio,—a canal not opened when Captain Hall was at Cincinnati, but now penetrating the fertile interior of that state. The remedy consists in a most ingenious device of a top to the canal-boats, capable of being depressed and

elevated, by which the whole annoyance experienced on the New York canal is removed. This movable top is open on the sides, forming a canopy over half the boat; and affording the passengers full enjoyment of the prospect of the neighboring country, and free circulation of air. While passing under bridges, the top is depressed by a simple contrivance, and is immediately raised up, by weights passing though pullies, attached to the stanchions which support the roof.

Captain Hall says a good deal about the names of the newly settled townships in New York, and other parts of America. Troy, Ithaca, Rome, Cicero, Homer, and Manlius seemed to him at first highly ridiculous. The Captain was afterwards reconciled to them, by fancying they might be the means of suggesting or keeping up some associations with classical antiquity. This, however, he found not to be the case, and was provoked at the discovery; and still more by finding that,

'Whenever I meet with the name of a Roman city, or an author, or a general, instead of having my thoughts carried back as heretofore to the regions of antiquity, I am transported forthwith in imagination to the post-road, on my way to Lake Erie, and my joints and bones turn sore at the bare recollection of joltings and other nameless annoyances, by day and by night, which I much fear will outlive all the little classical knowledge of my juvenile days.' Vol. i. pp. 73, 74.

The Captain makes too much of this both ways. There is, unquestionably, on first hearing, something ridiculous, in these singularly grouped names of antiquity. It will be recollected, however, that the hardest thing in the world,—the world's master pronounced it impossible,—is to make a new word. In America, names were to be found for many thousands of states, counties, towns, villages, rivers, and lakes. Every principle of selection has been pursued, and each has its advantages and its defects. Our pilgrim fathers sometimes adopted Scripture names, and gave us *Salem* and *Rehoboth;* or pious appellations, like *Providence.* They retained some of the Indian names, not always to the convenience of the poet. In the great majority of cases, they transplanted the names of their native places in England. There is some disadvantage in this, in the case of maritime towns; and it is a resource pretty soon exhausted. Many places were named, from time to time, for the prominent statesmen of the period when they were settled, both in the colonial and metropolitan govern-

ments. Thus, we have *Chatham*, *Hillsborough*, *Wilkesbarre*, *Pownalborough*, *Belchertown*. Since the Revolution, the multiplication of places to be named, has gone on much more rapidly than ever before; and invention has been proportionately tasked to find names. The Classical Dictionary has, in this emergency, been pretty freely resorted to; with an immediate effect at first somewhat ridiculous, but which wholly wears off in a short time. The citizen of Utica thinks no more of Cato and 'his little senate,' than the student of Oxford does of the passing droves of black cattle, which originally gave its name to Oxenford.

Captain Hall, in some part of his book, complains of the Americans, for not having sympathized and coöperated with England, in her struggles during the French revolution. The complaint is, upon the whole, unfounded, and argues a want of acquaintance with the history of our politics. Our political parties turned, for twenty years and more, on this very point; and one of the two great political parties of the country did feel the sentiment, for the want of which Captain Hall censures us. In free countries, Captain Hall knows, that what one party likes the other dislikes. If one of our parties sympathized with England, in her struggle, it was as much as could be said of England herself, where one great party threw all its force against the government. But we have now alluded to this topic of complaint against America, to say, that it is the great fault of Captain Hall's book, that he does not sympathize with the state of things in America. He sees nothing cheerful, nothing auspicious. Our system of equality is a blighting democracy, though he does not tell us what it has blighted. He is worried with little matters, and insensible to great blessings. He is shocked at the 'tall burnt stumps of trees standing amidst the growing corn;' but yet the forest must be cleared away; and there is no agent but fire, which is cheap and expeditious enough. The stumps will all be gone in thirty years. Girdling the trees is a 'barbarous operation.' The field filled with stumps looks 'desolate,' 'deplorable.' A foreigner looks with horror at 'these Banquos of the murdered forest.' 'The wretched trunks of these girdled trees, in a year, present the most miserable objects of decrepitude that can be conceived. The purpose, however, of the farmer is gained, and that is all he can be expected to look to. His corn-crop is no longer overshadowed by the leaves of these

unhappy trees, which in process of time, are cut down and split into railings or sawed into billets of firewood, and their misery is at an end.' We do not recollect any of this sentiment, in reference to those parts of Upper Canada, where the same process is going on; but in the United States nothing is promising. Captain Hall protests against what he calls the American sense of *improvement*, which he says imports 'an augmentation of houses and people, and above all, in the amount of the acres of cleared land;' whereas 'in England it means making things better.' So it does in America; and a tract of land is thought to be made better, by being reclaimed from an unproductive state, and made fit to produce food for man. We believe, also, it is strictly an English expression, to speak of a highly improved country; meaning a well cultivated and thickly peopled one. The Captain, following up this criticism, adds, 'It is laid down by the Americans, as an admitted maxim, to doubt the solidity of which never enters any man's head for an instant, that a rapid increase of population is, to all intents and purposes, tantamount to an increase of national greatness and power, as well as an increase of individual happiness and prosperity.' No American that we ever heard of has maintained this principle; and in order to controvert it, Captain Hall gives it a latitude, which in this country, no man thinks of giving it. We hold that for us,—for America, where land is abundant and labor scarce, an increase of population promotes national and individual prosperity. The Captain does not deny this. He admits 'we are not entirely wrong;' 'increase of population may or may not prove a symptom of prosperity, according to circumstances.' But are not those circumstances, in which this increase is a public benefit, precisely such as exist in America? Captain Hall will not deny it. 'It is interesting,' says he, 'to behold millions of human beings starting into life in the wilderness.' But his book shows none of this interest. We do not recollect a burst of feeling, at the astonishing spectacle. One or two establishments are decidedly commended; a few more 'damned with faint praise'; but the general system of things, which, in a space of time so very short, has brought so vast a region into the domain of civilization, is radically condemned by him. Instead of seeking features of resemblance between his own country and this healthful offspring, he hideously exaggerates the dissimilarity, to the length of declaring, that our language,

which we proudly boast of as the mother tongue of Chatham, is harder to be understood by an Englishman than that of Japan and Cochin China.

But we must pass from this topic, and hasten with our traveller into Canada; and here we cannot but contrast the encouraging tone in which everything is spoken of, with the universal disparagement of the United States. There are some things, even in the way of omission, which we cannot account for. In describing the colonists established in Canada by the British government, at great expense, Captain Hall represents the experiment as having *proved eminently successful, in all its parts.* Captain Hall particularly found the emigrants to be exceedingly loyal and grateful to the government for its aid. Mr Southey, no prejudiced witness on this subject, and writing with the First Report on Emigration before him, says, 'So it is not strange, that an experiment, the plan whereof was so much better in its design than in its details, *should have failed as to its primary purpose.* A great many of the colonists forsook their allotments, and went to seek their fortune in the United States.' * The same author presently adds, that the inducement whereby settlers were drawn into the United States, was 'the persuasion, that the means of subsistence are more surely and easily to be obtained there; and this persuasion operates extensively. The casual emigrants, who find their way from these islands to Canada, are estimated at about ten thousand, and of these it has been said [First Report on Emigration, p. 48], that about four fifths pass into the American states.' 'When assistance for removing to Canada has been afforded to poor families, either by their parishes or the state, a great many have availed themselves of it, only for the sake of a passage, at the public expense, to this promised land.' † So much for the entire success of the projects for colonizing Canada; so much for the loyalty, gratitude, and prosperity of the emigrants. Captain Hall makes no allusion to this state of things, unless to observe, on finding on board the steam-boat on Lake Champlain, a party of Irish emigrants, flying from Canada to the United States, that they did it 'for reasons best known to themselves.' We should think, that after

* Southey's Colloquies, Vol. II. p. 278. The evidence on this point, in the Report of the Emigration Committee, is contradictory, some witnesses affirming, and some denying the fact.

† The same volume, p. 279 and 281.

the matter had been for years before the British parliament, and been made the subject of so many elaborate reports, these reasons were pretty well known to others.

So resolute is Captain Hall to see everything in a favorable light in the British provinces, that he is there indifferent to the very things, to which in the United States he assigns a most sinister prominence. And what a singular reason does he give for this indifference! Canada, when Captain Hall visited it, was in a state of great discontent. The most violent proceedings took place in their legislature; proceedings strikingly like those, which took place in the United States before the Revolution. The governor and the majority of the council were excessively odious, and in a state of most violent resistance to the assembly and mass of the people. But Captain Hall's 'recent intercourse with Niagara [!] and the many wild and curious scenes in Upper Canada, together with his descent of the Rapids,' are assigned as the cause of 'the indifference, which he struggled in vain to throw off, as to the politics of Lower Canada, although the topic was then swallowing up every other consideration.' This effect of his intercourse with Niagara lasted just so long as he stayed in Canada, and no longer. As soon as he passes again into the United States, his active powers of observation revive. Considering the fact, which Captain Hall states, that the political contests of the day were the all-absorbing topics during his visit to Lower Canada, this indifference, in a professed traveller, is calculated to excite some surprise. But did it rest here, there would be nothing more to be said about it. Captain Hall, however, undertakes to answer for the loyalty of the Canadians. 'Every body was perfectly contented.' 'The colonists, in general, are not so much children, but true and loyal consorts of the country in whose sunshine they flourish.' Now, as Captain Hall had his imagination so much occupied and fascinated with the wild scenery of Upper Canada, that he could not and did not investigate the local politics of the provinces, we do not know how he can answer for them, that they are contented and loyal. These provinces were then, and are now, violently agitated by two parties, that of the government and that of the people. The latter party may be weak and contemptible (it certainly is not so in numbers), and not to be taken into the account, in stating the temper of the population. But Captain Hall could not know it to be so; for he tells us he could not and did

not inquire into the matter. And yet he assures us the Canadians are all loyal and all contented. There is indeed some misgiving, apparently, in his mind, that his readers will not be satisfied with this omission, particularly on the score of fairness to the United States, and he makes several apologies for it. The effect of the wild scenery of Upper Canada is one, which we have already cited. Another, which is glanced at by Captain Hall, gives us a glimpse at a state of things in Canada, which ought, we think, to have been candidly investigated by him.

'Nevertheless, even although I had access to the best informed company on both sides, and had the farther [?] advantage of forming an acquaintance with some of the most zealous of the opposition party, I could never bring myself to take any very sincere interest in these local questions. Every body, indeed, seemed so perfectly contented, and all that I could see, hear, or read about the province, showed the inhabitants to be in the enjoyment, practically speaking, of such numerous and substantial blessings, political and domestic, that I found it impossible to sympathize deeply in their speculative misery, when, in point of fact, they possessed, as it appeared to me, everything that rational men could desire, and more, perhaps, than any other country in the world.

'Possibly, had I studied the subject more attentively, I might have found my ideas changed [but how so, being formed 'from all he could see, hear, or read'?]; and, although I am half ashamed of not having done so, I regret it the less, from observing that the subject has lately been taken up by the House of Commons, and has been investigated with a minuteness which it was utterly impossible I could have found time for, and under circumstances much more advantageous than any within my reach, even when on the spot. [It is to us inconceivable, that a committee of the House of Commons in London, should be under more favorable circumstances, to inquire into the state of politics in Upper and Lower Canada, than an intelligent traveller on the spot, 'having access to the best informed company on both sides.' Captain Hall repels more than once, and with no little tartness, the suggestion, that his flying visit through the United States, on which he moved at the rate of twenty-one miles a day, for every day he was in the country, did not enable him to pronounce on every question touching every part of the country.] So that a reference to the Parliamentary Report, and to the Evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, ordered to be printed on the twenty-second of July, 1828, will afford, as far as I am able to judge, much fuller information than I could have brought away,

had I been ever so industrious.' [But Captain Hall might have given us, in a couple of pages, the general bearings of the controversy, and the state of parties; and he evidently, at one time, thought he ought to do it, for he adds] 'It was my intention, however, notwithstanding this Report and Evidence, to have inserted at this place a sketch of the discussions alluded to; but I have thought it right to suppress it, in consequence of the recent changes in that quarter, and the disposition which really appears to exist, on both sides, to start afresh, to turn over a new leaf, and to join cordially in advancing the prosperity of a country so highly gifted by nature and by fortune.' Vol. i. pp. 201, 202.

In Captain Hall's resolute purpose to see everything in a favorable light in the Canadas, he has, in the close of the few paragraphs we have cited, seemingly forgotten the point at which he started. He could not, at the beginning of his remarks, take an interest in these local matters; the struggle which he witnessed in Montreal was an affair of the boys and mob, 'in the most approved style of party manners.' Every body appeared perfectly contented, and the whole province enjoying more substantial blessings, political and domestic, than any other country in the world. A few sentences on, we find, however, rather strangely, that the condition of this happy, contented people, has required the interposition of parliament; that changes have become necessary, and have been made; and that *now* (1829) the inhabitants are going to turn over a new leaf, and unite cordially with each other in promoting the public prosperity!

But though Captain Hall refers to the discussion in the House of Commons in 1828, *it is impossible* he could have read it. That indifference, which benumbed his faculties in Montreal, must still have weighed upon them in London. We give our reasons for this peremptory assertion. In that debate Mr Huskisson, *then the minister*, began by saying,

'The question which I wish, at this time, to induce the House to investigate is, whether those extensive, valuable, and fertile possessions of the crown, the Canadas, are, or are not, administered, under a system of civil government, adapted to the wants, the well-being, and the happiness of nearly a million of British subjects, and well calculated to maintain the allegiance of our settlements, and preserve unbroken the affection and good understanding, which should always subsist between colonies and the mother country. If, upon inquiry, it shall appear that the present system is not calculated to answer this purpose, and that the remedy

for the evil cannot be applied without the authority of parliament, it will be for parliament to deal with the question, with a view to the introduction of such modifications, improvements, and alterations in the existing system, as may appear necessary.'

It is the drift of Mr Huskisson's speech to prove the negative of the questions announced; to prove that this people, whom Captain Hall found, in 1827, to be in the enjoyment of everything which rational men could desire, and more perhaps than any other country in the world, were, in 1828, 'under a system of civil government, *not* adapted to their wants, well-being, nor happiness, nor to maintain their allegiance, nor preserve their affection and good understanding with the mother country.'

Mr Huskisson proceeds to state, that the system of government existing in the Canadas, though the work of great statesmen, was produced at a time when little was known of the country, when its resources and interests were little understood, and is consequently '*extremely defective.*' In its details, there are many difficulties to be removed, many imperfections which require a remedy, many omissions which require to be supplied. Owing to the nature of the tenure, by which lands are held, Mr Huskisson says, 'there are fines,—annual duties on all alienations of property,—and various rights and duties of a most vexatious and harassing nature.' Captain Hall, in magnifying the felicity of the Canadians, says, 'When the British provinces are compared with the United States, it is by no means too much to say, that the laws, which, *in fact, are those of England*, are out of all sight [?] more steady; and, from that circumstance, besides many others, better *administered.*' Did Captain Hall know this? Did he inquire, and was this the result of his inquiry? Mr Huskisson came to a different conclusion. *He* says, 'With respect to civil rights, as I have already said, the French *law* and *administration* were established; but the English system of jurisprudence prevailed in criminal matters.' Nor is this all, and we do entertain a little hope of satisfying Captain Hall himself, that he has gone beyond the mark of loyalty in this matter; he has distanced the minister.

'In fact the inconvenience of the existing condition of Canada, cannot be well understood in this country. In this colony [Lower Canada] the law of mortgage is in its worst state. The registration of deeds is another point deserving of attention; and the

laws and usages relating to the formation of roads are those of the old French feudal system.* The consequence has been that, in the last fifteen years, not one single road-bill has been passed by the legislative assembly of that province. Thus there is no opportunity afforded the English townships of communicating with the river St Lawrence, except by some of its tributary streams, on account of the interposition of the seignories between them and that river. In the same manner, [and to this passage we ask the special attention of our readers, who wish to see the length of delusion, to which a man so sensible as Captain Hall can be carried] another part of what I consider an important public duty in a legislative assembly was overlooked. *I mean the education of the children of the settlers.* This is a subject never thought of. In point of fact, the state of things is such, that *the settlers* feel *more disposed* to connect themselves with those districts, which border on the United States [meaning territories of the United States], where they can better have their wants of this description supplied, and *receive the benefits of the administration of justice, than to remain in the country to which they owe allegiance!'*

So much for the blessings of English laws and their administration. Captain Hall congratulates the provinces on their happy form of government, uniting an executive dependent on the crown, with the elective franchise very generally enjoyed by the bulk of the people. Of the first he speaks in the following smooth terms;

'The foundations of those powers, which preserve social order, are certainly more stable and better organized, than in the United States. Their rulers do not derive their authority from those, over whom their power is to be exercised; they look up and not down for approbation; and can therefore use that authority with more genuine independence. This doctrine, of course, is scouted in the

* In another part of this speech, Mr Huskisson says of these colonies, which Captain Hall pronounces to be under the English laws, and English administration of them, 'There is no possibility of suing or being sued, except in the French courts and according to the French form and practice; no mode of transacting commercial business, except under French customs now obsolete in France. In Lower Canada they go upon the law and system of feudal tenure, and the law is more incapable of ever being improved or modified, by the progress of information or knowledge, than if it still remained the system of France and the model of her dependencies. Here, in the midst of a wilderness, flourishes the French feudal system and the "custom of Paris" three centuries ago.' And yet Captain Hall says, 'the laws, *which in fact are those of England*, are out of all sight more steady, and *from that circumstance*, besides many others, better *administered*,' than in the United States!

United States, as altogether heterodox;* but the colonies, when prompted to compare their condition with that of their neighbors, I am quite certain, will never find cause to regret the distinctions which arise from this source; *and that they feel this as they ought to do, I know by ample experience.*'

We are rather puzzled to reconcile this 'ample experience' of the Captain, with the indifference to the subject and his ignorance of it, which he makes known to us, as well as with Mr Huskisson's direct assertion of the contrary fact. But we pass this, to show what these rulers 'not deriving their authority from those they rule over' are, and the great cause the Canadians have to like them.

'This, sir,' says Mr Huskisson, 'is the state of the controversy between the executive and legislative body in Canada. The consequences of the agitation of such a controversy as this, *in which both parties have stood upon their extreme rights*, have been *most unfortunate!* One of the consequences has been the necessity, under which the representative of the king has found himself, of appropriating money for the necessary services of the colony, without the sanction of the colonial legislature. Such a thing as this, in a country with a legislative assembly, can only be justified by the absolute necessity of preventing general confusion and the subversion of the government. I do not stand here—(living as I do in a country, where the rights of the popular branch of the legislature, to control the expenditure of the money it raises, are so well known and universally acknowledged)—to defend the abstract propriety of a governor of a colony, appropriating the revenue, without the sanction of an act of the legislature, as required by law; but pressed by necessity, it ought not perhaps to be wondered at, however we may regret the necessity, that a governor should take all the means in his power, to maintain the tranquillity of the place committed to his charge.'

Thus we see the governor, contrary to law, thrusting his hand into the public treasury, and expending the contents without appropriation, and his conduct not justified by the minister, but palliated, on the ground that it was absolutely necessary to prevent a subversion of the government. But Captain Hall had 'ample experience,' that the colonies 'feel right' on the subject of their executive.

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* We supposed that the doctrine, that 'rulers do not derive their authority from those over whom their power is to be exercised,' had been scouted in England ever since 1688. From whom does the present ruling house in England derive its authority?

That executive consists of a governor and council. We have seen how happily the office and powers of the governor are constituted; now let us look to the council. And here we shall use the words of Sir James Mackintosh, in the same debate, not a ministerial member, we are aware, but one whose statement of a fact Captain Hall will cheerfully admit. We may premise, that Sir James commenced his speech by saying, that he had 'presented a petition signed by eighty-seven thousand of the inhabitants of Canada, comprehending among its numbers nine-tenths of the heads of families in the province, and more than two-thirds of its landed proprietors,' and had shown that 'the petitioners had the gravest causes of complaint against the administration of the government of the colony.' A pretty curious petition this, to come from a people universally contented and loyal, and happy in the enjoyment of greater blessings, than any other people in the world! Now what says Sir James of the executive council, the other portion of the rulers, who, to the great advantage of the Canadians, do *not* 'derive their authority from those, over whom their power is to be exercised.' We beg all those, who may have been disposed to pin their judgment on Captain Hall's sleeve, as an impartial and accurate observer, to mark what follows;

'It is a fatal error in the rulers of a country to despise the people; its safety, honor, and strength are best preserved by consulting their wishes and feelings. The government of Quebec, despising these considerations, has been long engaged in a scuffle with the people, and has thought hard words and hard blows not inconsistent with its dignity. I observe, that twenty-one bills were passed by the lower house of assembly 1827—*most of them reformatory. Of those twenty-one bills, not one was approved of by the upper house.* Is the governor responsible for this? I answer, He is. The council is nothing better than the tool of the government. It is not a fair and constitutional check between the popular assembly and the governor; but it is the governor's council. The counsellors are all creatures of the governor; and they sit in council, not to examine the bills sent to them, but to concur in the acts of the governor. Of these counsellors, consisting of twenty-seven gentlemen, seventeen hold places under the government at pleasure. These seventeen divide amongst them fifteen thousand pounds of the public money, which is not a small sum in a country where one thousand pounds a year is a large income for a country gentleman. I omit the bishop, who is perhaps rather inclined to authority—but of a pacific character. The nine remaining counsellors were worn out by opposing the seventeen,

and at present have withdrawn from attending its deliberations; and two of them, being the most respectable land-owners of the province, were among the subscribers to the petition. Under these circumstances, I appeal to the house if the Canadians are not justified in considering the very existence of this council, as a constitutional grievance?'

And it is this execrable executive government, held up, without a champion or an apologist, to the scorn of the British parliament, that Captain Hall not only pronounces to be excellent in itself; but to be so deemed, to his own knowledge, derived from ample experience, by the Canadians; and that at a moment, when nine-tenths of the heads of the families, and two-thirds of the land proprietors, were petitioning against the very existence of it, as a constitutional grievance!

We are nearly weary of this analysis; but we will glance at the popular branch of the Canadian government. In reference to that branch Captain Hall says;

'By means of the elective franchise, *which is very generally enjoyed*, the great bulk of the people retain in their own hands sufficient political influence, to make them feel quite free and truly independent, in the situation where nature has placed them. Happily, also, the exercise of their political rights does not interfere to any hurtful degree with their social duties, nor carry them at all out of their proper sphere of life.' Vol. i. p. 217.

Now were the exercise of the elective franchine ever so happily arranged, or ever so widely diffused, what would it avail, with a council composed of placemen and capable of negativing every bill passed by the representatives, and with a governor capable of expending the whole revenue of the state, one hundred and forty thousand pounds, without appropriation, and contrary to law? Can the right of voting in the election of such a body make a people, in Captain Hall's judgment, feel 'quite free and truly independent'? But what is the fact? The province of Lower Canada in 1792 was laid off into eighteen counties sending each two members, three counties sending one, two cities sending each four, one town sending two, and one sending one, making a total of fifty.

'What I complain of is,' says Mr Huskisson, 'that the representation is not equally distributed. It is a great error, to take the density of the population many years ago, and apply it as a permanent standard to the number of representatives, to be chosen for particular places and departments. The effect of this erroneous principle has necessarily been to throw the chief power of

representation into the hands of the seignories. The same defect exists in Upper as in Lower Canada. The English settlers are excluded from a fair participation in what ought to be a popular representation, and the power of election is thrown into the hands of the descendants of the French. I state these complaints with more confidence, because, *in all parts of Canada,* it is agreed, *that the present system works so ill, as to stand in need of alteration.*' Vol. i. p. 217.

We will now give Captain Hall's summary, and then Mr Huskisson's.

'Thus the community at large,' says Captain Hall, 'possess fully as much if not more freedom, than their neighbors, while the best informed and ablest members of it have better and incomparably more permanent and definite stimulants to honest ambition, than the same class of men in the United States. *Neither is the peace of society disturbed by incessant contentions for temporary power,* and the inhabitants of the colonies are enabled to manage their internal affairs, upon more uniform principles, because they are confined to the hands of experienced and able men. All this is arranged in direct defiance and ridicule, I admit, of the doctrine of universal equality; but nevertheless in a manner strictly conformable to the decrees of Providence, as far as they are made known to us by the lights of experience and plain common sense.' Vol. i. p. 217.

It appears to us rash in Captain Hall, to assert that a state of facts, purely hypothetical, concerning which he admits he felt indifferent on the spot, and has not since inquired, is in conformity with the decrees of Providence. If Mr Huskisson speaks truth, and was well informed, Providence has had nothing to do with the government of Canada, but to make it a monument of long-suffering and forbearance.

'When principles,' says Mr Huskisson, 'are pressed to the extreme, a legislature may no doubt distress the executive government of a country, and so wear it out by continual opposition, as to have the point in dispute conceded. But what, in the mean time, are the unfortunate results to the people? What, in the midst of these conflicts, has been the result to the province of Canada? Nothing was expended of the money raised in this irregular manner, but what was absolutely necessary to carry on the government of the province. All improvement was at a stand; the roads were neglected; education was overlooked; the public buildings were suffered to fall to decay; and the country generally brought to such a state, *that there was not a Canadian whose interests did not suffer.*'

These are not the representations of an American traveller; not the sinister statements of a member of the opposition in the House of Commons; but they are the arguments, by which the British minister calls on parliament to reform the constitution of the Canadas. All these evils were at their crisis when Captain Hall was in the country. He saw nothing, heard nothing, read nothing of it all!

Of the description which he gives of the country, so opposite to its real state, and of the contrast he adventures to the disadvantage of the United States, in points, where, as we have shown, the Canadas are, by all admission, deplorably deficient, we know not that any other account can be given, than that the Captain was led, by his resolute loyalty, to find everything as it ought to be in Canada, and as it ought not to be in the United States.

Thus, that some of the United States have revised their constitutions, in the course of forty or fifty years, and that an amendment has been made in the constitution of the United States, in the article relative to the election of the President, are matters, which give Captain Hall occasion to reflect on the uncertainty of the duration of our government. The fact, that the constitution was adopted in 1789, leads him to reduce the period, for which our institutions (many of which are coeval with the settlement of the country) have lasted, to forty years. The circumstance, that in 1804 it was provided that the President and Vice-President should be voted for in distinct ballots, and that in case no choice be made by the people, the House of Representatives should choose one of the three highest candidates, instead of the former mode of a ballot for two individuals, and an eventual choice by the House from the five highest, leads the Captain to reduce this period to twenty-four years. While in Canada, on the other hand, he cannot sufficiently admire the steadiness, permanence, and solidity of the constitution, its freedom from fluctuation, its security against violent change. How is the fact? Several of the United States are governed by constitutions, essentially the same as they were before the Revolution, *mutatis mutandis*, adopting only a substitute for the power of the crown. This is the case with Massachusetts. One state has no other constitution, than that of its ancient royal charter. Many of the states have revised their constitutions, since the first formation of them during the Revolution, but no principle affecting essentials has

been, within our knowledge and recollection, changed in any of them. The first attempt at a federal government proved 'abortive,' if Captain Hall pleases; but in no other sense, than that, having been found inadequate, it was peaceably and without convulsion moulded into the present form, in which one modification, not insignificant certainly—but going to remedy an evil not likely to recur in centuries,—has been made; and this Captain Hall tells us is fluctuation. What then is the state of Canada? In 1763, the British found there the French law, and no constitution of civil government, other than the will of the crown. The king issued his proclamation, and invited his subjects to go and settle there, promising them the benefit and protection of British laws and courts of justice, and declaring the royal intention to establish a deliberative assembly. Thus, at one blow, the constitution, under which this colony had been settled, was changed. The promise of a legislative assembly, however, lay for thirty years a dead letter. In 1774, it appeared that the Canadians were greatly attached to their hereditary system of legislation, and afflicted with the blessing of British laws; and parliament revoked all the pledges of the proclamation of 1763, and reëstablished the French jurisprudence and administration in civil matters, retaining only the English criminal law. Thus was another constitution given to the Canadas, by the very permanent and steady councils of the mother country, within nine years. But as variety is pleasing, all lands granted between 1763 and 1774 were to be held in free and common soccage, while to all estates granted before 1763 the custom of Paris applied; so that the greatest confusion arose. In 1778, the steady councils of the mother country and the permanent institutions of Canada underwent another change, by the declaratory act, which renounced, on the part of the mother country, the right of taxing the colonies. We believe it is the interpretation which the Assembly puts on this act, which lies at the root of many of the present discontents. Shocking as it must be to Captain Hall, who has much to say of the contested interpretations of parts of our constitution, it is not certain whether the Canadas were meant to be included in this act. Under this constitution, Canada continued thirteen long years, till in 1791, Mr Pitt pulled all up, and laid all down anew, and divided the provinces into two governments, each with a separate legislature,—organized, says Mr Huskisson, on an unequal and defective plan. We believe this con-

stitution continued till the last year, with the exception that the governor, whenever it was necessary (he being judge), took the powers of the legislature into his own hand. An abortive attempt was made to change it in 1822. In that year, Mr Wilmot Horton, a great favorite with Captain Hall, brought into parliament, in the month of June, when sixty members only were in attendance,

'A bill calculated to do no less [we use the words of Mr Labouchere, an intelligent young member of parliament advantageously known to many of our readers, who *was not* indifferent to the local politics of that country, while travelling in it,] than to destroy the constitution, which Mr Pitt and the parliament had solemnly bestowed on the colonies. Some time after this had happened, it had been his [Mr Labouchere's] fortune to visit Canada, and he could aver that the feeling of indignation and suspicion, produced towards this government, by the bill of 1822, was greater than those could well imagine, who had not been witnesses to it.'

So monstrous, however, had the evils become, under which this contented, loyal, prosperous people live, that in 1828 nine tenths of them assail parliament for a new constitution; and Captain Hall tells us they have got it, and are delighted with it. It may be so, but the Canadian press holds a different language. The Quebec papers say, Upper Canada is in a state of revolution; and the Upper Canada papers speak for themselves as follows;

From the York U. C. Freeman.

'We say without appeal, because we view an appeal to Sir John Colborne, at present, against any of the *reigning faction*, or even to the home government, as no appeal at all. Judge Willis appealed against their injustice—what did he meet? Expense, degradation, and disappointment. We appealed to Sir John Colborne, against their cruelty and oppression—what did we get? An evasive and tantalizing refusal. The Grand Inquest of Upper Canada appealed to him on our behalf—what did they meet? Open insult. The editor of the Observer is going to appeal against their foul conspiracy to crush him, and what will he meet? Disappointment. Another man in this town is about to appeal against two magistrates, who denied him his lawful wages, to oblige a brother *justice*,—what will he gain by this? Nothing at all. It is all in vain to think of appealing to Sir John,—the faction have got the whole administration of justice in their hands,—the fountains of justice have long been corrupt, and his excellency can do nothing with them;—nothing but a general purification will do,

and that is what Sir John Colborne has not the slightest idea of attempting,—he would shudder at the thought. When Sir John, through fear of the faction, insulted the representatives of the people, and refused, by a merciful exercise of the royal prerogative, on the first appeal after his arrival here, to *conciliate the people*,—and that too in a case of trifling misdemeanor, with a precedent before his eyes by the preceding governor, it is really astonishing that any man would be so silly as to expect that he will relieve the province *from the grasp of its oppressors*. No, the press will be persecuted,—the country will be oppressed; injustice, corruption, and misrule will wax strong and increase,—the Governor will quietly enjoy his salary, and the faction will ride triumphantly in their impious career, until the people and their representatives take a bold and manly stand for their rights, and overthrow them.'

Such is Captain Hall's *beau idéal* of permanent government. But why do we allow ourselves to be put off with a comparison with Canada? The United States, for the first time in the world, have introduced something like a permanent principle into constitutional governments. Commencing with the immortal ordinance of 1787, the fundamental constitution of the Northwestern States (whose happy author still lives), this country first set the example of constitutional provisions of civil government, engrafted, in the form of compact, upon the very soil itself, as the previous condition of settlement, and unchangeable by any process recognised by the constitution.* Following after a short interval of time, the constitution of the United States was adopted, embracing an appointed mode of making changes in its provisions, to be made, however, by a process so complicated, that it can scarce ever take effect, and with reservations of certain principles utterly unchangeable. And does Captain Hall talk of the fickleness of our institutions, and their proneness to change, and the recency of their date? What is there in the English constitution, worth having, older than 1688? What is there, that cannot, any day, be changed in the ordinary process of legislation? A modification of the mode of choosing the President gives Captain Hall ground for bringing down the date of our constitution to 1804. That change is absolutely nothing, compared with the change made this very year, in the British constitution, by admitting Catholic peers to the House of Lords, and making

*This topic was admirably illustrated by Mr Webster, in his speech at the inauguration of Judge Story.

Catholics eligible to the House of Commons.* Nay, the disfranchisement of Grampound, Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury, and East Retford, cuts deeper a thousand times into the British constitution, than the adoption of every amendment ever proposed would do, in the case of ours. For the principle of the British constitution is that of prescription and long use. Grampound and East Retford were disfranchised for bribery; but if abuse is to countervail prescription, what is to become of all the rotten boroughs, the close boroughs, and the great unrepresented mass of the population? Prescriptive usage cannot save them, because it is an enormous abuse of that prescription, that the *site* of a borough should continue to send two members, after every dwelling-house has for ages vanished, and the once populous city has become a wheat-field. This abuse is as great as bribery,

* In calling the admission of Catholics into parliament a great change in the British constitution, we are sustained by the authority of Mr Peel, who, in the debate on the Catholic claims, in May, 1828, used this language; 'He considered it an important question, in point of policy (dismissing the questions of justice and good faith), as it affected the general constitution of the country, and with reference to its bearing on the prosperity of the empire. With respect to the first, he must say, that the removal of all civil disabilities, and the laying down of this principle, that there should be no distinction in respect to religious opinions, and no barrier between a professor of the Roman Catholic faith, and that of the Protestant established church, *was a material change in the constitution of the country.* There were limitations, it was true, in this as in every other proposition, as to the degree of change. If the constitution was considered to be the king, lords, and commons, it would be *subverting that constitution* to admit Roman Catholics to the privileges they sought; it would be an important change in the state of the constitution as established at *the Revolution!*' In less than one year, this *subversion* of the British constitution (itself dating, according to Mr Peel, from the *Revolution!*) took place; and, what is more, was carried through the forms of legislation in the House of Commons, by Mr Peel himself,—a pleasing illustration of the justice of Captain Hall's eulogium of the comparative steadiness of the British councils. The following are Mr Southey's words, alluded to in the text, 'More direct injury has been done to the House of Commons. When Mr Pitt removed from thence so many of the great landholders into the House of Lords, their place in the Commons was to be supplied, at best, with men who had less of that influence which properly belongs to property, in a commonwealth constituted like ours; and room was made for men of a lower class and of a dangerous description, who, before the structure of parliament was thus—almost it may be said—*revolutionized*, would never, in the march of ambition, have approached its doors.' *Colloquies*, Vol. ii. p. 231.

though of a different nature. We say then, that the commencement, which has been made, of disfranchising close boroughs for bribery, is a radical change of the British constitution. The suppression of the Irish parliament and the union were very serious changes in the British constitution. The free publication of the debates, instead of the paltry artifice by which the law, making it a breach of privilege, was evaded, was a very important change in the British constitution. Mr Southey says, the creation of numerous peers has effected a *revolution* in parliament. The act of settlement was a very delicate change in the British constitution; and in 1688 it underwent modifications, vastly greater than the American constitutions ever experienced. Instead of taunting us with the tendency to change, it is a political phenomenon most rare and curious, that twenty-four states and a population of twelve millions can be so conveniently served, in all the great objects of government, by a constitution made for thirteen states and four millions of inhabitants. Instead of reproaching us with greater proneness to change, the discriminating observer will admit, that there is not an equal period of English history, in which greater changes have not been made in very essential articles of their system, than in the same period in ours.

From Canada, Captain Hall passes into New York. Delighted with a governor, robbing the public chest (and pleading an otherwise unavoidable subversion of the government as an excuse), and with a council, composed of the 'governor's creatures,' negativing every bill from the other house, Captain Hall is of course disgusted with the legislature of New York, as composed of men, 'who had come to the legislature straight from the plough, from behind the counter, from chopping down trees, or from the bar,' wholly unacquainted with public business or the duty of the legislator. But we dislike this eternal drawing of inferences, instead of citing facts. We wish Captain Hall would point out the great practical evils perpetrated by this legislature, or that he would name a deliberative body in the world, that can show more work, better done, than may be shown by this very legislature of New York. Look at the institutions of that state; her various endowed charities; her penitentiaries, which our traveller describes with great, but not exaggerated praise; the rapid colonization of her own wide domain, with a population greater than that which parliament, at a profuse expense of public money, has been able to rear up

in all the British North American dominions; her munificent endowment of her colleges; her princely school-fund; her more than imperial works of internal communication. These are the doings of Captain Hall's wood-choppers and plough-joggers, but not all of them. A thousand works of legislative wisdom, liberality, and enterprise, have flowed from the same source. The great developement of steam-navigation, the new foundation of modern civilization,—that too is among the achievements of the legislature of New York, as far as legislative action could apply to such a matter. Unsuccessful in England and unsuccessful in France, our immortal Fulton brought over his precious conception, and placed it under the protection of the legislature of his adopted state. We have no particular reason to eulogize the legislature of New York. The evils incident to popular government, as to all human things, have been, at times, as apparent in that body, as the enemies of such a government could wish. But if there be a government, popular or arbitrary, which, in nearly the same space of time, and with the same command of means, has done more for the advancement of civilization, the arts, and the public welfare and prosperity, we have yet to learn in what part of the world it is to be found.

And here our limits constrain us to hasten towards a close, treating Captain Hall's book much as he does the United States, despatching the latter half of it very summarily. Our notes made on the perusal of his volumes would enable us to continue our remarks though every chapter, but we forbear. We have no wish to swell the table of Captain Hall's *errata*, nor to cavil at constantly recurring minor inaccuracies. If we have succeeded in our attempt, we have shown that Captain Hall was under the influence of a feeling (we believe it is the 'loyalty' he speaks of) which utterly incapacitated him from seeing the country as it is. How exceedingly limited a knowledge he could carry away from a region which he had traversed, and in which he spent days and weeks, we have shown in the case of Canada, which he passionately commends in the very matters which parliament was reforming as intolerable. The case is just the converse in the United States. With a few insulated exceptions, nothing is well; the whole system and spirit are bad. Captain Hall seems to have had a misgiving, that the extent and accuracy of his observation would be questioned; and is constantly trying to be beforehand with his answer, by

insinuating the unreasonableness of the Americans in exacting unqualified praise.

To show the strange inaccuracy of Captain Hall's observation, as well as his passion for generalizing from single facts, often ill understood, we will refer to his notes on the cattle-show at Brighton. It seems the Captain kept count of all the women whom he met that day, and there were but nine; and on going to a place where he heard a fiddle, he found four men dancing a reel! From this extensive induction, the Captain infers 'a most unwonted separation of the sexes'; and on demanding an explanation of it, he got 'little else than ridicule for his pains.' For want of an explanation from others, however, he prepares a theory of his own, which is, 'that the women do not enjoy that station in society, which has been allotted to them elsewhere; and consequently much of that important and habitual influence, which, from the peculiarity of their nature, they alone can exercise over society in more fortunately arranged communities, seems to be lost.'

Now we grant the Captain, that there is an important influence exercised by women, in what he calls more fortunately arranged communities, which is nearly, we hope wholly, unknown in this country. It was very obviously exercised in England, under Charles the Second; in France, under Louis the Fourteenth; and not unknown in Athens, in the age of Pericles and Aspasia. The only kind of female influence, which is not exercised in America as much as in Europe, is that kind to which we now allude, and which, though it does not imply want of virtue in each single case, belongs to a state of society, where delinquencies in that respect are common. All that influence, which can be exercised by virtuous and well-educated mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, is nowhere so much exercised as in this country. The facts on which Captain Hall founds his theory are as ill understood and defective, as his theory itself is false. Nothing more characterizes this country, than the zeal of all classes of the female sex in attending public places. Captain Hall must have been strangely inattentive, not to have seen them composing a full moiety of the throng, at all our religious, patriotic, and literary festivals; at all public shows, military reviews, and races; in our deliberative bodies and courts of justice, when the least prospect of an interesting discussion exists. He tells us indeed, that he did see 'a considerable number at the oration in Stockbridge, but they were carefully placed on one side of

the church, and during the whole day there was no more intercourse between them and the men, than if they had belonged to different races.' But the fact is (as Captain Hall would have found out, if, in spite of the ridicule be encountered, he had manfully sifted this matter to the bottom), the ladies are placed together, on these occasions, and to the exclusion of the men, in order to accommodate more of them. 'At this cattle-show at Brighton, however, the exclusion was still more complete, for not even one female entered the church, though an agricultural discourse was there delivered, which the most delicate-minded person on earth might have listened to with pleasure and advantage.' We wonder, in fact, that coming so near the solution of his mighty difficulty, the Captain did not hit upon it. The truth is, that the annual discourse at the cattle-show in Brighton used to be honored with a very full attendance of ladies; till one season, and perhaps the very one preceding Captain Hall's unlucky visit, the consideration of the speaker happened to turn on points of rural economy, exceedingly important in themselves, and apt to the occasion, but not usually dwelt upon in this country, probably not in England, before audiences composed of both sexes. Since that period, the company at the cattle-show has been confined almost exclusively to men. This is the plain matter of fact, out of which our traveller has spun such an ominous web of consequences.

We will not enter farther into this exposition, except to show still more compendiously, though not less conclusively, by a single statement of Captain Hall's, and to the satisfaction of every man who understands either our system or our history, that the Captain has no clear idea of either;

'It appears that Washington's successor, Mr John Adams, found it necessary to yield, on various occasions, some little points, as he thought them,—but which, in fact, were the feather end of the wedge, that was eventually to move the whole edifice, when driven home by the resistless momentum of the sovereign people. Mr Jefferson succeeded, and as he was himself devoted to the cause of democracy, it made great strides under the hearty encouragement of his eight years' administration. *The law of primogeniture was abolished*, and various other acts passed, all tending the same way.'! Vol. II. pp. 61, 62.

The severity, with which Captain Hall treats the democratical tendency of our institutions, is curiously contrasted with the strictures he passes on our national festivals. He ascribes it

to a wish to keep up a hostile feeling toward England, that we celebrate the anniversaries of the great events of the revolutionary war, which England, he says, (in pursuance of her policy of forget and forgive) has long since ceased to remember. Now, individually, we hope the Americans are as little prone to bear ill will toward former national enemies, as their English brethren. Personally, Captain Hall assures us, he had nothing to complain of;—and an accomplished English gentleman, who visited us a few years ago, (Mr Stanley) found reasons for declaring, in the House of Commons, in the debate we have so often alluded to, that,

'When they looked to the United States, they must see that after all the quarrels they had had with that power,—after a bloody revolutionary war founded on principle, and therefore the more bitter in its character, which was justice on one side and oppression on the other, all unfriendly feelings had disappeared; and when they found, as he knew well by personal experience, that in America, so thoroughly convinced were the people of the benefits of a liberal policy, and so strong were the ties of a common origin, that an English gentleman travelling in that great republic, is sure to meet with the most hospitable reception. That great country was proud to acknowledge its relationship to England, and to recognise the love and attachment it yet felt to the mother country, and would feel for ages.'

This is the language not merely of the gentleman, but of the statesman. Mr Stanley saw and heard as much of our patriotic festivals, as Captain Hall did. He was here in 1825, when the expiration of a half century seemed to freshen up the ardent glow of the old revolutionary feeling. He did not quarrel with us for commemorating the great deeds and great men of that day. He knew it was not merely in human nature; but that to forbear it would be not only base and recreant, but inconsistent with the very feelings, on which the best part of the hereditary system of Europe has been founded. Of this system we have borrowed the patriotic, the public, the disinterested portion. The great men of the age of our settlement, colonization, and revolution are the ancestry of the country. For an Englishman to reproach us, that we commemorate their exploits, would be to tempt the walls of Blenheim to fall and crush him as he passed. On what earthly basis, but the principle of these celebrations, is to be founded that native attachment to the soil, as the home of great men, who have gone before us, and the theatre of their excellent deeds, which Captain Hall and men of his way of thinking consider the sole test of high national character,

and the supposed want of which they object to us, as a great defect? *

We are aware, that we have passed over a great many things in Captain Hall's book, deserving of comment; but we have already exceeded our limits. We repeat, we have been actuated by no ill will toward the traveller; but we appeal to the impartial reader, that we have shown him to be in possession of prejudices, under which he could not, and to have committed errors which prove that he did not, see the country as it is. His work will do considerable mischief, not in America, but in England. It will furnish food to the appetite for detraction, which reigns there toward this country. It will put a word in the mouths of those, who vilify because they hate, and hate because they fear us. Captain Hall is too brave for fear, and too generous for hate; but he has undesignedly played into the hands of those who are neither. This matter deserves his consideration; and as he will probably revise his work for the correction of its numerous faults in a literary point of view, the consequence of the haste in which it was written, we must recommend to him, in the calmness of after-thought, to review his whole system of thought and feeling toward this country.

* We have just seen a work, published in all the splendor and beauty of the British press, commemorating the battle of *Agincourt*. Forget and forgive!

Note.—In the review of Irving's 'Life of Columbus,' contained in our number for last January, there is an insinuation that the eminent novelist, Charles Brockden Brown, towards the close of his life, became addicted to irregular and intemperate habits. We have since been convinced, that this was a mistake. A gentleman, who knew him well, writes to us as follows. 'Mr Brown was a man of very abstemious habits, and pure, amiable, and exemplary in his life and deportment. Indeed, I do not know a more faultless being. The gentleness and benevolence of his nature procured him many friends, and those, who knew him best, loved him most.' We are happy, not only to retract our error, but to have this opportunity of stating from high authority, such decided testimony in favor of the private virtues of a man, whose genius was an honor to his country, and whose works will ever hold a high rank in its literature.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

Elements of Technology, taken chiefly from a Course of Lectures delivered at Cambridge, on the Application of the Sciences to the Useful Arts. By Jacob Bigelow, M. D. Boston. Hilliard, Gray & Co. 8vo. pp. 507.

A Catalogue of the Plants growing without cultivation in the Vicinity of Amherst College. By Edward Hitchcock. Amherst. J. S. & C. Adams. 8vo. pp. 64.

Manual of Botany, for North America. By Professor Amos Eaton. Fifth Edition, revised, corrected, and much extended. Albany. Webster & Skinners. 12mo.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoir of Edward Holyoke, M. D. LL. D. Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 8vo. pp. 80.

Memoirs of Simon Bolivar, President Liberator of the Republic of Colombia, and of his Principal Generals, with an Introduction. By General H. L. V. Ducoudray-Holstein. Boston. S. G. Goodrich & Co. 8vo. pp. 383.

The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus. By Washington Irving. (Abridged by the Same.) New York. G. & C. & H. Carvill. 12mo. pp. 311.

The Life of Napoleon, with the History of France, from the Death of Louis XVI. to the Year 1821. By William Grimshaw. Philadelphia. Towar & Hogan. 12mo. pp. 285.

Lives of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence. By the Rev. Charles A. Goodrich. Hartford. 8vo. pp. 460.

The readers of our Journal will bear witness to the alacrity with which we welcome every new and praiseworthy publication tending to illustrate the early history of our country. The present generation will be severely and justly censured by posterity, if the records of the personal worth and public services of those who achieved our national emancipation are suffered to perish. The *names* of our Revolutionary patriots are in every one's mouth and familiar to our very school boys; yet we verily believe, that if those boys were questioned, they would evince a more intimate acquaintance with the biography of Augustus Cæsar or Cicero, than with that of George Washington or Fisher Ames.

There is a very great propriety in placing the biography of eminent men in

the hands of youth, considering merely their own improvement. The life of Benjamin Franklin is not surpassed in interest by any production of the imagination. The influence of such an example on a youthful mind is beyond comparison more salutary and powerful, than any exhibition of fictitious character.

The French have done more in providing suitable biographical reading for their children than any other nation, and some of the best English books of that description have been translated from the French.

The author of the work whose name is at the head of this notice is favorably known to the public as the compiler of a History of the United States for the use of Schools, which has had a very extensive and useful circulation.

The present work is of a higher and more original character. It contains, as the title imports, an outline of the Lives of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence, comprised in a single volume of convenient size.

A very large proportion of the patriots who annexed their names to that responsible instrument were not destined to rely for a place in the memory of posterity on this single act, however noble it might be. The same intrepidity and genius which had raised them to be leaders of the nation at that crisis, carried them forward in the career of glory through a long period of public life. The subsequent difficulties of the times fully tried their preëminent abilities and evinced that they had not merely been raised by the effervescence of the revolution into a scum-like eminence.

The biographies contained in the volume before us are of various lengths and various degrees of minuteness and interest, according to the actual incidents in the lives of the individuals described.

The extent of the plan did not permit the introduction of vague remarks and contemporary history. It is seldom the fact, that the incidents in the life of one man are of sufficient variety and importance to be extended through a volume unless they are inseparably interwoven with the history of the times. Of this latter class are the lives of Napoleon and of Washington. But these illustrious men had many coadjutors, the record of whose actions will remain to posterity, though it would be highly injudicious to connect with that record the oft repeated annals of the times.

In this bustling age, minute, tedious, and philosophic biographies stand little chance of being read, especially by young people; indeed the most that any person will ordinarily wish to know of the public services and private habits of John Hancock and his illustrious fellow patriots may be found in this volume.

There is a passage in the Preface which struck us as containing a fact worth transferring to our pages in the author's own words, It is as follows; 'While writing the following biographical notices of the Signers to the Declaration, the author has been struck with their longevity as a body of men. They were fifty-six in number; and the average length of their lives was about sixty-five years. Four of the number attained to the age of ninety years and upwards; fourteen exceeded eighty years; and twenty-three, or one in two and a half, reached three score years and ten. The longevity of the New England Delegation was still more remarkable. Their number was fourteen, the average of whose lives was seventy-five years.' Pref. p. 4.

The sources from which the author has drawn his materials are enumerated in the preface. The work is written in a neat, correct, and plain style, and handsomely printed. A spirited engraving of Colonel Trumbull's Picture of the Signing the Declaration of Independence, together with several heads of distinguished individuals, embellish the volume.

Upon the whole we are convinced that these biographical sketches will be read with pleasure, find their way for purposes of instruction into the possession of the young, and have a place as a work of convenient reference in the libraries of the old.

DRAMA.

The Usurper, a Historical Tragedy. By James McHenry. Philadelphia.

EDUCATION.

Stories about Dr Franklin, designed for the Instruction and Amusement of Children. Hartford. D. F. Robinson & Co.

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Directors of the American Education Society. Presented May 5, 1829. Andover. Flagg & Gould. 8vo.

Italian Pocket Dictionary. Part Second. Containing English and Italian. Preceded by an Italian Grammar. By C. Graglia. Boston. Hilliard, Gray & Co. 16mo.

The Little Grammarian, designed for the Use of Young Persons in Preparatory Schools. By a Teacher. Boston. Munroe & Francis. 18mo.

L'Introducteur François, or First Principles of the French Language; to which is prefixed, a Sketch of Pronunciation and Reading Exercises. By C. A. Coulomb. New Haven. A. H. Maltby. 12mo. pp. 210.

Lessons in Greek Parsing, or Outlines of the Greek Grammar. By Chauncey A. Goodrich. New Haven. Durrie & Peck. 18mo. pp. 140.

An Introduction to the Study of Grecian and Roman Geography. By George Long and Robley Dunglison, M. D. Charlottesville. F. Carr & Co. 8vo. pp. 293.

Questions and Supplement to Goodrich's History of the United States. By Joseph Emerson. Boston. Richardson & Lord.

A Key to the New Latin Tutor; or Exercises in Etymology, Syntax, and Prosody. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 100.

Easy Lessons in Geography and History, designed for the Use of the Younger Classes in the New England Schools. Third Edition. To which are prefixed, The Elements of Linear Drawing. By Joseph Allen. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 18mo. pp. 96.

The Speller and Definer; or Class Book, No. 2. By E. Hazen. Hartford. D. F. Robinson, & Co.

An American Dictionary of the English Language. By Noah Webster, LL. D. Abridged from the Quarto Edition. New York. S. Converse. 8vo. pp. 1011.

Outlines of Ecclesiastical History, on a new plan; designed for Academies and Schools. By the Rev. Charles A. Goodrich. Hartford. H. & F. J. Huntington. 12mo. pp. 424.

Infant-School Teachers' Guide, as conducted by E. Bacon. To which is added, A Course of Instruction suited to Infant Schools. Philadelphia. 18mo. pp. 90.

Exercises in Writing French, adapted to the French Accidence or Elements of French Grammar. By William B. Fowle. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

Mentor, or Dialogues between a Parent and Children.

Christian Parents' Assistant, or Tales for the Moral and Religious Instruction of Youth. Richmond. Ariel Works. 18mo. pp. 211.

The Improved Guide to English Spelling. By William B. Fowle. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 18mo. pp. 160.

Epeögraphy; or Notations of Orthoëpy. To which is prefixed, Lektography, an Improvement in Alphabetical Writing for representing Sounds of Words. By Joseph B. Manning. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. pp. 48.

Teatro Scelto Italiano, contenente l'Aminta di Tasso, l'Artaserse di Metastasio, la Griselda di Goldoni, la Merope di Maffei, e il Saul di Alfieri; publicato da Pietro Bachi, Precettore nell' Università Harvardiana. [With Notes.] Cambrigia. Hilliard e Brown. 12mo. pp. 392.

GEOGRAPHY.

A Gazetteer of the New England States. By D. Hewett. New York. Charles S. Francis. 12mo.

HISTORY.

Tables of Contemporary Chronology; from the Creation to A. D. 1825; in seven parts. Portland. Shirley & Hyde.

The History of Lynn. No. 1. By Alonzo Lewis. Boston. 8vo.

History of Massachusetts, from the year 1790 to 1820. By Alden Bradford. Boston. 8vo. pp. 327.

The Natural, Statistical, and Civil History of the State of New York. In three Volumes. By James Maccauley. New York. Gould & Banks.

LAW.

A Selection of Pleadings in Civil Actions, with occasional Annotations. By Joseph Story. Second Edition, with Additions; by Benjamin L. Oliver, Jr. Boston. Carter & Hendee. 8vo. pp. 709.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court and in the Court for the Trial of Impeachments and the Correction of Errors, of the State of New York. By Esek Cowen. Vol. VIII. Albany. William Gould & Co. 8vo. pp. 798.

Reports of Cases argued and adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, January Term, 1829. By Richard Peters. Vol. 2. Philadelpia. P. H. Nicklin. 8vo. pp. 735.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. By Octavius Pickering. No. 2. Vol. VI. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 8vo.

Reports of the Trials of David T. Chase and John W. Fellows for an alleged Conspiracy, &c.; and of Jireh Bull, for an Indictment of Perjury. Reported by J. S. Carpenter. New York. 8vo.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

Description of the Distinct, Confluent, and Inoculated Small Pox, Varioloid Disease, Cow Pox, and Chicken Pox, illustrated by thirteen Plates. By John D. Fisher, M. D. Boston. Wells & Lilly. 4to.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Lawrie's History of Free Masonry, with Additions. Also an Historical Sketch of the Masonic Institution in America; by Charles W. Moore. Boston. R. P. & C. Williams.

Le Miroir du Beau Monde; or Weekly Magizine of Literature and Fashion. No. 1. New York. John M. Danforth. 4to.

Remarks on the Practicability and Expediency of Rail Roads from

Boston to the Hudson River, and from Boston to Providence. Boston. Press of the Boston Daily Advertiser.

Remarks on the Practicability of Indian Reforms, embracing their Colonization; with an Appendix. By Isaac McCoy. New York. Gray & Bunce. 8vo.

The Posthumous Works of Junius. To which is prefixed, An Inquiry respecting the Author. Also a Sketch of the Life of John Horne Tooke. New York. G. & C. & H. Carvill. 8vo. pp. 428.

New Views of Penitentiary Discipline, and Moral Education and Reform. By Charles Caldwell, M. D. Philadelphia. 8vo.

Light on Masonry; A Collection of all the most important Documents on the subject of Speculative Free Masonry. By Elder David Bernard. Utica. William Williams. 12mo.

A Lecture on Existing Evils and their Remedy. By Frances Wright. New York. George H. Evans. 8vo.

The Pocket Farrier or Gentlemens' Guide in the Management of Horses under various Diseases, with an Explanation attending the different Disorders. To which is added, The Horse's Skeleton, taken from that of the Academy of Sciences of Paris. By James Ware.

The Youth's Miscellaneous Sketch Book; a Compilation of useful and amusing Extracts. Boston. C. L. Adams. 12mo.

An Essay on the Production and Circulation of Water. By a Member of the Phi Beta Kappa. Troy.

Letters addressed to a Brother in the Church on renouncing the secret Principles of Freemasonry. By Moses Thacher. Boston. T. R. Marvin.

The Little Philosopher, or the Infant School at Home. No. 1. Boston. Carter & Hendee.

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